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# Selling Scotland:

*towards an intercultural approach to export marketing  
involving differentiation on the basis of “Scottishness”*

by

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# ABSTRACT

## Selling Scotland

*towards an intercultural approach to export marketing  
involving differentiation  
on the basis of "Scottishness"*

THIS dissertation examines opportunities for Scottish exporters to differentiate in target markets overseas on the basis of their Scottishness. Findings include:

1. ultimately, identity is largely conferred by others, rather than being shaped by assertions on one's own behalf;
2. definitional experiences of "Scottishness" may frequently be derived from and mediated by determinants that lie outwith Scotland;
3. constructed identifications of key or core Scottish values, by their syncretism, present impoverished views of Scotland;
4. "culture of origin" is a more productive concept than "country-of-origin".

Opportunities are seen to establish a widely applicable methodology to add value in export markets.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I WISH to record here my sincere thanks to my wife, the Rev. Sue Paterson, and daughter, Alannah, for their wonderful, loving, constant support throughout this period of study.

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Mike Paterson

Reddingmuirhead, Falkirk.

June 2001.

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## **PREFACE: APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY**

TO a considerable extent, this research arose from aspects of my personal and working experience. My undergraduate background is in anthropology and psychology, with special interests in comparative linguistics and cross cultural communication. I have since worked for 30 years, predominantly as a newspaper editor and subeditor, writer and editorial trainer, in Canada (Ontario, Nova Scotia and British Columbia), New Zealand (various North Island centres) and Scotland (Falkirk and Glasgow). I had been brought up in New Zealand, much encouraged to wear two national identities: Scot and New Zealander (in an order determined by the moment). My father was born and spent his childhood in Scotland; my mother was born in New Zealand (of Cornish and Irish parents); my wife (born of Scottish-Irish-German descendant parents) is from Scots-settled rural Ontario, Canada; my daughter was born in Nova Scotia; and my grand-daughter was born in Scotland. I have been actively involved in various informal and formal cross-cultural interests with pakeha New Zealanders, New Zealand Maori, Cook Islanders, Samoans, Greeks, "English" Canadians (of Ontario, Nova Scotia and British Columbia), eastern white Americans, Northern Cree, Nova Scotian MicMac, Scots and English peoples (in indigenous and/or migrant communities), and have been involved in various ways with Scottish expatriate and descendant interests in Canada and New Zealand. My involvements have included organising and promoting events, managing and promoting theatrical tours, broadcasting, publications work, journalism, importing and marketing Scottish recorded music, etc. These activities brought me into contact with numbers of Scottish



expatriates and descendants, as well as people on whom Scottishness has impacted in various ways. I was also able to witness activities of some of Scotland's tourism and exporting promotional interests and those of agents, distributors and retailers acting on behalf of Scottish producers.

On the basis of perspectives afforded by Canada and New Zealand, it appeared to me that there were shortcomings at the British end of Scotland's promotional initiatives, and considerable unrealised potential. For example, current information about Scotland was difficult to come by, despite active curiosity. Activities were sporadic, inconsistent, and usually initiated within local expatriate or descendant communities. Sometimes, as in the cases of Dunedin (New Zealand) and Halifax (Nova Scotia, Canada), initiatives were undertaken to serve purely local tourism priorities and organisers may have had little knowledge of (and no particular concern for) Scotland. The level of understanding on the part of British promotional and marketing interests (often represented by non-Scots) could be limited<sup>1</sup> and attitudes were not uncommonly indifferent or patronising. Communication was cross-culturally poor. It was clear, given a remarkable openness to Scotland and things Scottish

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<sup>1</sup> When, for example, the 1994 Scottish Festival in Wellington, New Zealand, was planning a programme of dinner-music nights, it was felt desirable to have at least five distinctive themes: 1. northwest and Gaelic, 2. northeast and Doric, 3. Shetland (featuring fiddling in particular), 4. southwest (featuring Burns in particular) and: 5. Borders. As a principal organiser, I remember finding the British-based sponsors most inclined to wonder how the nights might possibly differ. (This arose in relation to travel support for a Gaelic singer and clarsair, Mary Ann Kennedy, and why we might wish to feature her at only one of these particular events.) On the other hand, the hotel chef, an Australian, was delighted and interested to make the nights as distinctively varied as possible.

Also, it was the advice of Francis King, the British Council's representative in Wellington at that time, that a Gaelic artist would have to be willing to present at least some of her performance in English to qualify for British Council support, as this was intended to promote English language arts.

in these countries, that interesting issues were involved in the ways that Scotland was being presented and understood in at least some of its target markets.

When I arrived to live permanently in Scotland in 1995, I encountered a number of historic circumstances that helped to sharpen issues I had come to believe should, to Scotland's advantage, be addressed. Amongst other things, these circumstances included:

- the lead-up to the establishment of the devolved Scottish Parliament, including the referendum and first election of MSPs;
- a widely conducted debate concerning "Scottish identity";
- the collapse of the Burns International Festival and my involvement at very short notice as organiser, promoter, manager and road manager of a six-week stop-gap Scottish tour by actor Dr John Cairney who had for 20 years successfully played Robert Burns to international audiences;
- the opening of The Piping Centre in Glasgow;
- the building and opening of the new National Museum of Scotland;
- the return of the "Stone of Destiny" to Scotland;
- the formation and development of Scotland the Brand.

In the course of several discussions during this period with Professor E. W. Cowan, and others, I came to appreciate that the issues concerning me were potentially researchable questions. It was at that point that I decided to embark on doctoral research in order to address these questions in a disciplined and scholarly way.

#### INITIALLY PROPOSED QUESTIONS WERE:

1. To what extent and in what ways is country-of-origin branding appropriate for Scotland?

2. Does this question relate to an apparently widening gap between the high profile “lone piper” of the tourism poster (the iconic figure) and the flesh and blood “solo piper” (whose art appears to be widely overlooked in Scotland)?
3. What links exist between representations of Scotland (especially as they are attached to some of Scotland’s most significant internally-recognised icons) and the cultural/economic reality of the sources of those icons?

Every effort was made to widen and deepen these questions in appropriate ways: identifying themes that seemed to be strong or recurrent, and examining these in other contexts.

#### METHODOLOGY:

ESTABLISHING an appropriate methodology was not straightforward:

1. Very little research of direct pertinence had previously been undertaken in Scotland, so that there was little in the existing literature on which to base a direction for scholarly study.
2. The particularity of cultural variables tended to limit the usefulness of much of the work that has been done in the areas of, for example, country-of-origin effects in international marketing, stereotype formation, etc.
3. A priority was examining the belief systems and accepted wisdom underlying attitudes and decision-making in Scotland in areas found pertinent, and incorporating information from these sources into an analysis.

The nature of the questions, and the reality of the contexts in which they would be addressed, pointed to a primary need for qualitative rather than quantitative research, at least in the first instance. Open questions seemed more important to ask than closed questions and qualitative information potentially richer than quantitative information. Nor, given informants from a diversity of backgrounds and interests, were standardised questionnaires appropriate. Nothing arose in the course of research to throw this approach into serious

doubt, although a number of possibly valuable quantitatively-based research questions, beyond the scope, resources and intentions of this study, did suggest themselves. These are identified in the final chapter, *Conclusions*.

Initially, the use of focus groups was considered, but it quickly became apparent that, in many cases, people who were key potential sources of information were likely to already know each other (personally or by reputation) — Scotland being a relatively small and intimate commercial, cultural and political environment. This produced, in the researcher's view, a significant danger of extraneous influences being felt by at least some focus group members. The intention became one of engaging with a diversity and scattering of sources, and one-to-one interviews were adopted as the general information-gathering technique.

The approach, in simple terms, quickly became to follow the literature as far as it went, and then to embark on fieldwork.

This was done:

1. Through following newspaper reports, particularly those appearing in *The Herald*, *The Scotsman*, *Scotland on Sunday* and *The Sunday Herald*. These papers were chosen partly for their readership profiles (which align most closely with those of business, political and public policy decision makers) and for the nature and range of story topics. This was felt to help indicate issues of contemporary concern, as well as selected attitudes towards those issues. In matters of substance, however, greater weight was almost invariably given to information drawn from primary sources.
2. Through interviews, identifying informants on the bases that they were appropriate and sufficient, i.e. that they were:
  - a. actively engaged in a pertinent field of activity at the time of the interview;

b. suitably qualified (through their position, experience, duration of involvement, peer respect and/or capacity to influence the sphere of activity in which they were engaged);

c. able to address a key dimension of the question and, taken with others, satisfy the information needs arising from the question.

In practice, informants were usually identified through networks existing within the areas of interest being examined, from published guides and directories, books or other publications informants had authored or recordings they had made, website searches and newspaper or magazine references. In a number of instances, satisfaction of requirement c. (relating to sufficiency) resulted in more information being collected than was later found necessary. In only one case (the photographer Colin Baxter) was an interview declined.

Interviews were conducted using a cassette tape recorder with external microphone.

Fieldwork notebooks were also used to record associated details

Tapes were transcribed; most tapes were fully transcribed.<sup>2</sup>

The author is aware of interviewer effects and sought to ensure that informants had opportunities to speak freely and at ease, without leading or direction. In general, interviews began with more structured questions, largely to define the subject area and the informant's position in relation to it, but always included open questions and opportunities for informants to speak freely in relation to their subject or field of interest. Most of the quotes used in this dissertation have been chosen from unstructured sections of the relevant interviews, it being felt that these comments reflect a considered but freely offered view. In a number of cases contact was later made to informally check whether conclusions were consistent with informants' views, or were based reasonably on them.

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<sup>2</sup> These remain in the author's possession.

#### FINAL AIM OF STUDY

As work progressed, new questions arose and were introduced to the research agenda. It became the aim of this study to lay foundations for the development of an approach to relatively low cost branding based on cultural resources (particularly appropriate for medium sized businesses): an approach that could be evaluated and put into practice in Scotland, and subsequently adapted and adopted by exporters in any culture which had a positive or neutral image in a target market.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

SINCE a 1983 paper in the *Harvard Business Review* — “The globalisation of markets” by Theodore Levitt<sup>1</sup> — a strong theme in marketing theory has been the extent to which world markets are converging towards a universal post-cultural homogeneity. It is a line of thinking that engages nicely with aspects of postmodern theory and with particular readings of social construction theory<sup>2</sup>, and encourages the directing of consumer marketing and brand development towards this emerging “global” consumer culture. Alden et al. write, for example:

The potential contributions to brand equity that flow from associating a brand with global consumer culture have long been recognised ... consumers may purchase certain brands to reinforce their membership in a specific global segment such as teenager, business, government/diplomatic, elite and so forth, and/or their self image as cosmopolitan, knowledgeable and modern. Global brands are likely to have special credibility and authority.<sup>3</sup>

This emphasis on the value of global branding urges marketers to associate their brands with a “widely understood and recognised set of symbols believed to constitute emerging global culture.” In engaging competition on these terms,

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<sup>1</sup> Levitt, T. “The globalisation of markets” (*Harvard Business Review*, May-June, 1983). p. 92-102.

<sup>2</sup> See: Jackson, Peter, and Penrose, Jan. *Constructions of race, place and nation* (UCL Press Ltd, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Alden, Dana L.; Steenkamp, Jan-Benedict E.M.; and Batra, Rajeev. “Brand Positioning through Advertising in Asia, North America and Europe: The Role of Global Consumer Culture” (*Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 63, No. 1, January 1999).

brands are subscribing to the view that a pan-World, post-national, aspirational consumer culture is not only emerging, but also will prevail and supplant cultural diversity as we experience it today. It points to an atomised, relativistic society where image replaces content, meaning is divorced from function, social links are evanescent, sexuality becomes ambiguous, fashion replaces tradition. Culture becomes lifestyle, reason surrenders to emotion, conclusion submits to opinion. Individuality replaces community, simulation replaces reality, popularity replaces achievement, mobility replaces stability, change replaces development. Evidence of the emergence of this kind of society is drawn predominantly from the affluent young elites of some of the world's most modern urban environments. Certainly, something is happening. Formulations of market segmentation in the wealthy West, for example, have undoubtedly become more difficult and less stable in recent decades.<sup>4</sup>

In the postmodernist intellectual atmosphere, overt cultural diversity tends to be understood as anachronism and is frequently seen as the seedbed of

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<sup>4</sup> In Britain, for example, the Newspaper Society (founded in 1836, and the voice of more than 1300 regional and local, daily and weekly, paid-for and free regional newspapers) was in April 2000 promoting the marketing importance of "lifestage" groupings: people who a) are living with parents, b) have left their parents' home, c) who live with a partner only, d) who live with pre-school age children, e) people who live with school-aged children, f) people who live with children who are beyond school-age children, and g) people whose children have left home. This approach emphasises "lifestyle". Then in October, 2000, the Henley Centre was promoting a social classification based on consumption — how people spent their money. The think tank identified four groups to replace social, class and socioeconomic categories: low income "Social Settlers" and "Aspirational Climbers" and higher income "Post-materialist Downshiffters" and "Active Achievers".

Fracassini, Camillo (*The Scotsman*, 28 April, 2000, p. 9; and *Scotland on Sunday*, 15 October, 2000, p. 7) quoted spokespeople who referred to phenomena such as Britain's fast-changing society, the importance of "lifestyles", social mobility and, in the case of the Henley Centre, "demographic blur".



reaction, racism and conflict. "Ethnic" rather than political, economic, ideological, colonial, hegemonic or religious oppositions are identified as the causes of modern wars. Postmodern lifestyles are seen, in contrast, not as expressions of ongoing cultural change, interaction, stress or diversity, but as an inevitable imperative, as harbingers of a new way of being human. To be postmodern is to have eclipsed one's own cultural background: identity, rather than being conferred by one's community, is defined by what one consumes. Consequently, an impulse to modernise the image of one's business, product or self is frequently understood as a need to distance oneself from imagery and evocations that are too obviously sourced in a particular culture.<sup>5</sup>

While widening ranges of products and services continue to further penetrate disparate markets and multinational business entities proliferate, the world has also witnessed numerous ethnic revivals, from the re-opening of churches and mosques in the former Soviet Union to the pursuit of First Nations' rights in North America, from the politically supported maintenance of minority languages in a number of countries to a growing enthusiasm for oral history

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<sup>5</sup> On 28 February 2000, Scottish Television launched a new corporate identity after an eight-month, £500,000 design project. The station's old thistle logo, adopted in 1985, was supplanted by a "crisp and modern" new logo (a blue square on a blue square). Scott Ferguson, controller of Scottish Television told the *Sunday Herald*: "We did a lot of research before we agreed anything, and it was clear that the thistle was instantly recognisable. But it was very '80s; very old-fashioned and dated. There wasn't a lot that we could do with it so it had to go, but there was a huge responsibility getting rid of something so recognisable. ... Our revenue is entirely supported by advertising and we have to get lots of volume in terms of audience. When it comes to attracting viewers in certain age groups, it is clear these audiences are susceptible to brand image. Branding is a short cut to identifying what you programmes are all about and helps you stand out among the 250 channels available. The new branding also allows us to reinforce our unique Scottishness and highlight this to our audience."

— Henderson, Connie. "Thistle buried by Scott with a new image" (*Sunday Herald* Media and Business section, 27 February, 2000. p. 23.

and genealogy in a number of Western countries. There is also a discontent in some of the most highly developed countries. Thus Scotland the Brand's Project Galore found that "people in Japan and the United States fear that they have lost many of their own traditions and, as a result, they respect what they see as Scotland's ability to preserve hers." A European Communities view is that culture has an important intrinsic value to all people in Europe, that it has economic and social pertinence and "has an important role to play in meeting the new challenges facing the Community, such as globalisation, the information society, social cohesion and the creation of employment."<sup>6</sup> Such views encourage endorsement of the view of globalisation articulated by Daniel Mato (1998):

The use of the word *globalization* has become a widespread phenomenon these days. I think that this fact is revealing of the worldwide development of something that we may call a *consciousness of globalization*. ... I would say that globalization is not a recent phenomenon, which would be just a consequence of certain business practices, communication technologies and neoliberal macroeconomics, as it is often portrayed. Globalization may be more fruitfully analysed as a long-standing historical tendency towards the worldwide interconnection of the peoples of the planet, their cultures and institutions, resulting from many different social processes ... it is particularly important to highlight that the keyword to explain globalization is worldwide interconnections, and not homogenization. The diverse ongoing processes of globalization have different outcomes: while some

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<sup>6</sup> Paragraphs 2-3, *Decision No. 508/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 14 February 2000 establishing the Culture 2000 programme (Official Journal of the European Communities 10.3.2000 L 63/1*, downloaded from EU website: [http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/culture2000\\_en.html](http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/culture2000_en.html), 28 January, 2001). p .1.

may be said to produce homogenization, others foster differentiation, and still others have combined effects.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to recognise the unpredictability inherent in the outcomes of many forms of interaction between cultures, a significant component of which has long been the wide-ranging mobility of goods and services. In itself, trade is an activity that has its origins deep in prehistory and which has found varying conventions and expressions in different cultures. Similarly, there is nothing new or unique about the attachment in some cultures from time to time of considerable fashionable cachet to the sources of certain imports<sup>8</sup>. In relation to current consumer marketing, it has been evident for some time that purchasing decisions for products and services can not only be influenced by country-of-origin knowledge<sup>9</sup>, but also that country-of-origin knowledge can be as important in consumer product evaluation as other extrinsic properties —

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<sup>7</sup> Mato, Daniel. "On the making of transnational identities in the age of globalization: the U.S. Latina/o-'Latin' American case" (*Cultural Studies* 12, 4, 1998). p. 598-620.

<sup>8</sup> An example is the passionate predilection for Chinoiserie and tea that emerged in late 18th century Britain.

<sup>9</sup> Earlier work establishing this much includes, for example: Bilkey, W.J., and Ness, E. "Country of origin effects on product evaluations" (*Journal of International Business Studies*, 13, Spring-Summer, 1982). p. 88-99. Chao, P. "The impact of country of affiliation on the credibility of product attribute claims" (*Journal of Advertising Research*, April-May, 1989). p. 35-41. Han, C. M. "Country image: halo or summary construct" (*Journal of Marketing Research* 26, May, 1989). p. 222-229. Han, C.M., and Terpstra, V. "Country of origin effects for uni-national and bi-national products" (*Journal of International Business Studies*, 19, Summer, 1988). p. 235-255. Johansson, J. K., Douglas, S. p., and Nonaka, I. "Assessing the impact of country of origin on product evaluations: a new methodological perspective" (*Journal of Marketing Research*, 19, November, 1985). p. 388-396. Kaynak, E. and Cavusgil, S. T. "Consumer attitudes towards products of foreign origin: do they vary across product classes?" (*International Journal of Advertising*, 2, 1983). p. 147-157. Nagashima, Akira. "A comparison of Japanese and U.S. attitudes toward foreign products" (*Journal of Marketing*, 34, January, 1970). p. 68-74. Tse, D.K., and Gorn, G. "An experiment on the salience of country-of-origin in the era of global brands" (*Journal of International Marketing*, 1, 1, 1993). p.57-76.

including corporate branding — even if it is less potent than intrinsic properties (once they are known) such as relative product quality and price. Attempts have been made to clarify an understanding of the way country-of-origin effects exert themselves. In 1998, Manrai et al., for example, appeared to confirm the conclusions of a number of previous studies that country-of-origin evaluations favour more highly developed countries. They observed that:

Marketers need to be aware that consumer perceptions of products are influenced by the level of development of the products' sourcing countries. However, they should note that these perceptions are differently influenced by country of origin depending upon whether the product is a staple, or a luxury item.<sup>10</sup>

Manrai et al. drew their conclusions from a sample of East Coast United States private university students (42 females, 21 males). They had their subjects rate products on a 1-5 scale, assuming that they were made in each of 21 countries: Australia, Brazil, China, Columbia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, United States. Some 18 product categories were represented: alcohol, arts/entertainment, automobiles, banking and finance, cheese, chocolate, china and crystal, clothing, electronics and appliances, fashion design, fruit, leather goods, meat products, paper products, perfume, scarf/ties, shampoo, shoes. Country-product familiarity scores were derived, showing that product familiarity was greatest in relation to highly developed countries. But the authors' inclusion of the United States amongst their selection of "Highly Developed Countries" exaggerated the preference their East Coast American subjects accorded products from such countries and, more importantly, obscured a strong bias on the students' part

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<sup>10</sup> Manrai, Lalita A., Lascu, Dana-Nicoleta, and Manrai, Ajay K. "Interactive effects of country of origin and product category on product evaluations" (*International Business Review* 7, 1998). p. 591 -615.

towards their own country's products. The average rating across the products range for American goods was 4.4, compared with a range of cross-product averages of 2.75 (Spain) to 3.75 (France) for other "Highly Developed Countries". Equivalent ranges were from 2 (Mexico) - 2.4 (Greece) for "Newly Industrialised Countries", and 1.7 (Russia) to 2.5 (China) for "Newly Marketizing Countries".

In broad terms, Manrai et al. appear to have a point, but their conclusions — along with those of many who have so far begun to look into country-of-origin effects — must be considered circumscribed by the contexts in which the studies have been done and the cultural perspectives from which they have been conceived. All would be hard-pressed to have predicted a phenomenon like the recent international boom of India's film and entertainment industry, a success that was seeded in part by the enormous South Asian diaspora but which moved beyond expatriate subcultures to capture formidable market share in a number of international mainstreams:

Bollywood has millions of non-Indian fans in the Mideast, Africa and Southeast Asia ... In Israel the two-year-old box-office hit *Dil to Pagal Hai* is playing to packed houses in Tel Aviv as *Halev Mistagya* — *Crazy Heart*; in Arab countries, fans opt for Hindi movies over Hollywood ones. ... India's movie exports jumped from \$10 million a decade ago (1990) to \$100 million last year, and may top \$250 million in 2000.<sup>11</sup>

Important difficulties are that too little research has been done to date<sup>12</sup> and that enormously complicated cross-cultural forces are at play. In this context,

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<sup>11</sup> Power, Carla, and Mazumdar, Sudip. "Bollywood goes global" (cover story) in *Newsweek*, 28 February, 2000. p. 88-94. (Several Bollywood films have been shot in Scotland, including *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, a hit film which included song and dance scenes at Glencoe and Eilean Donan Castle locations.)

<sup>12</sup> de Ruyter et al., for example, noted: "research aimed at replication and extension of previous findings has remained scarce in the field of marketing. ... if theories are rendered as unfalsifiable

the work of social construction theorists is of some relevance, to the extent that it indicates that cultural identities may be more volatile, and more malleable, than their declared historical, geographical and other external formative determinants suggest: that they are, in fact, constructs.<sup>13</sup> The more closely examined these ideas are considered, however, the more it seems that they are simply saying that cultures are shaped by people and that cultures change. To the extent that these less than novel observations blinker research away from the constraints that material, biological, geographical and, indeed, historical constraints impose, however, they are probably unhelpful. Cultures are dynamic, assimilative and expressive, and themselves far from homogenous. Sex, role, status, power, political and religious differences are likely to be only some of the forces at play as a culture responds to internally and externally generated pressures, of which marketing initiatives are but one component. Where there are forces driving cultural change, reactionary forces are usually on hand to resist them. The result is likely to be expressed as a diversity of self-identifications by individuals, of experienced needs and acceptance/rejection issues in relation to any particular imported product or service. In all cases, though, externally generated marketing initiatives will be

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and insights on how they are to be improved are lost, progress in academic research will be seriously hindered.”

— de Ruyter, Ko; van Birgelen, Marcel, and Wetzels, Martin. “Consumer ethnocentrism in international services marketing” (*International Business Review* 7, 1998), p. 185-202.

<sup>13</sup> Social construction theory does not assert that because social identities are fabricated they are therefore unreal. According to Peter Jackson and Jan Penrose: “Constructionists must take care to distinguish between their acceptance of the assertion that people operate *as if* categories ‘exist’ and their rejection of the idea that this existence is grounded in ‘reality’ as an immutable, unalterable truth. All constructions of ‘reality’ must be seen as a product of the human capacity for thought and, consequently, are subject to change and variability.”

— Jackson, Peter, and Penrose, Jan. *Constructions of race, place and nation* (UCL Press Ltd, 1993). p. 3.

mediated by the culture concerned. The interpretations and significances of an externally generated marketing initiative, determining its success or failure, will ultimately arise within the target culture.

In disciplines such as cultural and social psychology, pertinent work lies in the area of stereotyping, which also has produced indications that stereotypes can, under various circumstances, be flexible<sup>14</sup>. The work on stereotyping, however, has predominantly derived from a concern to discredit the underlying bases of racism and negative discrimination rather than to untangle the processes and relationships involved in stereotype formation: dynamic processes involving both sides of a cross-cultural interaction, negative, neutral and positive. As a result, this work has tended to be directed towards political and social policy formation in more developed countries. But there is more to stereotyping than this. According to Leyens et al (1994):

Stereotypes are, by definition, generalisations. This does not mean that the process of stereotyping is in some way pathological. On the contrary, stereotyping is a normal and reasonable process. By using stereotypes, it is said, one does not respect the person's individuality. What does that mean? We feel sorry for the person who would be comparable to no one else, completely distinctive. In fact, stereotypes would probably not be attacked if they were positive instead of negative. The attacks are directed at the content of stereotypes rather than at their generalizing component.<sup>15</sup>

Stereotyping has been studied almost exclusively with regard to the generalisations (typically negative) that one group of people make about other groups of people. The ways in which related processes extend to places,

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<sup>14</sup> See: Leyens, Jacques-Philippe; Yzerbyt, Vincent; and Schadron, Georges. *Stereotypes and social cognition* (SAGE Publications, 1994). p. 204.

<sup>15</sup> Leyens, Jacques-Philippe; Yzerbyt, Vincent; and Schadron, Georges. *Stereotypes and social cognition* (SAGE Publications, 1994). p. 31, 205.

products and services are unclear. However, branding, in every practical sense, is an attempt to inculcate a form of positive generalisation about oneself or one's product by wider or narrower groups within one's own or other cultures. Successful branding effectively exploits human capacities and inclinations to generalise, and establishes a positive stereotype. Through advertising, branding regularly anthropomorphises products — from Betty Crocker and the Marlboro Man to the use of celebrity endorsements and the choice of models and plotting out of television advertising story boards — which makes the literature on stereotyping even more directly pertinent. In terms of cultural and national stereotyping, it is commonly overlooked that few of the most widely established global brands can be considered free of national or cultural associations. It is difficult to think of Coca Cola<sup>16</sup>, Harley-Davidson, Kodak, Ford, Budweiser, McDonalds, Marlboro, Starbucks and Levis, for example, as anything but American; Gucci, Fiat and Bertolli say "Italy"; Chanel and Dior say "France"; Volkswagen and BMW both say "Germany"; Sony, Toyota, Nissan and Nikon say "Japan". What is more, it is not clear that such brands are necessarily understood, valued or used in the same way across different cultures. According to Jean-Claude Usunier (1996):

...global brands are a blurred concept and probably even a deceptive one. ...global brands may be seen as the simple collection of local brands, federated under a lexically equivalent single name. It is not even certain that this name, when

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<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, in the first published study of country of origin effects in 1970, Japanese businessmen named Coca Cola as a product they associated with United States. Coca Cola was the only brand name, as opposed to product category, mentioned in the study.

— Nagashima, Akira. "A comparison of Japanese and U.S. attitudes toward foreign products" (*Journal of Marketing*, 34, January, 1970). p. 68-74.



pronounced, produces equivalent sounds and is heard in the same way.<sup>17</sup>

Within marketing research and theory, however, a largely American-driven emphasis on globalisation seems to have attracted attention away from the dynamics of cultural change, interaction and persistence, and the sorts of cross-cultural influences which continue to undergird, generate and energise so much of popular culture. Latin dancing and line dancing are as much examples of this as have been reggae, rap, jazz and rock and roll.

Perhaps it is in part because so many marketing variables — currencies, economies, trade regulations — exist in relation to states, that the role of cultures (which may, in their geographic spread, bear little relation to country borders) is often under-valued or overlooked, and remains under-researched. Thus marketing literature continues to refer to “country-of-origin” effects rather than to “culture of origin” effects, and the array of ethnic determinants of market access, rejection and acceptance, has seldom been studied in depth. If we look into popular culture, we quickly see powerful cultural determinants at play. We can identify ethnically specific sources that have established or contributed to the development of very much wider if not globally accepted forms of expression. This is particularly clear in areas like music. Jazz, rock and roll, folk, country and western and western classical musics, for example, all have highly specific ethnic origins but moved beyond those roots to become mainstream transcultural forms. Phenomena of this sort are not necessarily as acculturating as one might be tempted to assume: cultures frequently re-ethnicise them back into their own contexts<sup>18</sup> and they may subsequently become intercultural, then feed back into the transcultural mainstream. The

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<sup>17</sup> Usunier, Jean-Claude. *Marketing across cultures* (Prentice Hall, 1996). p. 300.

<sup>18</sup> See: Harold F. jr. “Consumer and corporate values: yet another view on global marketing” (*International Journal of Advertising*, 6, 1987), p. 29-42.

existence of various “fusion” forms of music are evidence of this happening. If we think, for example, of Western classical music being a very broad-band art form, in the sense that it accommodates a number of formative influences and exists in a predominantly transcultural environment, then we can talk about narrow-band forms which exist only within their source cultures. Genuinely narrow narrow-band art forms are difficult to find these days — people keep chatting to each other across their cultural fences — but a widely known example might well be the traditional Japanese tea ceremony: its origins are pure and specific and it has not been widely adopted by other cultures. Then there are narrow-band forms that become intercultural for a time — often associated with a particular artist or small group of performing personalities — then recede back to their origins, often leaving behind them a jetstream of influences and a dwindling number of fans: Calypso music, Flamenco guitar music and Reggae might all be considered examples. Other narrow-band forms interact directly with each other and with wider, cross-cultural and intercultural forms — as happened in the origins of many of the big wide-band forms themselves, and is continuing to happen in some of the cultural revival movements through such things as festivals, tourism and performance tours, greatly facilitated by modern communications technology and media, especially the international recording industry and, now, the internet.<sup>19</sup> The term “Celtic”

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<sup>19</sup> The London-based entertainment magazine *Uncut* drew attention to an example of this sort of narrow-band fusion in its April 2000 review of Khaled’s new album, *Kenza*: “Khaled is the king of rai, the dynamic fusion of Arabic sounds and Western pop that emerged from the back streets of Algeria to become an international phenomenon. His voice is effortlessly expressive of the romance of the souks and kasbahs of north Africa and when he tackles pop forms, he creates a perfect fusion of East and West, ancient and modern. We get slices of rai-funk, north African salsa, trance-like dervish grooves, Arabic drum’n’bass and even sensitive ballads... In France Khaled is a superstar.”

— *Uncut*, April 2000. p.100.

music embraces a number of narrow-band traditions (authentic and revived) but also has become a wider-band genre within which people are composing and performing with few, weak or no specific narrow-band referents. It is also exploring fusion forms with various narrow band musics, especially salsa. If the creativity is there, its emerging broad-band transcultural potential is probably yet to be realised. When one looks for the mechanisms underlying developments such these, which are far from being understood, it becomes apparent that useful variables are more likely to be identifiable when cultures are referred to, rather than countries, and that the best hope of understanding forces of the greatest pertinence to the activity that is called “international” marketing in fact lie in considerations of cultural phenomena. Unfortunately, much of the literature here is, to date, of limited predictive or practical help to marketers. In a discussion of “World Music” — an ill-defined industry term of convenience for music that is not quite popular enough or well enough known to warrant its own category in the record bins — James Barrett has suggested, for example, that:

...its appeal compensates for a long-standing liberal/left disaffection with modernism, and matches the desire for alternatives to the alienation of western society, It is not surprising that World Music has flourished in recent years, given the advance of Green politics, New Age-ism, multiculturalism and other countermeasures to the 1980s Tebbit-ite anti-intellectualism and little-Englandism. ...it is as though World Music serves as spiritualism for atheists’ ...<sup>20</sup>

He further suggests that its popularity might also be indirectly produced by “a shift in heterosexual white male consciousness.”

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<sup>20</sup> Barrett, James. “World Music, nation and postcolonialism” (*Cultural Studies* 10 (2), 1996). p. 237-247.

More work clearly has to be done, but it would be helpful for a clear distinction to be drawn between “international” marketing and “cross-cultural” or “inter-cultural” marketing. The first ultimately confines issues to states and legislatures; the shift of viewpoint to culture enables people to become the issue. (An interesting example of cross-cultural marketing in practice would be that of Jack Daniel’s Tennessee Whiskey.<sup>21</sup>).

To understand the specific processes of cultural interaction that are involved in intercultural commerce, a new clarity needs to be found. An approach is

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<sup>21</sup> A consistent emphasis on people is evident in the unusual approach used to market Jack Daniel’s Tennessee Whiskey. It is an approach that has been altered little in more than 40 years, all based on “The Jack Daniel Character”. The marketing strategy being outlined to retailers in a company document in March 2000 was dated January 10, 1955, and, includes: “Continue to stress distillery’s smallness at both trade and consumer level... Design advertising to create an emotional involvement between customer and product ... Jack Daniel’s is a wonderfully smooth premium whiskey, but it is more, too. It is an image in men’s minds ... an emotional response to a soft-spoken restrained personality that attracts simply because it never seems to try too hard... .” And, from another “Marketing Information” document provided by the company in March 2000: “Our advertising is not designed to sell ... but rather to tell.” Thus, on the distiller’s website tour of its Lynchburg, Tennessee site (at: <http://www.jackdaniels.com/oldno7/distill.asp>), a typical company statement is found: “The Jack Daniel Distillery is the oldest registered distillery in the country and is a National Historic Site. Licensed in 1866, the distillery continues to craft its old-time Tennessee sipping whiskey the way Mr. Jack did back in 1866 and remains true to its founder’s straightforward motto: ‘Each day we make it, we will make it the best we can’.” This down-home, personal style comes from the subsidiary of Brown-Forman Corporation, a company which in 1998 topped a worldwide turnover of \$(U.S.) 2 billion. Moreover, it has been markedly successful. According to Owsley Brown II, chairman and chief executive officer of Brown-Forman: “Jack Daniel’s Tennessee Whiskey had an outstanding year (in 1998-99), reaching 5.7 million cases worldwide and increasing volume in all of its major markets. Jack Daniel’s is now the top-selling American whiskey in the world as well as the top-selling whiskey of any type in the United States.” Jack Daniel’s sold 1.5 million cases in western Europe and Japan combined and forged ahead in its relatively new markets in Turkey, the Czech Republic and the Philippines.

— Brown-Forman Corporation website. [http://www.brown-forman.com/b-f\\_ceo.htm](http://www.brown-forman.com/b-f_ceo.htm) (February, 2000.)

needed that recognises cultural interactions when they take place within what is regarded as the “domestic market”, as well as when they occur across national borders. Attitude changes need to be recognised on both sides of a relationship that is unlikely to have only or purely commercial elements. The current labyrinths of academic approaches and disciplines that have some greater or lesser bearing on the questions that arise are formidable: they reach from literary criticism to social and motivational psychology, anthropology and sociology to marketing, history to economics and political science. As things stand, the answers they provide are likely, for the many people who are interested in the pragmatic act of selling a product or service in some new marketplace, to be as difficult to interpret as they are, in practical terms, to apply, evaluate or cost.

SOME safe conclusions can be drawn here, however. Almost all products and services can be assumed to have some significant measure of what has been called “national” identity, which interacts with the ways in which other product and service attributes are perceived in a target market. This component is rooted firmly in cultural phenomena which become cross-cultural interactions when exporting-importing is involved. For practical purposes, the diversity of cultural variables involved requires that these interactions be considered as particular cases rather than in terms of general principles. Moreover, because they are dynamic, understandings of them need to be continually revised and updated. (In Scotland’s case, very little published work is available.) Exporters who ignore the issue altogether, or who generalise it, are managing the overseas market positioning of their product or service loosely and leaving a significant variable to chance. In highly competitive contexts, that is going to be an increasingly hazardous approach. The “national identity” component can

be managed and, by understanding it as “cultural identity”, it can be nuanced to bring it into line with particular product or service positioning requirements. In exploring this further, it is helpful to clarify the way in which several terms are used and the distinctions they make:

1. **Culture:** The term “culture” is used in the sense of Geert Hofstede’s “culture two” (and his image of “software for the mind”).<sup>22</sup> “Culture”, in the context of this study, can therefore be taken to mean a set of socially-shaped conceptual and behavioural norms and repertoires. They provide the bases on which experience and knowledge are understood, interpreted and acted upon. “Culture” necessarily includes language, accent and vocabulary, social interactions and the shared recognition of symbols and their significance. It is a context in which “meaning” is established and communicated. “Culture” provides a means of social self-identification, and accompanying roles, relationships and responsibilities. Cultures, of course, are dynamic, continuously changing, adapting and responding to externally-generated and self-generated forces and influences. Cultures interact with other cultures. Cultures are not homogenous. Cultures may or may not correlate with political boundaries. Many modern states include a congregation of cultures, including representatives of cultures that also exist elsewhere. Broadly defined cultural groups or categories often embrace more particularly definable cultural groups

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<sup>22</sup> Hofstede defines culture in the following terms:

Culture (1) The training or refining of the mind; civilisation. In this book, this meaning is called ‘culture one’. (2) The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. This meaning corresponds to the use of the term ‘culture’ in anthropology and is used throughout this book.

— Hofstede, Geert. *Cultures and organisations — software of the mind* (McGraw-Hill, 1991). p. 260.

and categories as their constituents. Hofstede sees cultural differences manifesting themselves through symbols, heroes, rituals, and values. Of these, values provide the core.<sup>23</sup> References to “contemporary culture” are intended to place an emphasis of attention on a “culture” in its most current state.

2. **Transcultural:** The term “transcultural” is applied to activities that impact on cultures other than the source culture, but with only fortuitous interactions at deeper levels or on wider bases. A culture may assimilate from these activities, reject influences and ideas, or be compelled to change by them, e.g. globalisation, Westernisation, the British Empire, some older styles Christian missionary activity, most import-export activities and domestic marketing.

3. **Cross-cultural:** This term refers to activities that deliberately initiate a particular task or issue-oriented discourse or transactions between two or more cultures (as opposed to countries), with or without wider agendas, e.g. some aid and development projects, some culturally-oriented marketing, more modern Christian missionising.

4. **Intercultural:** “Intercultural” refers to activities where there are deliberate intentions to deepen or widen relationships, partnerships or understanding between two or several cultures, instigated by one or several of the cultures (assimilations may result), e.g. international arts and music festivals.

5. This study proposes as a measure: **signal value**, referring to the intercultural capacity of an activity to establish productive associations on

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<sup>23</sup> Hofstede writes:

Values are the broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others. Values are feelings with an arrow to it: they have a plus and a minus side. ... Values are among the first things children learn - not consciously, but implicitly.

— Hofstede, Geert. *Cultures and organisations – software of the mind* (McGraw-Hill, 1991). p. 8.

behalf of a particular interest, and probe target market cultures for areas of common interest or value. To have worthwhile signal value, resources should:

- a) have the capacity to reinforce, enhance or extend the core values of a particular market interest (whether that market interest is a company, a commodity, a product, a service, etc), and add value;
- b) provide opportunities to open, extend or enhance ongoing interactive engagement with target customers on behalf of a market interest, and encourage participative responses;
- c) lead to clear mutual benefits, serving self-defined cultural needs and aspirations for all parties, i.e. have cultural as well as commercial benefits;
- d) be themselves capable of a diversity of expressions and representations according to time and context;
- e) have some realised or potential internationally portable core components, e.g. performance elements, touring exhibits, overseas branch activities and/or involvements (where intercultural potential is unrealised or underdeveloped, the resource itself may need to be developed and marketed);
- f) have identifiable infrastructures to help identify appropriate expertise and with which businesslike arrangements can be entered into.

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THIS STUDY discusses issues of Scottish cultural identity as they impinge on and interact with manufactured product and services differentiation (or fail to do so), particularly in relation to target export markets. Exporting is seen as having still unrealised potential to expand Scotland's economy, and various encouragements and assistance are provided in Scotland to facilitate exporting and tourism initiatives. The reality is that few of Scotland's 4,000 or so exporting manufacturers have anything like the sales volumes and cash flows required to support the more ambitious forms of global corporate branding with its needs for international market research, intensive multinational advertising and high profile international sponsorships. Some companies established in Scotland, however, have achieved strong product, service or product range brands within the regions they reach: Barr's Irn Bru, Tennent's, Baxter's, Glenfiddich, Scottish Widows, Stagecoach, Kwik-Fit and Stakis would be examples. To accomplish as much as some of these businesses involves considerable costs and takes time.

Scotland also has several institutions that have become international icons in their own right, including Edinburgh Castle and the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews and the adjacent "Old Course". It is less as a geographical or economic region than as an imagined otherworld that the Highlands have become internationally iconised. In each case, international awareness — rooted in the past though it may be — has paid dividends, particularly in terms of tourism. In fact, when it comes to internationally recognised icons of this sort, Scotland is unusually well endowed: from castles and lochs, heather and bagpipes to tartans, saltires and clanship, Scotland can marshal a formidable array of potent iconography that stands in opposition to postmodernist ideals.

To obtain such fabulous status takes time, uniqueness and, most importantly in this discussion, some fortuitous cross-cultural resonances.<sup>24</sup> Underlying the argument forwarded here is the view that, whatever the extent of global cultural convergence, the strength of at least some of Scotland's widely recognised cultural expressions makes them marketing assets that should not be too lightly discarded. For a medium-sized Scottish exporting company to obtain anything approaching a comparable strength of identification and market differentiation on its own lies far beyond the practical, short- and mid-term means of all but unique, widely needed and immediately saleable products.<sup>25</sup> What Scottish companies can afford to do, however, is to choose appropriately from a rich repertoire of Scottish cultural expression to construct their own distinctive versions of "Scottishness" and, although they generally have done so without finesse or precise intentionality, many Scottish companies — smaller enterprises in particular — have long been happy to adopt Scottishness itself as

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<sup>24</sup> An example of fortuitous cross-cultural resonance appears to have been a component in the successful marketing by Lochcarron of Scotland of tartan fabrics for use as school uniform fabrics in Japan. "The Japanese love to buy anything that has a history, and we provide them with the stories of the clans and the areas with which the tartans are associated. They like the whole package. ... The Japanese seem to have a thing about Scotland," Lochcarron design manager Dawn Robson-Bell told *The Herald*.

— Armstrong, Tony. "Tartan adds class in Japan" (*The Herald*, Business section, 13 December, 1999). p.18.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Usunier, Jean-Claude. *Marketing across cultures, Second edition*. (Prentice Hall, 1996). p. 300-301: "The global brand, like the global campaign, requires a large amount of creative time and investment. A brand is a sensitive asset of symbols, suggested and maintained by diversified marketing communications: sponsoring, advertising, communication, public relations, communication through the product itself or even the style of outlets. ... Furthermore, the complexity of trademark law must be considered on an international level. ... In short, the costs and the legal complexity of managing a global brand remain extremely high. When starting from scratch, the creation of an international brand is an undertaking that should be considered as a long-term target."

an asset in approaches to domestic and overseas markets, and consumer markets in particular.

Despite the many anxieties and questions which arise, there are plenty of good theoretical and practical reasons for many of Scotland's exporters — more than ever, perhaps — to exploit their own unique Scottish identity and refrain from pushing their image off into the global mainstream. Says Bernard Cova, professor at EAP Paris:

Postmodernity can ... be understood as a period of severe social dissolution and extreme individualism. But attempts at social recomposition can also be glimpsed: the individual who has finally managed to liberate him/herself from archaic or modern social links is embarking on a reverse movement to recompose his/her social universe on the basis of an 'emotional' free choice. Less than differentiation, it is redifferentiation which seems to be guiding individual action.<sup>26</sup>

Individuals, given extreme freedoms of choice, face needs to form identities and, to do this, they reach out for defining communities. This is perhaps most pertinently expressed by the so-called "Latin" school of postmodern marketing theorists and the concept of "ethnomarketing":

We are witnessing the end of the modern phenomenon of the disjunction of spheres of activity (economic, social, religious, political) and the reintegration of each activity within a total societal context. Consumption can therefore be studied as much for its functional and symbolic aspects relative to the individual as for its emotional and aesthetic aspects relative to the link between individuals. And marketing can be defined less as the launching of a product on a market than as the ascribing of a meaning in a society. After having borrowed extensively from economics and

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<sup>26</sup> Cova, Bernard. "From Marketing to Societing: When the Link is More Important than the Thing" in: Brownlie, D., et al. *Rethinking Marketing: Towards Critical Marketing Accountings* (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1999). p. 67.

psychosociology, marketing seems to need to resort to anthropology and ethnosociology in order to re-embed its approach. Rethinking marketing is rethinking its essence in the socioeconomic paradigm.<sup>27</sup>

Where cultural identity is enlisted to assist in marketing a service or product, we have to be concerned that the identity concerned is an attractive one in the target market, remembering that cross-cultural interest arises and is shaped by needs, issues and values experienced within the target market, and is sourced in the cognitive world of the target market. Robert Burns, for example, did not set out to sell books in Hungary, but his work is being translated into Hungarian because a demand exists amongst Hungarian speakers who have found resonances with the world created and expressed by a writer who just happens to be Scottish. The initiative is theirs, not Burns', nor Scotland's.

Whisky, which has to be made in Scotland to be "Scotch whisky" is arguably one of several exceptions to a loose generalisation: that the global market is big enough and Scotland is small enough for most Scottish exporters to address specialist and/or niche markets with well-defined ranges of products and/or services. In this context, a variety of branding strategies have been promoted from time to time, including "commodity branding" (e.g. the New Zealand Apple and Pear Marketing Board's "ENZA" initiative<sup>28</sup> and the 1999 New Zealand Way branding campaign), "umbrella marketing", partnerships, etc.

Such approaches contrast with Diageo's £100 million ("keep walking") global advertising campaign for the Johnnie Walker blended Scotch whisky brand,

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<sup>27</sup> Cova, Bernard. "From Marketing to Societing: When the Link is More Important than the Thing" in: Brownlie, D., et al. *Rethinking Marketing: Towards Critical Marketing Accountings* (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 1999). p. 64-83. p.80.

<sup>28</sup> See: Pope, Joe; Cullwick, David; and Kennelly, Jo. "Commodity branding" in: Hart, Susannah, and Murphy, John (eds). *Brands: the new wealth creators* (MacMillan Press, Basingstoke and London, 1998). p. 161-175.

launched in 1999, which deliberately, if not uniquely, made a break with kilts, mists, castles and tartan. Nigel Bogle, chief executive of the London-based advertising agency Bartle Bogle Hegarty which handles Diageo's global advertising, was reported as saying: "We discovered that consumers were very interested in the values of Scotch, but found the imagery associated with it largely irrelevant."<sup>29</sup>

The move to a kind of postmodernist whisky-courage surrealism with their television advertising, however, will hardly sever the brand from its Scottish identity altogether. BBH account director Hugh Baillie told the *Sunday Herald*:

People all over the planet know it is a Scotch. Johnnie Walker was the world's first global brand. It was in 129 different markets before Coca Cola left North America ... The new owners [Diageo] are committed to growing the Scotch category rather than simply stealing share from other brands. That's what this campaign is about — progression.<sup>30</sup>

What is happening, in fact — rather than a divorce from Scottishness — is an invitation for prospective consumers to extend the imagery they already associate with Johnnie Walker. After all, whisky is itself widely identified as a Scottish icon. Diageo's campaign is aimed at the extension, not the extinction or replacement, of an existing global brand. Sales had slipped in previous years, but no-one would spend £100 million to replace a lucrative existing market with a completely new one. Notwithstanding the view expressed by Hugh Baillie, whatever differentiation is achieved by the campaign is bound to be reflected in shifts of Johnnie Walker's market share against other Scotch whisky brands as well as in movement against the wider spirits market shares

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<sup>29</sup> Brown, Rob. "Walking away from a Scottish love affair" (*Sunday Herald*, 21 November, 1999, Seven Days section). p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Brown, Rob. "Walking away from a Scottish love affair" (*Sunday Herald*, 21 November, 1999, Seven Days section). p. 2.

held by other drinks. It would clearly be a mistake for businesses in other sectors — and even for other brands in the same sector — to draw too many simple or direct conclusions from the outcome of the 1999 Johnnie Walker campaign.

Scotland has plenty of room within which to design export promotional and marketing strategies that incorporate expressions of cultural identity, and the strength and breadth of positive overseas interest indicates the scale of added value that might be expected. Added value will vary from one target market to the next, but where interest exists, Scotland would be wise to stimulate and encourage it. Where it does not, it would be sensible to test the waters through whatever means promise (on the basis of local research) to open the most effective avenues of cross-cultural communication. The challenge is to find the most appropriate sets of relationships to develop with each target market, a challenge that militates against both: a) the articulation of a narrow definition of “Scottishness” and; b) the use of a single set of statements and communication strategies across all markets. Nuancing of this sort has not been a feature of marketing initiatives, however.

That there are reasons to invest money in a belief that Scotland is a positively regarded country of origin is evidenced by some influential Scottish businesses that have gone on record saying as much — the Bank of Scotland, for example: “Across the world, Scotland is respected for its heritage. Scots are seen as level-headed internationalists, business-like people who operate with the highest professional standards.”<sup>31</sup> And the Royal Bank of Scotland: “Our research tells us that for our business the values associated with Scotland are a

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<sup>31</sup> Millar, Bill. “Scottish’ Question Time” (*Scottish Business Insider Vol. 16, No. 4, April 1999*). p. 4-8.

positive factor.”<sup>32</sup> Elite Control Systems Ltd, Livingston, is a small company that applies skills learned in the oil industry to a range of process control problems. It has been very successful in its own niche, having won contracts in Luxembourg, France, Italy, China, Korea and Azerbaijan and Baku, as well as in Scotland. Said the company’s founder and managing director, Sam MacKay:

I would say one of the strong things that comes out ... is the fact that they (overseas clients and their technical staff) identify with Scotland quite easily; we have a good reputation. ... It’s also down to (the idea that) Scottish make good engineers. ... Good engineers are identified as coming from Scotland. I think it’s also down to friendliness, the attitude of the Scottish people. The impression that the people we speak to abroad (have) is that English people know everything and have an air about themselves whereas all our engineers, we help one another out and there’s a level of camaraderie, a down-to-earth type thing. I think that comes up a lot of times, an awful lot of times. They (Scots) recognise other people’s cultures, they respect other people’s spaces because they possibly feel they’ve had to fight for their own space.<sup>33</sup>

Certainly a number of businesses, within and outside of Scotland, appear happy to be “Scottish” or to enlist Scotland’s persuasive power to market against international competition within Scotland and to reach markets outside Scotland. Various ways in which this has been done are widely evident:

1. Incorporating “Scotland”, “Scotch” or “Scot” and other Scottish national names into their company name, e.g. Scotsys Computer Systems (Bellshill and Edinburgh), Scottish Widows, Scotch Frost Ltd (Uddingston, Glasgow), Caledonian Fish Meal Co. (Aberdeen),

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<sup>32</sup> Millar, Bill. “‘Scottish’ Question Time” (*Scottish Business Insider Vol. 16, No. 4, April 1999*). p. 4-8.

<sup>33</sup> MacKay, Sam. Interview, 24 June, 1999.

Albacom Ltd (Dundee), Studio Ecoscé Ltd (Peebles). The connections can be distant: Alba International, Inc., for example, is an American industrial recycling company with offices and processing plants in Illinois, Louisiana, Missouri and California; Caledonian Control Technology Ltd of Nuneaton, Warwickshire, markets industrial combustion and control equipment.

2. Incorporating “Scottish”, “Scotland” or “Scotch” into a product name, e.g. “Scottish Blend” tea granules (from Brooke Bond Foods, Croyden, Surrey).
3. Using the words “made in Scotland” on packaging, labelling or advertising, e.g. Hall’s Scotch Pies (from Grampian Country Pork Halls Ltd, Broxburn).
4. Incorporating a well-known Scottish regional name, or Scottish-sounding name into a company name, e.g. Highland Hose (Hawick), Balmoral Knitwear (Scotland) Ltd (Galston), Border Oats Ltd (Duns), Lochcarron of Scotland (Galashiels). Again, there are overseas companies that sound “Scottish” in this way: Highlander Choice Wines of California markets Californian wines; Highlander Cruises sail up to 28 tourists at a time around Sydney Harbour, Australia.
5. Incorporating a well-known Scottish regional name into a product name. e.g. Robertson’s Thick Cut Highland Marmalade (made by James Robertson & Sons, Drosden, Manchester, and formerly of Paisley), Glasgow-based Ian MacLeod and Co. Ltd’s “Isle of Skye” blended whisky.
6. Incorporating a distinctive or well-known Scottish iconic or personal name into a company name, e.g. Robert Burns Refrigerated Transport (Newton Stewart), Burn Stewart Distillers plc (Glasgow). Saltire Software Inc. is based in Beaverton, Oregon, in the United States. Tartan



Yachts is a well-established luxury sailboat builder in Fairport Harbor, Ohio.

7. Associating a product with a well-known Scottish scenic or geographic feature, e.g. Achiltibuie-based Summer Isles Foods' use of a drawing of a shoreside croft, the use of the standing stones of the Ring of Brogar by Orkney Cheese.

8. Developing a unique brand identity that incorporates elements of Scottish identification, e.g. Baxters of Speyside Ltd's use of tartan.

9. Making use of widely recognised Scottish graphic icons in labelling or advertising, e.g. a tartan-like design on Granny's Soup Scotch Broth (from Campbell Grocery Products Ltd, King's Lynn, Norfolk, and formerly of Bridgeton near Glasgow); a loch scene and strip of tartan on Tesco's Scottish Tea Bags, predominantly red tartans on Paterson's, McVitie's, Sainsbury's and Tesco shortbreads, predominantly blue tartan on Dean's Shortbread packaging (Dean's of Huntly Ltd, Aberdeenshire). The Scottish Parliament opted for the saltire and Scottish crown, a design by Redpath of Edinburgh based on a winning entry from Aberdeen College in a students' competition.<sup>34</sup>

10. Subscribing to producer board, marketing association or Scotland The Brand identification campaigns: e.g. the Scotch Quality Beef and Lamb Association Limited.

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<sup>34</sup> Anon. "A new badge for Holyrood" (*The Herald*, 13 April, 2000). p. 6.

*Scotland on Sunday* promptly ridiculed the design in its *William Hare's Essential Diary* column and offered a bottle of whisky for a livelier alternative. The winning entry (an "ultra cynical allegory") represented the Scottish Parliament as chewing gum adhering to a British boot, "moving forward together" with the caption: 'Sticking to the U.K.'" A second prize depicted the Parliament as a "join the dots" puzzle.

— William Hare (pseud.). "Nation's alternative designs put boot in" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 25 April, 2000). p. 24.

11. Alluding in product descriptions to aspects of Scotland's real or alleged landscape, reputation, history, culture, mythology, identity, etc, e.g. the 300g Paterson's "Scottish Oatcakes" package carries the following rather fanciful statement:

The Highlanders of Scotland first created oatcakes in the early 14th century when the Reivers would bake them over campfires, using 'gredils' which gave their name to girdle oatcakes. From 1895, when the company was founded, John Paterson would leave the Royal Burgh Bakery, Rutherglen in his horse-drawn van to sell his delicious award-winning oatcakes oven-fresh in Glasgow and throughout the surrounding area. Today the qualities of Paterson's oatcakes are appreciated far and wide.<sup>35</sup>

12. Putting together various combinations of the above, e.g. "Scofa" brown soda bread mix from G. R. Wright and Sons Ltd (Enfield, England) which has a packaging illustration of a loch-castle hills scene and "follows the original recipe used by generations of Highland Crofters".

Advantages include the possibility of enlisting well documented, widely held, well established and predominantly positive predispositions towards Scotland.<sup>36</sup>

As we have already seen, the use of such identifications has not been exclusive to Scottish producers.

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<sup>35</sup> Paterson's Scottish Oatcakes 300g package, purchased at Somerfield, Polmont, June 25, 1999 ("Best Before": stamp: Feb 00 L9148).

<sup>36</sup> See Chapter 6: *As other see us*.



ILLUSTRATION (1): A confectionery tin made for Edward Sharp & Sons Ltd, Maidstone, Kent, in the 1950s, and clearly marked "Made In England". (It also carried a Royal endorsement: "By Appointment ... to the late King George VI.").

A friend from Africa, the Rev. Arnold Temple, in 2000 gave the author a red, black and white woven tartan drawstring bag for tea bags marketed by Royal Tea Ltd, Mombassa, Kenya, and sold as a gift item in Kenya.

Little time or money has to be spent to engage with these ready-made advantages. A new product can hit the international marketplace wearing garb that carries centuries of attitude formation with it. That is an invaluable asset, a resource of enviable monetary, social and political worth. In many sectors and in many target markets, Scottishness alone — appropriately and sustainably expressed — can help a new exporter to open doors and to secure sufficient market share to establish a platform from which longer term branding initiatives can be launched or developed. Appropriate and sustainable expressions of Scottishness may themselves also prove sufficient to meet the longer term objectives of many companies. But, when it comes to selling on the basis of "Scottishness", there are few reasons to believe that many export marketing managers or export promotion agency managers in Scotland have ever given much thought to what "Scottishness" consists of, or how it can best work for their companies' interests.

Wherever Scottishness is made explicit, the business issues should be clear enough: does overt Scottishness cost effectively add value to the product or service? Does it result in more unit sales? Does it command a higher price for products or services? Does it result in stronger customer loyalty? These are measurable attributes. If value is added, the approach works. If more value is added than by any other available approach, it is the best available. Instead, however, questions have frequently centred on the appropriateness of Scotland's well-established iconic imagery and has stimulated perceptions that Scotland needs to reconstruct the face it presents to the world (and to itself).

To articulate the issues in terms of conflict between modernity and anachronism or culture and commerce — terms in which some of the concerns have been publicly expressed — begs questions about the premises and sets up fallacious arguments over false dilemmas: Silicon Glen or Bannockburn, bagpipes or prosperity. What is missing appears to be the effective relationships between options that would give Scotland's advanced products and services coherence with their "Scottishness". Representations of Scottishness have been used in advertising and packaging for more than a century, and in recent times these have typically tended to become more specifically "Scottish" and less generally "British". But approaches to this identification have, by and large, remained naive and Scottish business has only exceptionally cultivated mutually rewarding relationships with the proprietors and practitioners of the cultural resource, or sought to develop or project deeper and more productive understandings of "Scottishness". It is true that individual businesses have attempted to establish relationships with particular expressions of iconographic potency, often through sponsorships, but, a concerted, deliberate evaluative exploration of Scottish cultural expression appears to have been on no-one's agenda. "Scottish music", for example, should be considered to include and embrace an extraordinarily rich

range of diversity that draws on many centuries and a number of cultural sources: medieval plainchant, the many styles of Gaelic song and mouth music, the modern compositions of people like Edward McGuire, James MacMillian, William Sweeney and others, Robert Burns' songs, Neil Gow and Scott Skinner, Shetland fiddling, bothy ballads, Jimmy Shand's dance music, Celtic rock, the harp repertoire, piobaireachd and much more. Yet "Scottish" music is almost always understood and represented in the narrowest of terms that, because of their narrowness, frequently become parodic.

The emphasis in recent years, as for example with much of the Scotland the Brand initiative, has rather focused on narrowing and crystallising a range of values and stereotypes into a relatively simple, widely acceptable, unambiguous all-purpose identification. Within this, there is an undercurrent of some willingness to accept the definitional statements of others, including our economic competitors. Along the way, some specific questions of significant importance — such as where and how people in target markets find their definitional experiences of Scottishness — have largely been overlooked. The strategy in mind appears to have been principally one of facilitating a choice in favour of a Scottish product in ways that might be thought of as essentially **catalytic**: here, Scottishness is shorthand for a set of assumptions we hope prospective customers take into account in evaluating a product.

But there is another, very different, way in which Scottishness may have a role in consumer choice. If there are people who for whatever reason are looking to construct a personal identity based wholly or partly on Scottishness, then Scottishness is likely to be **instrumental** in consumer choice: a product will be chosen because of its capacity to bestow or heighten feelings of identification, or facilitate participation. This is already happening: the kilt market, for example, is dependent upon it — but has the potential to run very

much further. Something of this instrumental potency may also be indicated in an observation by Russel Griggs, executive director of Scotland the Brand:

...the world has a real and large amount of latent respect for Scotland based on the world's dissatisfaction with elements of its own modern life and its own loss and lack of integrity, and its own loss of traditions. This sentiment was common to all of the country groups [surveyed by Craton, Lodge and Knight in the Project Galore study], but was particularly voiced by the U.S. and Japan where, for differing reasons, respondents feel that their rush to new technology and materialism has been at the expense of many core values. Comparatively Scotland is idealised as an 'island in the past' whose traditions and heritage are maintained, which still has integrity, and a strong sense of self. It cannot be stressed strongly enough how important these values are to Scotland's place in the world and nothing should be done to jeopardise them as they are regarded as adding value to the Scottish identity.<sup>37</sup>

The range of goods and services that provide some sort of instrumental attraction is one whose boundaries have yet to be explored. It is a potency that must be understood as something that is categorically and strategically different from the catalytic effect, and it stands to benefit most from intercultural activity. If postmodernisation and globalisation are indeed stimulating new needs for the construction of personal identities, and they appear to be, Scotland's apparently considerable capacity to help meet these needs must be much more deeply researched.

Over and above questions such as these, arises the problem of managing something as complicated as a national or cultural identity. Non-gradualist, centralised attempts to strategically re-position Scottish identity in a catalytic transcultural way from within Scotland risk serious dilution, or failure, because

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<sup>37</sup> Griggs, Russel. "Scotland the product" in: Hassan, Gerry and Warhurst, Chris, *A different future: A modernisers' guide to Scotland* (Centre for Scottish Public Policy & The Big Issue in Scotland, 1999). p.143.

of independently originated and externally-generated forces. Powerful new communications technologies do not necessarily make it easier to establish a clear message globally: by opening high volume channels of communication, they also facilitate the generation of conflicting and irrelevant “noise”. The greater the international interest in Scotland, the more noise enters the media. At some point, it becomes as efficient to begin working interculturally and by word-of-mouth. Potent sources of definitional experiences of “Scottishness” originate and are propagated outwith Scotland in the forms of the outputs of various media and a range of overseas-based commercial and community cultural activity. This difficulty is compounded by what appear to be important qualitative differences between predominant New World and Old World understandings of cultural and national identity, accompanied by the existence of significant expatriate and Scottish descendant presences in some important target markets, particularly in North America. (These issues are discussed further in later chapters.)

Perhaps, in fact, there is little need to be too immediately concerned about the details of the ways in which others perceive Scotland. Given the diversity of export customer bases, even within superficially aligned sectors, Scotland should be able to harness the endowments of its constituent cultures to further and more coherently develop its existing capacity to be many things to many people; a range of apparently inconsistent stereotypes can co-exist; emotions do not rebel, as reason does, against paradox. What does seem needed is the identification of a repertoire of resources that carry with them a variety of helpful associative values. What needs to be identified is a range of activities with significant signal value. This approach would not mean placing cultural resources under commercial management or control, or vice-versa. It would entail identifying points at which commercial and cultural interests can

productively interact, and ensuring that such interactions were as mutually productive as possible.

## CONCLUSIONS

GLOBALISATION is not a uniquely new or irresistible force, and postmodernism is not forever. Cultural diversity has a future, and cultures seem bound to continue changing, exploring options and assimilating or rejecting elements from each other, diverging and converging. New cultures are being shaped and old cultures will be transformed, but the phenomenon will remain “cultural”.

In this, there are benefits to be had from forming relationships with other cultures which assimilate from you and vice versa.

Added value is to be had from “country-of-origin” marketing, but speaking of “culture of origin” rather than “country of origin” recognises that culture is a more potent determinant in a person’s life than country, and opens a realm of new possibilities that make intercultural initiatives attractive, sound and exciting.

Inter-cultural approaches to marketing Scotland and “Scottishness” provide an alternative to the transcultural, catalytic ways of the past, and should be explored:

- a. because other approaches are increasingly expensive, difficult to manage and homogenising;
- b. because they have the potential to provide stronger and wider varieties of differentiation;
- c. because they stand to facilitate the maximising of instrumental as well as catalytic values.



## 2. ADDING VALUE

SCOTLAND has opportunities as well as needs to develop its exporting activity, and various bodies exist to help prospective and existing exporters with information, advice and promotional assistance across a wide range of sectors. It has often been popularly held that, compared with Britain as a whole, the level of Scotland's manufactured exports — worth £19.2 billion and amounting to 12 per cent of the British total in 1997-98<sup>1</sup> — have been creditable despite exigencies, like a strong pound, that make trade difficult from time to time.<sup>2</sup>

**TABLE (1): Scottish Manufactured Exports (£m Current Prices)  
- (1996-1998)<sup>3</sup>**

INDUSTRY (1992 SIC Division)	1996	1997	1998
Whisky	2,278.1	2,394.2	2,030.8
Other food products and beverages	446.0	367.7	359.3
Tobacco products	-	-	-
Manufacture of textiles	318.6	316.9	304.2
Wearing apparel; dressing and dyeing of fur	147.5	133.0	132.8
Tanning and dressing of leather; manufacture of luggage, handbags, saddlery, harness and footwear	63.4	62.1	60.9
Wood and wood products	23.8	30.9	34.0
Pulp, paper and paper products	387.0	358.7	347.3
Publishing, printing and reproduction of recorded media	44.6	38.1	59.6
Coke, refined petroleum products and nuclear fuel	332.0	366.0	252.3

<sup>1</sup> Scottish Council Development and Industry. *Survey of Scottish Manufacturing and Exports 1997-98* (Scottish Council Development and Industry, December 1998).

<sup>2</sup> The CBI Scotland quarterly industrial trends survey for the first three months of 1999, for example, found that export orders were falling at their fastest rate since 1983.

— Sinclair, Keith. "Scotland's economic ill wind for Labour" (*The Herald*, 28 April, 1999). p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Scottish Council Development and Industry. *Survey of Scottish Manufacturing & Exports 1998/99* (Scottish Trade International at <http://www.sti.org.uk/intro.htm>) 6 May, 2000.

## Scottish Manufactured Exports (£m Current Prices) - (1996-1998) — continued

INDUSTRY (1992 SIC Division)	1996	1997	1998
Chemicals and chemical products	1,706.4	1,735.1	1,771.4
Manufacture of rubber and plastic products	314.2	295.0	318.0
Manufacture of other non-metallic mineral products	163.6	173.5	186.8
Manufacture of basic metals	180.3	178.3	178.7
Fabricated metal products, except machinery and equipment	411.1	342.9	372.3
Machinery and equipment nec	802.2	774.1	901.5
Office machinery	6,825.0	7,311.0	6,987.2
Electrical machinery and apparatus nec	283.0	294.9	312.3
Radio, television, and communication equipment and apparatus	3,003.8	3,385.0	3,719.2
Medical, precision and optical instruments, watches and clocks	102.8	112.4	121.6
Manufacture of motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers	175.5	153.2	141.9
Other transport equipment	326.8	358.4	594.2
Manufacture of furniture; manufacturing nec	73.1	67.6	78.1
Recycling	5.8	9.4	8.4
<b>ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES</b>	<b><u>£18,414.8m</u></b>	<b><u>£19,258.4m</u></b>	<b><u>£19,272.8m</u></b>

Per capita comparisons between Scottish and British or English manufactured export earnings do not provide yardsticks that serve Scotland's interests, however: manufacturing occupies a bigger proportion of Scotland's economy than England's. Scotland's manufactured export figures should be relatively high compared with, say, the south of England. Export earnings also should be realised across a wider range of sectors than they are. The director of Scottish Trade International, David Taylor, introducing a five-year "export development strategy" in 1995 with a target of raising manufactured export earnings to £23 billion by 2000, pointed out that, while Scottish exports appeared strong in the early 1990s, the apparent success had been driven largely by just two product groups: electronics and whisky:

We need a much more diversified export base. That applies to industry sectors and also the size of the exporting community. You

see, it's a fact that some 69 per cent of all Scottish exports is accounted for by only our top 25 companies. ...We are concentrating our efforts on the small and medium-sized sector. That's where we think there will be real impact on the community. There the value of exports is currently about £1.5 billion and we aim to achieve a target of £4 billion over the next five years.<sup>4</sup>

In April 1998, Brian Wilson, then Scottish Minister for Education and Industry, launched a Scottish Trade International export drive which sought to raise the number of exporting manufacturing firms by 500.<sup>5</sup> Wilson told *The Scottish Exporter* that he would like to see ideas which were developed in Scotland being turned into manufacturing ideas in Scotland, rather than elsewhere — Scotland had become an importer of its own ideas. Scottish investors, in other words, have too seldom been as willing as overseas investors to place confidence in ideas that originate in Scotland. (Thus it was that on 4 May, 1999, for about £17 million, the company Roslin Bio-Med — along with the technology and scientific expertise that created the world's first cloned sheep — passed into the hands of the Geron Corporation of Menlo Park, California.<sup>6</sup>)

At the end of 1997, the Scottish Office identified 296,640 enterprises operating in Scotland employing 1,766,100 people. Only 4,000 or so Scottish manufacturers (about 1.35 per cent of the total enterprises in Scotland) were known to be exporting their products.<sup>7</sup> France bought goods worth £2,964 million (about 15 per cent of Scotland's manufactured exports); sales to the

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<sup>4</sup> Insider and Scottish Trade International. *The International Challenge — Special Report on Scotland's New Export Goals* (Insider and Scottish Trade International, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> Lyall, Anne Marie (ed.). *The Scottish Exporter* (Tate Publishing [Scotland], Summer 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Kemp, Kenny. "How Dolly went for a song" (*Sunday Herald*, Business section, 9 May, 1999). p.24.

<sup>7</sup> *The Scottish Exporter* (Summer 1998).

U.S. were worth £2,091 million (about 11 per cent of total exports). These were Scotland's two largest manufactured exports destinations.<sup>8</sup>

In tourism, Scotland appears to have been slipping relative to other tourist destinations worldwide. During the period 1984-1994, for example, Scotland lost tourism market share in Europe in terms of both arrivals and revenues, despite a 2-10 per cent a year increase in Government investment (in real terms). In the same period, world tourism grew faster than European tourism. Within Europe, tourism growth was less in Europe's northern subregion. Within that subregion, Scotland actually saw a decline in arrivals.<sup>9</sup> Scotland has come to look for more than £2,500 million a year from tourism to support some 177,000 jobs. For 1998, the Scottish Tourist Board "Attraction Monitor" recorded a one per cent decline to 43,223,583 visits to some 800 castles, visitor centres, historic properties and other attractions but these figures were qualified by a statement that the real decrease could have been 4.2 per cent because some figures were thought to have been exaggerated. Among leading attractions, the largest attendance drops were reported by the Royal Museum of Scotland (down 28 per cent to 424,320), New Lanark Village (down 24 per cent to 30,450), and the National Wallace Monument (down 22 per cent to 154,593).<sup>10</sup>

Export marketing has many facets, of course, from the capacity to reliably produce and deliver goods to financing, communication and excise issues and assistance and incentive packages. Scotland has made serious efforts to step up

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<sup>8</sup> Scottish Council Development and Industry. *Survey of Scottish Manufacturing and Exports 1997-98* (Scottish Council Development and Industry, December 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Seaton, A. V., and Hay, Brian. "The marketing of Scotland as a tourist destination, 1985-96" in: MacLellan, Rory, and Smith, Ronnie (eds): *Tourism in Scotland* (International Thomson Business Press, 1998), pp 212-213.

<sup>10</sup> Watson, Craig: "Turnstyles [*sic*] slow down" (*The Herald*, 28 April 1999). p.5.

exporting in a number of ways: by increasing the number of exporting businesses; by stepping up the skills and support available to existing and prospective exporters; by encouraging export development in sectors where exports contribute a relatively small part of the sector's turnover; and by seeking to add value to Scotland's exports. Assistance is given through a mix of largely publicly-funded and more autonomous national and local organisations: Scottish Enterprise, The Scottish Tourist Board, the Department of Trade and Industry, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Locate in Scotland (concentrating on inwards investment), Scotland the Brand, Scottish Trade International, Made in Scotland, the Local Enterprise Companies, various trade associations, and so on. Much of the activity seen in the late 1990s arose from and was a part of the five-year "Scottish export development strategy" launched in 1995 by Scottish Trade International. Examples are:

1. Glasgow-based **Scottish Trade International**, established in 1991, delivers a range of Overseas Trade Services (OTS) to Scottish companies on behalf of the Department of Trade and Industry and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Support includes information and advice, help and information from overseas diplomatic staff ("over 2000 people in 200 diplomatic posts worldwide"<sup>11</sup>), overseas market information, translation, advice on cultural guidelines and cash assistance to bring foreign buyers to Scotland. Overseas Trade Services publishes "Market Menus" for each of Britain's top 80 export markets which detail the services and literature that are available to help exporters into that particular country. Some services are free; others are charged out at "extremely competitive rates".<sup>12</sup> In 1997, tailored research was being

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<sup>11</sup> Scottish Trade International. <http://www.sti.org.uk/sties.htm> (January 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Scottish Trade International. <http://www.sti.org.uk>. (8 December 1998).

offered at prices ranging from £50 to mail out information already held to £1200 for 24-48 hours of dedicated research and £600 for each additional 24 hours of work. Foreign and Commonwealth Office officials at some offices overseas also undertake to arrange meetings and visits for visiting British exporters at £80 for up to two hours of work and £40 an hour thereafter — and accompany business people to meetings and visits at the same hourly rate.<sup>13</sup> The Scottish Export Assistance Scheme helps firms meet market entry costs outside the European Union by funding half of a company's eligible expenditure during the start-up period, up to £30,000. Money is not repaid until the company's exporting activities are running successfully. In 1996-97 about 500 Scottish companies bought services and Scottish Trade International, together with Scottish Enterprise and Scottish business sector teams, claimed to have helped Scottish companies win about £165 million in additional export sales. In January 2001, Scottish Trade International was claiming to have disbursed more than £2.5 million and helped more than 300 large and small companies across all sectors since 1993.<sup>14</sup>

One of Scottish Trade International's more highly publicised successes was bringing together, at its Moscow office, Barr Soft Drinks and the Russian company KLP, along with its American advisers. The meeting led, after two years of negotiation, to a franchise deal backed by \$7 million of American investment to launch Irn-Bru onto the Russian market. From July 1998, the Scottish soft drink has been made at a factory set up in a former Yakolev aircraft warehouse in Moscow.

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<sup>13</sup> Department of Trade and Industry, Overseas Trade Services. *Winning Through Exporting* booklet (Department of Trade and Industry, Overseas Trade Services, April 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Scottish Trade International. <http://www.sti.org.uk/stieas.htm> (26 January, 2001).

2. **The Scottish Council Development and Industry**, which conducts annual export surveys and publishes export statistics and other market information, is a major organiser of Department of Trade and industry-sponsored trade missions.<sup>15</sup>

3. **Local Export Partnerships** were set up throughout Scotland in the mid 1990s (there are more than a dozen) to co-ordinate and provide single door access to local, national and international export support from Local Enterprise Companies, the Chambers of Commerce. Through the partnerships' own facilities and their links with Scottish Trade International and other national and international support services, including the British Consular Network, they provide help with strategy development, financial assistance, currency, documentation, marketing, distribution, languages and training.<sup>16</sup> An example is the Grangemouth-based Trade Development Centre (Forth Valley) which was set up (originally in Falkirk) in April 1994 as a "trade window" between companies in the Forth Valley area and markets in the rest of Britain and overseas, offering grant assistance as well as serving as a central source of information and advice on export procedures, market development, import duties and trading standards. A limited company, it has had funding from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the old Central Regional Council, Forth Valley Enterprise, Falkirk Council, Clackmannanshire Council, Stirling Council and the Central Scotland

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<sup>15</sup> Scottish Trade International. *The International Challenge — sharpening the export effort* brochure (Scottish Trade International, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Scottish Enterprise, Scottish National Exports Campaign website. <http://sti.scotent.co.uk> (4 December 1998).

Chamber of Commerce and Scottish Trade International.<sup>17</sup> In 1998, as part of the five-year National Export Strategy, the Scottish National Exports Campaign — particularly focused on the export performance of small and medium sized businesses — ran throughout Scotland and Local Export Partnerships played a leading role. At a national level, the campaign was supported by Scottish Enterprise, the Scottish Office, the Department of Trade and Industry and sponsored by the Royal Bank of Scotland and British Telecom.

Companies wanting to take part in overseas exhibitions and missions are advised to make arrangements through their Local Export Partnership. The 1998-99 Scottish exhibition and mission programme, published by Scottish Trade International, listed more than 200 such events in Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Canada, China, Dubai, Egypt, France, Germany, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey and the United States.<sup>18</sup>

4. **In Brussels, the Scotland Europa Centre** was launched in May 1992 to promote Scotland's interests to the institutions of the European Union.<sup>19</sup>

5. **Made in Scotland Ltd**, based at The Craft Centre in Beauly, Inverness-shire, has a very different focus. It organises the Highland Trade Fair every October and, in 1995, launched the Glasgow Trade Fair as a shop window for Scottish giftware, textiles and crafts, specifically to

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<sup>17</sup> Trade Development Centre. *Trade Winds No. 1* <http://www.scotexport.org.uk/tw20pg1>  
8 December 1998.

<sup>18</sup> Scottish Trade International. *Scottish Exhibition and Mission Programme 1998/99, Edition 4* (Scottish Trade International, January 1998).

<sup>19</sup> Scotland Europa. <http://www.scotlandeuropa.com/about> (11 December 1998).



promote exports. The Glasgow show was scheduled in January to attract international buyers on from Dublin after attending Ireland's "Showcase" event. In 1999, the Glasgow show was re-named "Scotland's International Trade Fair". At the 1999 event, five product sectors were represented: textiles and knitwear, crafts and regions, jewellery, giftware, food and drink. Made in Scotland Ltd maintains a database of Scottish producers and provides a product sourcing service, and has a website with a key word based search engine that gives access to a number of producing companies.<sup>20</sup>

**6. The British Council**, a registered charity, is the United Kingdom's international network for education, culture and development services. The British Council Scotland also works with agencies promoting Scottish exports and inward investment, such as Scottish Enterprise, Highlands and Islands Enterprise and Scottish Trade International, seeking to maximise the impact of its activities by co-operation and co-ordination.

**7. Chambers of Commerce** have for many years supported exporting by way of training, documentation, advisory services and trade missions.<sup>21</sup>

**8. The Scottish Business Shop Network** was launched in 1994 to provide a full range of business information for Scottish companies and put companies with export interests and potential in touch with the various organisations that provide export services.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Made in Scotland. <http://www.madeinscotland.com/> (10 December 1998).

<sup>21</sup> Scottish Trade International. *The International Challenge – sharpening the export effort* brochure (Scottish Trade International, 1998).

<sup>22</sup> Scottish Trade International. *The International Challenge – sharpening the export effort* brochure (Scottish Trade International, 1998).

9. **Local authorities** encourage exporting through their business development programmes, trade missions, exhibitions and initiatives such as twinings with communities overseas.<sup>23</sup>

ISSUES of added value, branding, differentiation and country or cultures of origin are the concern of this study. In relation to country of origin, as Onkvist and John H. Shaw have pointed out, studies have shown that:

...not only do consumers have general images about certain countries, but they also form specific attitudes about products made in those countries ... country-of-origin affects product evaluations ... although industrial users are supposedly more objective than consumers, they nonetheless have certain beliefs about products made in certain countries.<sup>24</sup>

Writing for *The Times* business pages shortly after the election for the first Scottish Parliament in May 1999, Christina Buckley saw the election of a Scottish Parliament opening greater opportunities for Scottish business. She included comment on the marketing value of Scottishness:

Certainly some businesses are finding that Scottishness is becoming more marketable. ScottishPower, which is on a lengthy charm offensive in the U.S. as it tries to take over PacifiCorp, has been met by pipe bands at airports. It has attended functions where business and community representatives have displayed worrying Bay City Rollers' tendencies, wearing flashes of tartan and tartan ties.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Scottish Trade International. *The International Challenge — sharpening the export effort* brochure (Scottish Trade International, 1998).

<sup>24</sup> Onkvist, Sak, and Shaw, John H. *International Marketing — Analysis and Strategy (Second Edition)* (Prentice-Hall, 1993). p. 330-332

<sup>25</sup> Buckley, Christine. "Scotland the brand prepares to conquer the business world" (*The Times*, 12 May 1999).

At that time, Alan Richardson, ScottishPower's then designated chief executive of PacifiCorp said a Scottish identity was well received overseas: "People have confidence that the Scots act sensibly and prudently." Mr Richardson said he was careful not to contradict American associates who mistook his northern English accent for a Scottish one. Employment research has found that Scottish accents are often perceived as indicating trustworthiness and a will to work hard. Scottish & Newcastle, The Royal Bank of Scotland and Scottish & Southern Energy also say that the values associated with Scotland are positive selling points.<sup>26</sup> Such views, in fact, are held by most Scottish businesses.<sup>27</sup>

There are exceptions. In 1998, designer Belinda Robertson told *The Scottish Exporter* that when she started out, she had thought of herself as a 'Scottish company' but quickly realised she needed to "think big" and "think international". Scots may be acknowledged for their skill and expertise at spinning and weaving cashmere, she said, but Scotland was not regarded as a fashion centre: "Scottish women are not recognised for their style — the women in Brazil are not interested in what the women in Scotland are wearing. It is a fact."<sup>28</sup> In 1992, recognising that buyers from overseas often stopped

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<sup>26</sup> Buckley, Christine. "Scotland the brand prepares to conquer the business world" (*The Times*, 12 May 1999).

<sup>27</sup> A 1999 cross-sector survey conducted for Scotland the Brand found that 75 per cent of Scottish businesses felt their business contained Scottish values, 77 per cent felt that having a Scottish identity was important to them, 67 per cent felt that their Scottishness was an advantage in the marketplace and 77 per cent favoured moves by Scotland the Brand to create a "Scottish proposition".

— Griggs, Russel. "Scotland the product" in: Hassan, Gerry and Warhurst, Chris. *A different future: A modernisers' guide to Scotland* (Centre for Scottish Public Policy & The Big Issue in Scotland, 1999). p.139.

<sup>28</sup> Lyall, Anne Marie (ed.) *The Scottish Exporter* (Tate Publishing (Scotland), Summer 1998).

only in London, a group of Scottish knitwear and apparel companies set up a London showroom at 5 Portland Place, home of the British Knitting and Clothing Export Council. Core membership of this Scottish Apparel Group (buyers, presumably, do not take the acronym too seriously) were Hodgson of Scotland, Traditional Weatherwear/Macintosh, Celtic Silks Riverford Mill, Glengarnock, Forsyth Knitwear, By Storm, Gelfer, Harrington Corporation Ltd, Glenalmond Tweed Company, Strathclyde Knitwear.<sup>29</sup>

In general, few of the new electronics, medical technology and biotechnology companies make much of their Scottishness but aspects do arise, albeit subtly. Scottish Trade International and Locate in Scotland in December 1997 produced a glossy 12-page booklet (*Biotechnology in Scotland*) inviting biotechnology research and manufacturing firms to locate facilities in Scotland. The cover photograph could have been taken anywhere in the world. But the first inside right page carries a photograph of a tranquil Scottish loch, autumn leaves, blue skies. Text refers to Scotland's 13 universities — “four are more than 400 years old,” it notes.<sup>30</sup> So landscape and historicity continue to exert themselves.

ADDED value on the basis of country of origin and joint membership-wide promotions has been the strategy of Glasgow-based Scotland the Brand, established in 1995:

The objective is to develop concepts and themes for integrated marketing programmes that will increase the Scottish voice in a crowded international marketplace, and deliver real business benefits for those involved. These programmes aim to promote not

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<sup>29</sup> Lyall, Anne Marie (ed.) *The Scottish Exporter* (Tate Publishing (Scotland), Summer 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Scottish Enterprise Biotechnology Group. *Biotechnology in Scotland* (Scottish Enterprise, n.d., c. 1998)

only Scottish trade but also tourism and culture. To date major programmes have been run in the prime export markets — UK, USA, and Europe with considerable commercial success.<sup>31</sup>

Its key activities are “to encourage cohesion in the shaping of Scotland’s image in the global marketplace ... through the development of a national brand identity based on researched values, and providing an integrated marketing programme to suit the needs of its members.”<sup>32</sup>

The Scottish Enterprise-funded initiative was established with the late Sir Alistair Grant, former governor of the Bank of Scotland and chairman of Scottish and Newcastle plc, as chairman and made up of representatives from the private sector and from public sector agencies such as the Scottish Tourist Board, The British Council and the Scottish Arts Council. In October 1998, Russel Griggstook up the new post of executive director. The former overseas business development director for Scottish Enterprise held posts as acting director of the Scottish Science Trust, director of the Entrepreneurial Exchange, a director of George Watsons Ltd and of The Institute of Occupational Medicine, and visiting professor of entrepreneurship at Glasgow Caledonian University. He reports to the director of Scottish Trade International (STI) and to the Brand Advisory Board which is helping to “refine and develop the long-term marketing strategy for the Scotland the Brand project”. The operational activities of the Scotland the Brand Unit are led by its chief executive, George Russell who reports to Russel Griggs.<sup>33</sup> Scotland the Brand’s marketing director, Nick Boyd, previously worked for Scottish Courage where he was responsible for off trade sales of more than 50 brands of beer.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/about-keyactivities.asp>. 26 January. 2001.

<sup>32</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (16 October 1998).

<sup>34</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (14 August 1998).

Scotland the Brand encourages Scottish companies with an annual turnover of at least £50,000 (formerly £100,000) to use a “country-of-origin device” (COD) to identify their product with Scotland, and benefit from integrated marketing efforts. Companies complete a questionnaire that establishes their turnover, quality standards, product sources and Scottish association, and pay an annual fee. Inaugural annual fees were £125 for companies with a turnover of up to £5 million, £250 for companies with turnovers of £5-10 million and £500 for companies with turnovers above £10 million. At the time of Russel Griggs’ appointment in October 1998, Scotland the Brand had 73 licensees of its Country-of-origin device, by January 1999, 100 companies had signed up. On 26 January, 2001, Kilmarnock Football Club was formally recognised as the 300th member, and “the first Scottish Football club to be awarded the Scotland Device”.<sup>35</sup> The COD — intended to “not only uniquely identify and authenticate Scottish products, but (also)... offer a guarantee of product quality”<sup>36</sup> — consists of the word “Scotland” (capital and lower case) in an italic slight-seraph typeface with a wavy underlining:



ILLUSTRATION (2): The Scotland the Brand “Country of origin Device”: the lettering is a dark blue to the left and a red-background tartan sett (Royal Stewart?) to the right, with a whitish diagonal band through the “t”, “n” and underlining. At the time of writing, it remains to be seen how the lettering will look if “Scotland” is rendered in other languages, not to mention how it will look in other orthographies:

A successful “a national brand identity” will have to confer a greater value than any other way of identifying Scotland as a product’s country of origin. If it works just as well to put the words “Made in Scotland” on a product, then a

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<sup>35</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>36</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001).

branding exercise will have been superfluous. There is a greater challenge: from an individual producer's point of view, a national brand has to show that it adds equity over and above existing company branding which may already heavily exploit the product's country of origin.

Key concerns in successful branding usually include things like the consistency with which unique, strong and attractive attributes are associated with the brand. If producers use a variety of other ways to identify their Scottishness and make comparable associations with similar attributes, the strength of a singular Scotland brand would be undermined. The prevailing approach taken by exporters and export boosting organisations when it comes to using Scottish origins to market products appears to have exactly that sort of diversity. Marketing people make decisions to match something they want to say about their product with this or that conception of Scottishness, and a few images and statements are put together to make the connection and justify the particular conception. Scottish beef, lamb, pork and salmon producers, for example, have their own quality assurance and country-of-origin markings. Tins of shortbread are swathed in tartan. Other products are more sombrely labelled: "Made in Scotland".

Scotland the Brand says that it seeks to capitalise on Scotland's "enviable reputation around the world for high-technology and quality natural products", encouraging prospective member companies to use its Scotland Country of Origin Device to "differentiate your products from those of your competitors [and] ... as a mark of authentication." Scotland the Brand staff will provide members with examples of best practice in using the logo, and technical support. "The logo is part of an inter-related series of initiatives aimed at securing customer preference around the world ... These include integrated

marketing campaigns in North America and Europe and a study into global perceptions of "Scottishness" and its value for Scottish business."<sup>37</sup>

Scotland the Brand's activities do seem to be benefiting its membership which includes Clydesdale Bank plc, Scot FM, Scottish Media Group plc, the Scottish Sports Council, Tennent Caledonian Breweries and Thomas Tunnock Ltd.<sup>38</sup> Two years after the COD was introduced a System 3 survey found that 74 per cent of members at that time felt that use of the COD had "a positive impact" on their business.<sup>39</sup> The nature of added value was not detailed, however. The Hector Russell Kiltmaker Group has branches in Seattle, San Francisco and Toronto as well as in Scotland. It also operates a mail order and Internet operation based in Inverness, where its kiltmaking workshops are located. David Sutherland, operations manager said Hector Russell was keen to support "any initiative that promoted quality Scottish manufactured products both at home and abroad." He said his company believed the COD was becoming more and more recognised and its significance better understood by the public.<sup>40</sup> Rachel Williamson, director of sales and marketing, Scotland, for Turnberry Hotel, Golf Courses and Spa, said the 5-star resort joined Scotland the Brand for several reasons: to "harness and maximise the power of Scotland, which has a massive history and is renowned for service and quality" and because Scotland the Brand "actively promotes this heritage, thus building a national brand identity and raising Scotland's profile and status worldwide."

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<sup>37</sup> Scottish Trade International. *Scotland the Brand* at: <http://www.sti.org.uk/stistb.htm> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/about-membercompanies.asp> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>39</sup> Scotland the Brand. *General Information Pack* . <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001). p.3.

<sup>40</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/casestudies-hector.asp> (26 January, 2001).



Turnberry also wanted to be associated with “any organisation that endorses the best of Scotland and guarantees the quality and authenticity of Scottish products and services” and was “pleased to be represented in the trade and tourism industries by an initiative that raises Scotland’s International profile.”<sup>41</sup> Alan McAulay, chief operating officer for Glasgow-based e-commerce company, Marcat Ltd, said his firm “recognised the crucial role they play in advancing awareness of Scottish goods and services through the use of a standard symbol; the Scotland Device.”

We were delighted to contribute to their aims of facilitating communication amongst the membership, promoting Scotland as a brand to the international marketplace and developing effective and profitable on-line business activity through the development and delivery of a web site with extranet facility for members.<sup>42</sup>

Mackies Ice Cream was one of the first food companies to join Scotland the Brand. Maitland Mackie, chairman, said: "Right from the start we received positive encouragement from our retailer partners about the decision. ...It is a valuable asset for a company like ourselves which does not currently export any further afield than England."<sup>43</sup>

It is arguable whether what it is that Scotland the Brand offers its members, is in any ordinary sense of the word, a “brand”. These questions are summarised by A.V. Seaton and Brian Hay who write from a tourism perspective. One concern, they say is whether destination branding is what it claims to be:

In other forms of marketing a brand is a specific product with differentiated features, tailored to a precise, delimited market

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<sup>41</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/casestudies-turnberry.asp> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/casestudies-marcat.asp> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>43</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/casestudies-mackies.asp> (26 January, 2001).

segment (e.g. Formula One hotels are a branded group within the Accord group portfolio tailored for the budget market). 'Scotland the brand' has no such precise delimitation but is the banding of a general range of products aimed at all-comers ... it is debatable whether branding can be used as a persuasive concept to sell such a diverse range of Scottish products as whisky, tourism and food, all of which are purchased for specific benefits, rather than bought for some overarching national identity. It has echoes of previous nationalistic attempts to persuade people to 'Buy British' which failed in the past. ... The concept of Scotland the brand is mainly a promotional concept rather than one which involves the mobilisation of the whole marketing mix to attach a specific market. In reality national destination branding may be nothing more than destination imaging, rather than more thoroughgoing market targeting and product offering which branding is in other fields.<sup>44</sup>

The American Marketing Association defines a "brand" as a "name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition".<sup>45</sup> The COD was designed so to be used with different straplines specific to a particular industry. Said Scotland the Brand: "We actively encourage companies to be proactive in using the Scotland Device within their company and also developing an innovative strapline. ... Our research has shown that people value companies that trade on their Scottish values such as integrity therefore joining Scotland the Brand is a benefit to all companies."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Seaton, A. V., and Hay, Brian. "The marketing of Scotland as a tourist destination, 1985-96" in: MacLellan, Rory, and Smith, Ronnie (eds). *Tourism in Scotland* (International Thomson Business Press, 1998). p. 233-234.

<sup>45</sup> Keller, Kevin Lane. *Strategic Brand Management – building, measuring, and managing brand equity* (Prentice Hall, 1998, p.2.)

<sup>46</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/faqs.asp> (26 January, 2001).

Another concern is the way that fantasy and reality have been inclined to blur in events such as Scotland the Brand's Scotfest in the United States. Scotfest was launched in 1997 as a bid by Schieffelin and Somerset the largest distributor of Scotch whisky in the U.S., to counter a 20-year slide in whisky sales in the United States and differentiate Scotch from Canadian, Irish, Japanese, Australian and other whiskies. Subsequent events were held in 1998 and 1999.<sup>47</sup> Scotland the Brand contributed by co-ordinating Scottish commercial and cultural involvement. Scotland the Brand's website (July 1998) outlined Scotfest as an "annual month-long celebration of Scotland and Scottish culture in New York and, in 1999, extending into San Francisco. "This is the largest celebration of Scotland in America," said Scotland the Brand. Events included the Robert Burns Whisky Ball (24 January 1998 in the New York Public Library, and 30 January in San Francisco); Scottish film screenings in New York and San Francisco; a Scottish Music Festival with contemporary and traditional Scottish music; a Scottish Arts Festival ("a commercial art exhibition by a major Scottish Art Gallery will be staged in Forbes Gallery for 5 weeks"); a Scottish Book Festival (for 4 weeks in major U.S. book retailer). Six stores in New York and one in San Francisco were to hold in-store events. Scottish Food Promotions — "in a chain of 23 up-scale New Jersey stores" — were programmed for two weeks.<sup>48</sup> Amongst the Scotfest 1999 promotions and events, six American television celebrities were presented with full Highland dress outfits with kilts in 'Pride of Scotland' tartan. There were performances of Russell Currie's *Mackintosh* musical (three nights, at a venue with a capacity of 100 people), and cooking demonstrations by Ferrier Richardson, executive chef of the Yes Restaurant and Brasserie in

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<sup>47</sup> Maclean, Andrew. Circular to members (Scotland the Brand, 21 January, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (14 August 1998).

Glasgow. Robert Burns Whisky Balls were held on 23 January in New York and 29 January in San Francisco. To each, 1500 of the “in and happening crowd” — “young, affluent and urban individuals” — were invited through “top promoters in the markets involved in Scotfest ‘99”. The British American Business Council of Philadelphia sponsored an international business reception for some 3,500 invited guests. Scottish products were promoted at supermarkets in New Jersey, New York and Boston in conjunction with a “Foods from Britain” promotion, and a promotional tour bus drove from the East Coast to the West, with performances along the route by Scottish salsa/drums-pipes fusion band McUmba, cooking demonstrations, Highland dancing displays.<sup>49</sup> Reality may have played a part in the programme, but so did something else, and a context like Scotfest tends to homogenise them. Good sums of money seem to have been spent promoting these eccentric collations of real and ersatz Scottishness when Scotland has rich and diverse cultural forms that exist vigorously enough in reality.

Tom Buncle, then chief executive of the Scottish Tourist Board, quoted in an interview in *The Herald* (24 August 1998), argued that, for tourism at least, spurning images Scots consider kitsch would be a mistake. The article, by Robbie Dinwoodie said:

... research showed that creating a youthful, modern image — Cool Scotia, perhaps — actually worked quite well for attracting aspects of the market in England, but U.S. visitors were still lured by tartan, pipe bands and castles. Germans, on the other hand, are turned on by the Wagnerian gloom of bleak wildernesses, while the French are enthralled by Celtic romance and mystery with stylish overtones.

Some Scots may see tartan as fake or naff, but that is not the view abroad. ‘The Europeans see tartan as chic the Americans look on it

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<sup>49</sup> Maclean, Andrew. Circular to members (Scotland the Brand, 21 January, 1999).

as part of the history they don't have but yearn for,' said Mr Buncle. Values associated around the world with Scottishness include authenticity, quality, integrity and reliability. These can help both tourism and exports, but Mr Buncle says: 'Most people are sophisticated enough to know the difference between going on holiday in a place and doing business with that place.'<sup>50</sup>

The context of Buncle's comments was an argument against the Scottish Parliament's placing responsibility for tourism with a heritage department. Tourism is one of Scotland's biggest industries, accounting for estimated earnings of around £2.6 billion in 1997 (though a little less than this more recently) and supporting about 177,000 related jobs.<sup>51</sup> Placing tourism in heritage-based administrative structures (instead of retaining it as a part of the Industry Department), where links with culture and arts could have an impact on the way Scotland markets itself abroad, "could constrain the ability of the tourism industry to make use of some of the traditional images that strike a chord with potential visitors abroad." The story in *The Herald* reported:

'Tourism should be above politics. It is vital for the future of the Scottish economy, benefiting everywhere from Caithness to Kirkcudbright,' he said. Unlike other industries that are concentrated in one specific area, it gets to the parts others don't reach, with an economic and social impact that breathes new life into areas and keeps communities alive.' Mr Buncle said the advent of the new Parliament would bring a worldwide focus on Scotland that would kindle a rebirth and flowering of the arts, but he said there was a debate going on inside the industry on how to best achieve this. he was opposed to having a stand-alone tourism department with its own Minister and was against merging tourism with culture. The STB chief is concerned that a Ministry of Culture would lead to pressures to force on to tourism the modern image of Scotland that appeals to Scots, instead of the range of images that

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<sup>50</sup> Dunwoodie, Robbie. Interview with Tom Buncle (*The Herald*, 24 August, 1998).

<sup>51</sup> Scottish Office. Press release (6 October, 1998)

best sells abroad. 'We are not trying to create one single image,' he said. 'We must focus on what the customers want, how they perceive Scottishness.'<sup>52</sup>

Cathy Hurst at the Consulate General of the U.S. in Edinburgh put a similar view a little differently:

What I argue is, so what if Americans' image of Scotland is *Braveheart* or castles or the Loch Ness monster, or their own Scottish roots? If that's what makes them interested in coming here and going on holiday and spending their money, then great. The thing is, it's not as though they're going to get here and be let down. they're going to see some of those things because a lot of those things are true but they're also going to find out lots of other things like they're never going to have known before that Edinburgh's like one of the most international cities in Europe and the modern stuff about the trade relationship between the United States and Scotland or biotechnology or Silicon Glen. That's harder to sell and it's not so interesting to people but when they get here they'll find it out. then not only do they know this interesting historical stuff, but then they know the modern stuff too. But get them here with whatever gets them here.<sup>53</sup>

Scotland the Brand wants to shed none of the value the "traditional" elements offer Scotland, but identifies its strategy for the future largely in terms of "relocation":

As a nation keen to build on its current global standing, we believe that Scotland must:

Regain positive momentum, with entrepreneurial  
courage

Focus on current opportunities

Consciously exploit the virtues of a small but clever  
nation

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<sup>52</sup> Dunwoodie, Robbie. Interview with Tom Buncl (The Herald, 24 August, 1998).

<sup>53</sup> Cathy Hurst (principal officer, Consulate General of the United States, Edinburgh). Interview, 1 December, 1998.

Relocate in time as much as place  
Relocate in the mind of the world  
Promote the use of the Scotland Device as the  
distinctive mark of quality Scottish goods and  
services.<sup>54</sup>

A potential problem for Scotland was seen in reports shortly before Christmas 1999 that American advertisers with no Scottish connections were aggressively cashing in on North American affections for Scottishness. *The Sunday Times*<sup>55</sup> reported that tartanry was being used to sell Seagate Technology products, Tommy Hilfiger fashions, Eastman Kodak film, General Motors Pontiac Grand Prix cars and other products. In December 1998, *Vanity Fair* magazine used a picture of a kilted Ewan McGregor on its front cover and a pointer to the story "Hollywood gets ready for the crazy, sexy charm of Ewan McGregor".

Allen Adamson, the managing director of Landor Associates' New York office — part of the Young and Rubicam advertising agency — was quoted as explaining American advertisers' fondness for things Scottish in terms of partly Hollywood impacts — including the Scottish wedding scene in the movie *Four Weddings and a Funeral* with Andie MacDowell — but also as a result of Americans having become increasingly accepting of things foreign and the need for advertisers to differentiate their products, He said:

It's not so long ago that Americans would have treated any non-American accent in a commercial with hostility and suspicion. It was considered foreign and funny. Now Americans are as happy watching a British sitcom as an American one. They have

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<sup>54</sup> Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk/about-futurestrategy.asp> (26 January, 2001).

<sup>55</sup> Bowditch, Gillian. "Kilt power turns on US" (*The Sunday Times*, Ecosse section, 13 December, 1999). p. 2.

embraced globalisation. That would have been impossible ten years ago.<sup>56</sup>

The Scottish accent, he said (not specifying which one he meant), was seen as “sophisticated, approachable and trustworthy”. It was therefore a useful differentiation device. But, Allen Adamson warned, “the trick for advertisers is to be on the building side of the trend. The overused trend won’t help differentiate their brand.<sup>57</sup> Without looking at sales figures, however, it is difficult to identify exactly what constitutes “overuse”. For years, American businesses have been using Scottish imagery to differentiate and promote their own products, as the following artwork from the late 1940s shows:



ILLUSTRATION (3): Examples of “Scottish” imagery used by American advertisers in the 1940s (from left to right) to sell lettuces, oranges and shoes —all American-produced.

In discussing Scotland the Brand’s imaging project and tourism, A.V. Seaton of the Scottish Hotel School at Strathclyde University and Brian Hay, head of research at the Scottish Tourist Board, observed that:

Every so often a great head of steam arises among progressive commentators, clamouring for Scotland to abandon its tartan/jock/bagpipes/moor and heather image and develop a more

<sup>56</sup> Bowditch, Gillian. “Kilt power turns on US” (*The Sunday Times*, Ecosse section, 13 December, 1999). p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Bowditch, Gillian. “Kilt power turns on US” (*The Sunday Times*, Ecosse section, 13 December, 1999). p. 2.



updated, twentieth-century image. This fails to recognise that Scotland's traditional (if mythical) attributes constitute a unique form of competitive differentiation, particularly for overseas and English visitors, which other destinations in Europe look upon with envy. Though there are valid reasons for augmenting this image with newer associations, particularly in city destinations such as Glasgow and other post industrial towns, to destroy a broader national image which has been forged over two centuries would be an act of tourism suicide.<sup>58</sup>

The advertising industry refers to a brand's "heritage", using the word to identify the baggage a brand carries with it from the past. That baggage may be a liability, or it may have a lot to do with the brand's success. Tartan, for example, is attractive for the reasons that it can be designed in endless variations of colour, has a history of having been immediately identified in many parts of the world as distinctively Scottish and, in one of its manifestations or another, can be imagined having the capacity to help package almost any product you can think of. Tartan may be less helpful, though, if it is perceived as being anachronistic, if other people use a similar tartan badly to sell an inferior product or, if as appears to be happening, its particular association with Scotland is being seriously eroded.<sup>59</sup> A business selling its wares is concerned about the potency of an image's capacity to give positive product differentiation, competitive positioning and identity. But, in this regard, an important issue becomes the extent to which that business can exert unique control over the icon that is chosen: a business is not helped where others can compromise its branding messages.

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<sup>58</sup> Seaton, A.V., and Hay, Brian. "The marketing of Scotland as a tourist destination, 1985-96" in: MacLellan, Rory, and Smith, Ronnie (eds). *Tourism in Scotland* (International Thomson Business Press, 1998). p. 234-235.

<sup>59</sup> See Chapter 5 (Case Study 3): *Tartan*.

Where imagery is integral to a successful brand, it is not lightly altered or discarded. As Kevin Lane Keller points out, many brands that were market leaders in Britain in 1933 remain strong today: Hovis bread, Stork margarine, Kellogg's cornflakes, Cadbury's chocolate, Gillette razors, Schweppes mixers, Brooke Bond tea, Colgate toothpaste, Hoover vacuum cleaners.<sup>60</sup> What is remarkable about many such brands is how conservative they have been. If we look at packaging from the 1930s<sup>61</sup>, for example, we find striking resemblances to packaging used at the end of the 20th century: Quaker Oats, Nivea Creme, Monopoly game sets, Nescafé coffee, Robinson's Lemon and Barley Water, Huntley & Palmer biscuits, Heinz baked beans, McEwan's beers, Fry's cocoa. The 1930s Lyle's Golden Syrup tin looks identical to its 1990s counterpart. So do Lea and Perrins Worcester Sauce bottles, Brasso metal polish and Kiwi boot and shoe polish tins. The reason for this conservatism is not to save money on re-designs: the branding endures because it continues to work. It makes money. There are many other examples and some of the big brand leaders have long histories. Schweppes, for example, originated in Geneva in 1783 with the business of a mineral water merchant, Jacob Schweppe. Cadbury's can be traced back to a John Cadbury who began selling tea and coffee in 1824 in Birmingham. Cocoa and chocolate were originally minor sidelines. The two brands came together in 1969 as Cadbury Schweppes plc which has since expanded considerably, buying up other successful brands including Canada Dry, rights to the Sunkist brand, Chocolat Poulain and Bouquet d'Or in France, Bassett and Trebor in the Britain, Dr Pepper/Seven-Up and A&W Brands in the United States and a number of other soft drink and confectionery interests around the world, in Europe, North

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<sup>60</sup> Keller, Kevin Lane. *Strategic Brand Management – building, measuring, and managing brand equity* (Prentice Hall, 1998). p. 21-22.

<sup>61</sup> Opie, Robert. *The 1930s Scrapbook* (New Cavendish, 1997).

America, the Middle East and North Africa. In 1997, the group sold its 51 per cent interest in Coca-Cola & Schweppes Beverages.<sup>62</sup> Colman's mustard originated in 1804, also as a one-man business. It merged with Reckitt and Sons in 1938 and went on to become the giant multinational Reckitt & Colman. In 1995, Colman's was bought by Unilever. The tins still feature medals awarded at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1878.<sup>63</sup> Kodak originated in 1888, Coca Cola in 1886. Brands have become assets that may have migrated from their origins but stuck to their publics.

That, of course, is not to say that the public has not changed: a person of today does not attach the meaning to a bottle of Coca Cola that his of her great grandparents did. But, although the brand's context has shifted with the years, the brand has not needed to change, only to adapt. Slogans, for example, have been adjusted, especially since the 1960s, towards less and less specific evocations: "delicious and refreshing" (1900), "the pause that refreshes" (1929), "things go better with Coke" (1960s), "it's the real thing" (1970s), "Coke is It" (1980s), "Always" (1990s).<sup>64</sup>

In the face of such examples, cases for and against Scotland attempting to change the imagery associated with it need to be very carefully considered. A productive place for Scotland to begin might well be to reassess with an open mind the value of some of the imagery that has long been powerfully associated with Scotland, consider the relative values of new imagery that might be associated with Scotland and to look for wider expressions of Scottish

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<sup>62</sup> Cadbury Schweppes plc. <http://www.cadburyschweppes.com/about/index> (23 February 1999).

<sup>63</sup> Rubio, James. *The Unofficial Colman's Mustard Website*. <http://mustard.cjb.net/> (22 February, 1999).

<sup>64</sup> Myers, Greg. *Ad Worlds* (Arnold, 1999). p. 7.

“heritage” than those studied by McCrone and his colleagues<sup>65</sup>, including areas of culture and identity that are felt, owned and articulated by a wider band of Scots and represented by a wider band of “Scottish” commercial product. Alongside the life members of the National Trust for Scotland, identified by McCrone and his co-authors, we have the Tartan Army — heritage enthusiasts surely. We also have Scots professionally involved in “heritage” as artists of all sorts, academics and educators, business people — and a good many “ordinary” Scots who are pleased to “own” their Scottishness in less deliberate ways. Narrow definitions are as unhelpful to an understanding of the equity represented by Scotland’s international profile as a failure to understand what is happening to accepted icons. The National Trust for Scotland stands alongside Historic Scotland and Scottish Heritage as a curator of what is largely artifactual culture in the form of old buildings and historic sites. The Scotland represented is essentially a depopulated, static Scotland: an assemblage of disused estates, palaces and castles — the residues, one might say, of rarely lamented oligarchs. Out of this sort of focus has grown a rapidly proliferated heritage industry based around interpretive and visitor centres and the often rather awkward performance phenomena offered by “re-enactment” and period music or theatrical groups.

In the face of this, it is an understandable desire, as well as a compelling commercial need, to let the world know that Scotland is indeed at the leading edge of biotechnology, electronic information systems development, innovation in engineering and applied science, but this leading “edge” is a wide one, well-populated by innovators in a host of countries, some of them with larger, better capitalised industries and marketing structures. Unless Scotland

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<sup>65</sup> McCrone, David, Morris, Angela and Kiely, Richard. *Scotland — the Brand* (Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

can positively differentiate itself in these markets — as it can in other market sectors — Scotland risks being merely a “me too” presence.

The crux of the matter is that those who would market Scotland in their various ways have yet to find a collective imagination — not a consensus about what Scotland is or a collective proclamation or even a shared vision — but a collective imagination. It is not an appropriate task for an organisation providing services to subscriber-members who make up 7-8 per cent of the exporting community, but for the enterprise, exporting and cultural community as a whole. But Scotland the Brand has not been alone in seeking to represent a simplified, cohesive trans-sectoral “Scottishness” rather than seek creative uses of all of the resources that are at hand. Scotland the Brand’s Project Galore report asked the questions:

- How do we address the need to increase recognition of the fact that Scotland is a progressive, contemporary and successful country and, in so doing, diminish the negative effects of the “time warp” factor so clearly revealed in Galore, while retaining the positive perceptions arising out of what the world sees as our “timeless traditions, rich heritage, historic landscape” and those “values” others have lost through commercial development and modernisation?
- How do we continue to reap the benefits offered by “Scott’s traditional image of Scotland” and those positive perceptions associated with and arising out of our past, while instilling an awareness of the inherent vitality and strength within our contemporary culture as well as the value and influence it has to the outside world?<sup>66</sup>

The questions make it clear that representations of Scottishness have yet to discover a diversely populated society and a lively congregation of cultures,

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<sup>66</sup> Project Galore Report (short version, downloaded from Scotland the Brand.

<http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001). p. 11.

futuristic and anachronistic (were that the point), and that there is no need for one concept to exclude another. Nothing speaks of “progressive, contemporary and successful” more than diversity, paradox, energy, creativity and even a little conceptual chaos; it is even possible that nothing could speak more eloquently of Scotland: a view to which this study returns in later chapters.

At this point, allow food — a notably diverse and creative sector — to provide an example. As food writer Catherine Brown has shown, Scotland is well endowed with foods that have particular regional associations, historical or contemporary.<sup>67</sup> Shetland whipcol, reestit mutton and sasser maet; old-cure Ayrshire bacon; Islay beef (fed largely on distillery mashings); Scots Lenten pancakes or bannocks; Aberdeen rowies (butteries) and Forfar Bridies... Angus and Fife’s recently established raspberry varieties, Glasgow’s lost heritage of the Scottish tearoom; Scottish-Italian ice-cream; olden apple varieties... each dish has a story, each has particular attributes.

Taste of Scotland rightly promotes the excellence of contemporary Scottish produce and cuisine at their best but, in doing so, is inclined to sacrifice the links of particular dishes with their histories and with the communities that developed them. Severed from these narratives, Scottish cuisine loses much of its interesting particularity. Thus, in an article on Taste of Scotland’s website, *Scottish Field* editor Archie Mackenzie writes:

In recent years the term Scotland's Larder has become very user friendly and is frequently employed in references to the wonderful produce of Scotland. And if you think about it the natural larder of

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<sup>67</sup> See: Brown, Catherine. *Scottish Regional Recipes* (The Molendinar Press, 1981); Brown, Catherine. *Feeding Scotland* (National Museums of Scotland, 1996); Brown, Catherine. *A Year in A Scots Kitchen* (Neil Wilson, 1996); Hope, Annette. *A Caledonian Feast* (Grafton, 1989); Taste of Scotland. <http://www.taste-of-scotland.com> (15 December 2000); Whyte, Hamish, and Brown, Catherine. *A Scottish Feast: an anthology of food and eating* (Argyll Press, 1996).

the country is unique in that it is able to produce such a variety of food from the land and from the sea.

Where else would you be able to sit down to lunch or dinner and choose from a menu with best Aberdeen Angus beef, with succulent venison fresh from the high tops of the highlands, grouse, hare and of course mutton and lamb - of the highest quality? The abundance of seafood dishes now gracing menus gives an indication of the wonderful harvest produced around our shores and from our lochs and rivers.

Wherever you travel in Scotland the opportunity exists to sample the local delicacies — Arbroath smokies, Lochfyne kippers, Forfar Bridies, Selkirk bannocks, Orkney cheese, Islay cheese, Galloway cheese, Dundee cake, Moffat toffee etc. etc.

The culinary skills of the men and women of the country in producing home baked scones, pancakes, shortbread et al. is second to none. If you have ever been to one of the local country shows and observed the mountains of baking, jams and preserves on display you will know exactly what I mean.

Perhaps one of the most important ingredients of the Scottish larder is whisky...<sup>68</sup>

There is a recognition of regional diversity here, but also a possibly unconscious (but nonetheless revealing) segregation of dishes that rallies one set of prestige foods under the Saltire while leaving other, praised but less elevated items on the trestle tables at country fairs. This kind of segmentation, while facilitating the commendable, standards-elevating promotional work undertaken by Taste of Scotland, contributes to a climate in which far too little of our culinary diversity and regionality (and history) is known, displayed or celebrated as it should. Regional specialities are not, as a rule, put boldly and prominently forward in their own regions. The point being made here is that 'Scottish cuisine' is a recent and syncretist construct, and not always helpful in

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<sup>68</sup> Mackenzie, Archie. *Promoting Scotland's Quality Cuisine* at Taste of Scotland website: <http://www.taste-of-scotland.com/cuisine.html> (15 December 2000).

its present articulation. We can be much more regional in our view, broader and more self confident. Amanda J Clark, chief executive of Taste of Scotland identified her organisation's priorities on its website homepage:

There has never been a more exciting time to be working in the Scottish hospitality industry. There is a clear understanding by the Scottish Executive and the Public Agencies of the importance of quality food in Scotland and the role that this plays in tourism, and this recognition is vital in taking the industry forward and encouraging excellence. Taste of Scotland has always been committed to a quality experience and it is heartening to see that our Taste of Scotland establishments are growing in number and in quality each year.<sup>69</sup>

Although it would require research, care and a little targeted support, it would not be overly difficult, one might think, for Taste of Scotland to introduce to its criteria for commendation that of excellence in the presentation of selected menu options that reflected purely local or regional traditional dishes. There is scope for the simplest of dishes to be presented superbly. There would be no loss of "Scottishness" in such an exercise, but rather a gain.

## CONCLUSIONS

SCOTLAND has worked hard to increase exports from 1995 but has not used its identity as well as it might have done. There is a feeling that Scotland is stuck between trying to shake off old icons that are potent identifiers and trying to turn the complexity and diversity of Scotland into a "brand", when it is arguable whether a brand is desirable, or can add significant value over and above a country-of-origin statement when it is accompanied by the sorts of associated promotional activities that Scotland the Brand has undertaken.

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<sup>69</sup> Clark, Amanda J. *Welcome to the 2001 Edition of the Taste of Scotland website*, at: <http://www.taste-of-scotland.com/index.html> (15 December 2000).



The dilemma is, in fact, false. Icons can be reinvigorated and refreshed, or encouraged to fade and die, but an inter-cultural approach is needed to add the extra dimensionality that is required: icons, logos, accreditations or CODs are essentially inert and two-dimensional. Their interpretations are in the mind of the beholder.

Jonas Ridderstråle, author of *Funky Business*, speaks of corporate organisational “tribes” with strong “cultures” built around “values”, and the involvement of emotion, ethics and aesthetics, feelings and fantasy:

The tribes of the world just are not what they used to be! We all grew up in a world where geography mattered and proximity ruled. Sixty years ago, if you were born in Aberdeen, there was a great likelihood that you would grow up, go to school, get your first job, buy a house and start a family in Aberdeen. The tribes of yesterday were geographically structured: Russians, Scots, Americans and Germans. The new tribes are biographically structured: hip-hoppers, homosexuals, Hell’s Angels, Hare-Krishna, Amnesty International, Greenpeace and the People’s Republic of Britney Spears, etc. These are global biographical tribes where people actually believe they have something in common, no matter where they were born. In this weird, wild, wired world, our tribe is no longer determined by chance but by choice. In an excess economy with literally thousands of options for consumers, companies must realise that appealing to these global niches is the route to riches.<sup>70</sup>

You don’t have biographies without lives. Scotland’s international identifiers need new lives, new biographies, and that will require people. A focus on culture, rather than on country, would give Scotland a far better chance of communicating with some of these “tribes” as Ridderstråle characterises them. The cultures of Scotland offer those marketing Scotland a way forward: this is

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<sup>70</sup> Ridderstråle, Jonas. “Tribes ‘R’ us” (*Sunday Herald* — “first person”, 22 October, 2000). p.3.

where Scotland's lives and its imaginations lie, and its richest resources for international differentiation.

Where culture is attended to, and representations of Scottishness as diversity are brought forward, the result is no less Scottish. Rather, the result will be a shift that non-Scottish users of Scottish iconography will be able to follow only with extreme difficulty. Scottishness will be given a greater international authenticity and integrity, and displayed as being more interesting, creative and innovative than it ever has in the past. Inter-cultural marketing and promotional strategies would undoubtedly help to accelerate the spread of such perceptions.

### 3. DIFFERENTIATING SCOTLAND

THE 19TH CENTURY saw turbulent change on a global scale: by 1900, all but the most remote of the world's populations had experienced some contact with the rapidly industrialising, hegemonic, "civilising" and economically expansionist West. In Britain's case, new markets were opened or (as in the case of China) forced open; newly available resources from the Empire and New World, fed into newly developed bulk-processing and manufacturing technologies, produced new concentrations of wealth and power. Within the West, new ideas about society itself were being propagated. Working and middle classes emerged as clearly defined groups.

Within Britain, industrialisation transformed landscapes and lives, not least in Scotland. Between 1830 and 1844, for example, iron production in Scotland leapt from 40,000 to 412,000 tons a year.<sup>1</sup> Railways replaced recently-built canals and new roads opened previously isolated areas of Scotland. In 1800, 17 per cent of Scotland's population lived in towns of more than 10,000; by 1900, the figure was 50 per cent.<sup>2</sup> The regionalisation, nationalisation and internationalisation of markets that accompanied industrial growth and expanding world trade, and the concentration of populations through urbanisation, made it increasingly difficult for small producers to quietly get on with serving purely local markets. Competitive selling necessarily became a

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<sup>1</sup> Lynch, Michael. *Scotland: a New History* (Pimlico, 1992). p. 406-410.

<sup>2</sup> Lynch, Michael. *Scotland: a New History* (Pimlico, 1992). p. 411.

business norm and, as improved sales techniques became increasingly important to business survival, so they began to become more sophisticated.

In 1853, advertisement duty, which had been levied at a flat rate per advertisement since 1712, was abolished.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, in 1855, newspaper stamp duty was also abolished. Advertising and newspaper industries at once flourished hand in hand throughout Britain, along with widening consumer choices at all levels of society. Observes British advertising historian T. R. Nevett:

By the 1880s, rising incomes were reflected in advertisements for sets of furniture offered on credit terms, ready-to-wear clothes for men, and paper patterns and sewing machines for women. The beginning of the twentieth century was to see the popular dailies carrying announcements for cigarettes, sweets and large-scale retailers (notably carpet and menswear shops, and department stores). Railway excursions also seem to have been growing in popularity.<sup>4</sup>

Wilder, newly accessible areas to the north of Scotland caught the imagination of growing numbers of well-heeled travellers, and tourism began to establish itself in the Scottish economy. A. V. Seaton dates the origins of tourism in Scotland to a period between about 1770 and 1830, then: "From mid-century [the 19th], the flow of tourists from England to Scotland increased steadily as access became easier and by the 1890s three major railway companies were competing on routes between London and Scotland."<sup>5</sup> The ideological bases of

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<sup>3</sup> In 1712, the first year of the advertisement duty, the British Government collected £1,023 from 20,460 ads; in 1848 it raised £142,674/2/0d from 1,902,322 ads.

— Nevett, T. R. *Advertising in Britain, A History* (Heinemann, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> Nevett, T. R. *Advertising in Britain, A History* (Heinemann, 1982). p. 68-69.

<sup>5</sup> Seaton, A. V. "The history of tourism in Scotland: approaches, sources and issues" in: MacLellan, Rory, and Smith, Ronnie (eds). *Tourism in Scotland* (International Thomson Business Press, 1998). p. 8.

tourism development, Seaton states, were new tastes for the picturesque, the sublime and the Gothic, Romanticism, the Enlightenment and “Balmorality”: the highly influential romantic interest shown in Scotland (and John Brown) by Queen Victoria, through which the ragtag “rebels” of the early 18th century were confirmed as exemplars of dogged loyalty by the mid 19th century.

Queen Victoria, who ruled 1837-1901, remains an imposing figure in the formation of modern Scotland’s reputation and identity, fully as significant as Sir Walter Scott had been in the time of her grandfather, George III. She stood for much more than monarchy. She defined “Britishness” as well as “Englishness” and uniquely personified the idea, ideals and realities of “British Empire” and many of what were seen as the British accomplishments of the age. What is more, she was popular. “Empire” was popular. Concepts and expressions of “Empire” came to provide some of the most pervasive organising forces for people’s personal and collective options and activities (and their consequences) in Britain, from education and religion to military enlistment, trade and politics. The boundaries experienced by most people in Britain found new dimensions. Down mines, men toiled to feed industry’s furnaces to maintain economic growth on an imperial, no longer local, scale; university graduates became colonial administrators many thousands of miles away from home; immigrants took jobs in Scottish factories while Scottish emigrants pioneered new homes in distant colonies. Scottish soldiers died and lie buried in parts of the world that had previously been unheard of. Military and colonial heroes were vigorously celebrated in art and poetry: uncompromising images of glorious military valour, like those of Piper Kenneth Mackay playing his pipes outside the square of the 79th Cameron Highlanders at Waterloo, the charge of the Royal Scots Greys at Waterloo or the Scots Guards saving the colours at the Battle of Alma, were widely known and appreciated. The Victoria Cross was instituted by Royal Warrant in 1856

as Britain's highest award for bravery, but made retrospective to the autumn of 1854 to cover the period of the Crimean War. By the end of 1900, 66 Scottish soldiers had won Victoria Crosses; Scottish regiments fought in all of the big Napoleonic, imperial and Crimean campaigns as well as in lesser conflicts.<sup>6</sup>

For poor and wealthy alike, in Scotland as in other parts of Britain, the influences and consequences of Empire were inescapable. In the later part of the century, whether in retrospect they are seen as having been the beneficiaries or the victims of Empire, in their own homes many people treasured images and memorabilia of Queen Victoria and her many imperial heroes: Florence Nightingale, David Livingstone, General Gordon, Lord Kitchener, William Gladstone, Ensign Ewart ... a Scot or two among them. At the end of the 19th century, Britain was the land of "hope and glory", one of the world's most powerful nations, possessed of an empire on which the sun never set. All of it, and the welter of emotions that went with it, was personified in the severe but maternal form of Queen Victoria.

In an essentially prosperous and self-confident late 19th century Britain, merchants, manufacturers and shop keepers struck ostentatiously patriotic poses to help sell their wares: images of Britannia and John Bull signified a great, determined and powerful Britain; representations of Queen Victoria and, less frequently, of other members of the Royal family added imperial kudos to labels and advertising materials. In the 1870s, for example, Clarke Wilson & Co. of Glasgow, like other cloth merchants, was stitching labels carrying a full length portrait of Queen Victoria onto bales of product. By the end of Queen Victoria's reign, 1,080 firms supplying the Royal household had been given the entitlement to use the Royal coat of arms: a coveted advertising asset in the pursuit of which manufacturers would thrust samples of their wares into the

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<sup>6</sup> Henderson, Diana M. *The Scottish Regiments* (Harper/Collins, 1993).

hands of Royal visitors to the great trade fairs of the 1890s.<sup>7</sup> There was “Kitchener” stove polish, “Captain Webb” matches (Captain Webb swam the English Channel in 21 hours 45 minutes in August 1875) and “Grace Darling” chocolates and pen nibs. Pattisons’ Whisky (Pattisons, Ltd, Highland Distillers, Ballindalloch, Leith and London) ran a magazine advertisement in 1897 showing plumed British field cavalry officers taking drams across a drumhead in the shadow of a field gun and Union Flag. The whisky, it proclaimed, was “in general use ... a commanding spirit finds its way to the front.” The same copy writer must have worked on the brand’s labels which displayed the bow wave and business end of a battleship. The whisky, the label declared, “like a British ironclad, is at home in all waters”. Ironclad warships were used to sell products ranging from rolled ox tongues to tacks, tobacco and shoelaces. An early piece of Scottish-ism is found in an intriguing 1893 magazine advertisement for John Robertson and Son’s “Dundee Whisky”. A bearded, bonneted and tartan-swathed Highlander sits amidst darkness, ice and snow at the North Pole with a half-empty bottle of whisky before him and a glass in his hand. The caption explains it:

Discovery of the North Pole. The proverbial Scotchman seated thereon. Dr N— (*loquitur*). ‘Hiloo Scotty! you here already, and all alone?’

‘Ou’ay. I’ve J.R.D. wi’ me, and ye ken ‘a goot man and a goot whisky is goot company’.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The history of British advertising and packaging has been uniquely studied by Robert Opie who started a collection of promotional material in 1963 at the age of 16. A part of his collection of more than 5000,000 items is displayed at the Museum of Advertising and Packaging in Gloucester. Unless otherwise noted, the examples described here are from his book:

Opie, Robert. *Rule Britannia, trading on the British image* (Viking Books, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> Opie, Robert. *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Viking Books, 1985).

The mood continued into the early 20th century, with marketing imagery that identified with the heroic, the powerful, the landed gentry and the wealthy. In 1905, Sanderson and Morrison of Leith were selling "The Baden-Powell Scottish Whisky". Wyllie, Barr & Ross of Glasgow adorned their "Hostess Sultana" cake tins in the early part of the 20th century with the Royal Standard and Union Flag. Lambert Bros, Edinburgh, used a very similar design for its McEwan's "Pale India Ale" labels and a collection of standards gave status to Turnbull's "Standard Scotch Whisky" from Hawick. The Union Flag featured only slightly less stridently on showcards for Edinburgh-based Mackenzie and Mackenzie "Boy Scout Biscuits". In prominently flying the Union Flag, the Scottish companies were simply expressing variations on a theme and sentiments that seem to have been strong throughout Britain.

Typically in late 19th and early 20th century advertising in Britain, wherever kilted Scots appear, they represent expressions of Unionism and Empire under the British flag. An 1880 poster for Cope's tobaccos and an 1890 magazine insert for "Page Woodcock's Wind Pills", for example, both show kilted, bonneted Highlanders prominently scrambling in the midst of multicultural mobs for the benefits of the advertised products. More specifically United Kingdom symbolism is apparent elsewhere, as in an 1895 magazine insert for W. A. Ross's "Royal Belfast" Pale Dry Ginger Ales. There, a bonneted Highlander, plaid streaming, runs down an outline map of Britain to join John Bull and an Irish colleen who clink glasses across the Irish Sea. Another W. A. Ross and Sons magazine insert of the same period showed John Bull, an Irishman and a Highlander dancing atop a world globe.

The Highland hunting excursion made an appearance in late 19th century advertising. Around 1895, for example, Mitchell and Muil of Aberdeen were using handsomely moustached gentlemen in tweed plus-fours and ladies in



tartan skirts to sell biscuits — a showcard depicts a not very jolly picnic by a river during a pause in the hunt which is represented obliquely, by the presence of three shotguns. Henry Spencer and Co. of Whitehaven across the border was bolder: in a showcard of the same era for “The Cream of the Highlands ‘Spencers’ Noted Scotch Whiskey” (sic), another riverside picnic is depicted. Four men in full Highland dress raise glasses; dead beside them lies a bullet-holed and bleeding stag. In the background, one ghillie minds the dogs and another tends a garron. Beside and around the four stout drinkers there are no fewer than seven bottles and five kegs of whisky.<sup>9</sup>

ALTHOUGH they were in essence rarely more than a variation on an emphatic theme of Britishness and Empire, these early representations of Scotland and Scots in advertising introduced many of the images that were being associated with “Scottishness” in the late 20th century. Fifty years and two World Wars after most of the above examples were on shop shelves, however, times had changed. The striking difference in advertising was qualitative: a much more assertive Scottishness had replaced the British bombast, and imperial fervour became an often nonspecific nostalgia. Stags became less likely to be represented with bullet holes, the soldiers had mostly gone, the Balmorality had softened and Empire had lost its lustre. Tartan and Highland romance (both very Victorian), however, endured.

In the years after the Second World War, marketing became progressively — and considerably — more sophisticated. Looking at more modern advertising and packaging materials that identify the Scottish identity or origins of their products, it is clear that new attitudes towards and within Scotland have emerged. The ephemera collection at the National Library of Scotland includes

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<sup>9</sup> Opie, Robert. *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Viking Books, 1985).

(at the time of writing) some 40 file boxes of material relating to manufactured products: a sampling of point-of-sale packaging and promotional materials collected in Scotland, mostly from 1987. Within this sampling, Scottish producers are represented to an extent that indicates something of their thinking.

Made particularly clear is the extent to which retailing in Scotland has become internationalised. Even where specifically Scottish products such as whisky, oatcakes and shortbread are concerned, Scotland's manufacturers are contesting the market in Scotland, as well as abroad, against overseas producers. In domestic as well as overseas markets, many saw advantages in declaring the Scottishness of their product. Trade associations began promoting not only the Scottishness of Scottish lamb, beef, pork, fish, shellfish, eggs and other meat and produce but also adding assurances of quality. Recipe brochures complementing other promotional materials, encouraged people to cook and prepare foods in ways and to standards that obviously had premium and luxury markets in mind. The Scotch Quality Lamb Association was set up in 1967. Then, in 1974, the "Scotch Beef" function was added to form the Scotch Quality Beef and Lamb Association Limited (SQBLA). Funded by voluntary levies from Scottish farmers and the Meat and Livestock Commission, the SQBLA has always had as its objectives the differentiation of Scotch beef and lamb in target markets, the development of sales at premium prices and the promotion of "Specially Selected Scotch" beef and lamb as quality products. Scottish Food Quality Certification Ltd is an independent organisation responsible for policing and administering Specially Selected Scotch Beef and Lamb's quality assurance programme — the first food and farming certification body in Europe to be awarded EN45011 status, adopted by the EU as the yardstick for food certification schemes. The qualities of 'Specially Selected Scotch Beef' and 'Lamb' are protected under EC regulation

2018/92 for Products of Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). The PGI label underwrites the production, processing and preparation of ‘Specially Selected Beef and Lamb’; ‘Specially Selected Scotch Beef’ and ‘Lamb’ carry the stamp of assurance from the farm of origin to the point of consumption. The SQBLA has developed networks of partners across all sectors of the meat trade including 7,000 farmers, 30 livestock auction markets, 22 meat plants, more than 2,000 independent butchers and almost 200 high quality restaurants.<sup>10</sup>

“By Appointment” to royalty still had cachet for some Scottish producers at the end of the 20th century. Food producers Baxter’s, Robertson’s, tea merchant Melrose Ltd of Edinburgh, whisky blender Hill Thomson and Co. Ltd of Edinburgh. Wm Low and Co. of Dundee (on their Arbroath plain haddock fillet packaging c. 1994, for example) and specialist curers R. R. Spink were among those Scottish businesses still proud of their British “Royal Appointment” entitlements in the late 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>11</sup> It was the King of Sweden who vouched for the likes of “Doctor’s Special” whisky blended by Robert Macnish and Co. Ltd of Glasgow — “The aristocrat of Scotch whiskies” — and for the “Highland Queen” blend from MacDonald and Muir Ltd, Leith. Highland Queen also had Danish royal appointment blazons, and its label featured a representation of Mary, Queen of Scots, on a white horse and a belted document seal with a tartan ribbon. Royal associations were also evoked, as in the 1988 Christmas “Royal Highland Selection” promoted by Lochinvar Smoked Scottish Salmon. Whisky firms in this period seem to have been keener than most to lend as much aristocratic cachet as possible to their

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<sup>10</sup> Scottish Quality Beef and Lamb Association. <http://www.sqbla.org.uk> (17 January, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> National Library of Scotland. Ephemera collection, Ep.2 material.

drams, doing it with heraldry and mock heraldry where other imagery was not to hand.

By the late 1980s, tartan was being more widely associated with foods<sup>12</sup> — even with Wilson and Sons (Dundee) Ltd's dog meal<sup>13</sup>. Sometimes, the tartan was being given a context. H. J Errington and Company of Carnwath, Lanarkshire, for example, were helping to sell their cheeses with a drawing of a tartan-skirted, barefoot farm girl with a wooden cheese mould poised on her head. Organic Meat and Products (Scotland) of Newburgh, Fire, put a kilted cartoon character in a chef's hat on the front of a brochure produced around this time.<sup>14</sup> James Marshall (Glasgow) was using tartan on macaroni packages and, though tartan featured on packages of Wm Brock and Son Ltd (Thornliebank) "Great Scot Scotch Broth Mixture", the packet advised that the contents were the "produce of many countries".<sup>15</sup> The packaging for Irvine Industries Ltd's "Scottish Tartan Salt" assured customers that the salt was "suitable for porridge, haggis and Scotch broth"<sup>16</sup>. Safeway and Sainsbury's stores were joining Scottish producers like Simmers of Hatton, Aberdeenshire, in using tartan on oatcake and shortbread packaging.

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<sup>12</sup> This is evidenced in the National Library of Scotland's 'ephemera' collection, Ep. 2a and 2 boxes, for example on a range of baked goods from companies such as Walkers, Baxter's of Fochaber, Campbell's of Callander, Simmer's of Hatton and A. J. Miller of Newdeer, Aberdeenshire, and Paterson's, preserves from Robertson's, Caboc double cream cheese, Forth Valley Foods Ltd's "Highlander" potato crisps ("the crisp o' the clans"), haggis from producers such as the Laird's Larder and Crombie and Son (Edinburgh), confectionery from Alex Ferguson, etc.

— National Library of Scotland. Ephemera' collection, Ep.2 material.

<sup>13</sup> National Library of Scotland. Ephemera collection, Ep.2 material.

<sup>14</sup> National Library of Scotland. Ephemera collection, Ep.2 material..

<sup>15</sup> National Library of Scotland. Ephemera collection, Ep.2 material.

<sup>16</sup> National Library of Scotland. Ephemera collection, Ep.2 material.

The castle-loch-hills image appear with some regularity, as on a 1994 recipes brochure for "Scottish Highland Venison", various mineral water labels and Matthew Algie and Co. (Glasgow) "Scottish Choice" tea-bag packages. Sometimes this use of the picturesque suggests local scenes: the Clyde Valley in autumn, for example, is suggested by the artwork on Homestead Scottish Farm eggs material, Fife' Creamery's pastoral scene on butter packaging, or a seascape of sunset over distant hills (suggestive at least of the Cuillins) on the label of Glasgow-based Ian MacLeod and Co. Ltd's "Isle of Skye" blended whisky. Specific localisation of scenic icons is seen in the use of Orkney's Old Man of Hoy as an identifying logo by the Orkney Islands Oatcake Company and the standing stones of the Ring of Brogar by Orkney Cheese, and in the use of an illustration of Stromness on labels for Stromness-based Crystal Clear Products' lemonade. Mills and distillers often used images of their own production facility, but in a way suggesting times past.

Some products have similarly romanticised the labour of bygone days. Loch Fyne Oysters Ltd used an image of a fisherwoman with a creel and basket of oysters, while a bearded fisherman holds a creel of fish on Swankies of Arbroath's packaging. R. R. Spink and Sons' fisherwoman (on an order brochure) smokes fish. A related figure seems to be the bonneted, windblown helmsman who appears on the Bunnahabhain single malt whisky label. Errington's farm girl (above) is another period worker. On their Centenary 1995 "Bran Oatcakes", Paterson's used a picture of a horse-drawn baker's van.

Thistles are used by the Scottish Tourist Board, the Scotch Quality Beef and Lamb Association Ltd, Scottish Quality Trout, Scottish Quality Pork, Laird's Larder of Thornliebank (along with other wild flowers), the Caledonian Smokehouse Co., John Crabbe and Co (on a cooking with "Green Ginger

Wine” brochure), “Safeway Scottish Porridge Oats” and on some Scottish sourced Sainsbury’s product

Stags appear of various products: the exceptionally successful Glenfiddich single malt whisky, A. J. Miller’s Battenberg cake, Argyll Frosted Foods Ltd product packaging, “Scottish Gourmet Crail’s Catch” salmon (a frozen meal of salmon and prawns “gently cooked with onions, mushrooms, tomatoes and herbs in a crisp silver birch wine of the Highland Wineries, seasoned with grain mustard from the Isle of Arran and finished with fresh cream”. Meikles of Scotland, Newtonmore, were using Rennie MacIntosh style logo and typography to sell “Stag’s Breath Liqueur”, the name borrowed from Compton McKenzie’s *Whisky Galore*.

As well as being recruited to market Drambuie, the whisky-based liqueur said to have originated from a recipe brought to Scotland in 1745, Bonnie Prince Charlie appears from time to time. A second label on bottles of “Isle of Skye” whisky blended by Ian MacLeod and Co. Ltd of Edinburgh was, at least in the mid-1980s, declaring that “Skyemen to-day are proud of their ancestors ‘who fought and died for Charlie’.” The “Highland warrior” image appeared in a stylised way on D. & J. Mc Callum Ltd’s whisky labels, and (much more aggressively) on crisp packets from Highlander Snacks Ltd, Bathgate.

One might assume that the Scottishness apparent in these more recent images arose from heightened nationalistic sentiments within Scotland but there is good reason to suspect that external forces were at play. Many of the images may have been shaped, at least in part, by what others expected Scotland to be: a reflection of advertisers’ and packagers’ conscious or subconscious recognition that the customer is always right. After all, the object of advertising and packaging design is to add value, to make the product more attractive to potential customers in target markets. Designs that fail are assured of a short

life; those that succeed will endure for as long as they are appreciated in the target markets.

Recurring throughout the imagery that has been adopted in the advertising of Scottish products, in fact, is an apparent willingness to reflect less what Scotland is, or feels it is, than the views that others have of Scotland, derived from other, wider sources. There was a tendency to fall headlong into clichés. Thus, writing early in the 20th century, G. Gregory Smith was able to lament English attitudes towards Scottish literature:

Many in the South have a ready touchstone for the detection of Scottish quality. By an easy metaphor they transfer to Scottish literature the eccentricities which have vexed their five senses in their dealings with the aggressive North. They think of the freakish colour-schemes of the tartans, of the skirl of the pipes, of the reek of the haggis, of the flavour of John Barleycorn, in one or more of his three disguises, of the rudeness of the thistle. They seem to see, hear, and gust these glaring, noisy, redolent things at every turn in Northern art. ... Others, declining this crude analogy, discover their Scot in quaint words and accent, in a certain whinstone jocularly, in a patriotism rampant as his lion and prickly as his motto, in an idealism tempered with kirk-politics and a love of small change.<sup>17</sup>

The disconcerting freshness of this 100-year-old observation confirms that Scotland — which has energetically played up to such stereotypes at its convenience — is endowed with a persistent centuries' long jetstream of still active imagery. To this day, the ghosts of Queen Victoria's kilted soldiery and the yearnings of early tourists to the Highlands do still lurk there, alongside the grunge of *Trainspotting* and the ballyhoo of Brigadoon and Bonnie Prince Charlie. Romance co-exists with realism, history with fantasy.

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<sup>17</sup> Smith, G. Gregory. *Scottish Literature, character and influence* (Macmillan and Co., 1919). p. 1-2.

A double-edged aspect of this is that people outside of Scotland have been able to confer on Scotland a range of identities: something for almost everyone. Within Scotland, there rather seems to be too much, not too little, out of which to construct a serviceable sense of conflated "Scottish" self-identity. It is a great temptation to narrow the imagery down, to seek focus, clarity and, especially perhaps, modernity.

Publishing is a field that relies in a very transparent way on meeting the requirements and expectations of a market and affords an example of customer demand shaping imagery relating to Scottishness. In this regard, it is informative to look at a selection of recently published Scottish coffee table picture books, calendars, postcards and tourism photography, even jigsaws. A striking consistency is the rarity with which photographs include images of Scottish people. On the evidence of such sources, it is almost as though Scotland had experienced some devastating new diaspora. With only a few exceptions, where people do appear, they are in the distance, minor elements, anonymous and clearly removed from the focus of interest. Or they are in costume. By and large, it is only when we look at historical picture books that we find real people appearing or enlisted by the photographer as interesting subjects in their own right.

Colin Baxter, a successful, high profile Anglo-Scottish scenic photographer with his own publishing and marketing business, produced a whole book of Edinburgh scenes with scarcely a human being to be seen. These photographs do not simply happen to be taken when not many people are around; people have been painstakingly avoided. Edinburgh, one has to remind oneself looking at Baxter's pictures, is one of Britain's major tourist destinations, the city of the Edinburgh International Festival, the Tattoo and the world's biggest Hogmanay party, a busy shopping and business centre. An essential aspect of



Edinburgh is its people and the people who go there.<sup>18</sup> Colin Prior, who takes sweeping, magnificent, panoramic shots of startlingly empty, beautiful landscapes, often from a high vantage point, used his panoramic technique to photograph Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat and Glasgow from the University of Glasgow, and reduced both to features that look almost like geological aberrations in their relationship to the lie of the land.<sup>19</sup> In Scotrail's *Outlook* magazine for February-March 1999 there was a double-page spread headed *Obviously Glasgow*. There were 11 photographs, two of them artist's impressions. In six of the remaining nine, people are not evident at all: in pictures of the High Court in the Saltmarket, housing beside Bellahouston Park, the Mitchell Library, a tenement block, St Mungo's Cathedral and the Glasgow School of Art. In the remaining three illustrations — of the Tolbooth, George Square and Princes Square — a few pedestrians can be discerned, tiny, distant and irrelevant.<sup>20</sup> In the same issue, there is a feature about the opening of the new National Museum of Scotland. It is illustrated with eight pictures, including one of the restaurant — and not one person is to be seen. Other unpeopled pictures in the same issue are of Stirling University, Cambuskenneth Abbey, Stirling's Rob Roy MacGregor statue, Dunblane Cathedral, the Wallace Monument, the interior of the Station Hotel at Inverness, the Inverness skyline across the River Ness, the Dundee Contemporary Arts Centre, the Forth Rail Bridge and the Museum of Transport

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<sup>18</sup> In Colin Baxter's case, the absence of people is a matter of personal style. An exception is a picture of a woman with flowers that appears as the frontispiece to his *France* (Colin Baxter Photography Ltd, 1998) — but the rest of the photographs in the book, a coffee table book of scenes from France, are without people as their subjects.

<sup>19</sup> Prior, Colin. *Wild at Heart — The Photography of Colin Prior* — a promotional sales brochure (Colin Prior, n.d., c. 1998).

<sup>20</sup> Murphy, Paul. "Obviously Glasgow" (*Outlook No. 5*, Scotrail, February-March, 1999). p. 8-9.

in Glasgow.<sup>21</sup> With its 1999 *Spring into Summer* press release kit, the Scottish Tourist Board Press Office enclosed an A4 printed sheet of 14 photographs available to publications. Ten of the 14 are devoid of people.

This is too generally consistent to be anything but deliberate: even our cities are being treated as scenery not society, stone and sky rather than people. The contrast is very powerfully evident if we compare the work of, say, Colin Baxter with that of a photographer like Werner Kissling who photographed the ordinary lives of the people of Eriskay in the 1930s.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the old photographs printed in various illustrated series about “old” Scotland are usually well populated, with people either as apparently willing participants in the photographic event or as its subjects. When we look at books presenting images from older photographic collections, we find people everywhere.<sup>23</sup>

So where, in Scotland’s grand marketing plan, did all of the people go? The Still Moving Picture Company in Edinburgh, operated by John and Sue Hutchison, is a photo library with more than 250,000 pictures of Scotland — 35mm and medium format colour transparencies and more than 30,000 black and white prints dating back to 1950. Sources include the Scottish Tourist Board and “more than 70 of Scotland’s best photographers”. The library also holds extensive, up-to-date 16mm stock film of Scotland. Subjects include Scottish scenics, travel, industry and commerce, sports, food, entertainment,

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<sup>21</sup> Murphy, Paul. “Obviously Glasgow” (*Outlook No. 5*, Scotrail, February-March, 1999). p. 8-9.

<sup>22</sup> Russell, Michael W. *A Poem of Remote Lives: The Enigma of Werner Kissling 1895 -1988* (Neil Wilson, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> See: Lamont-Brown, Raymond. *Scotland in Old Photographs* (Alan Sutton, 1996), and the various “old” and “bygone” photograph books published by Richard Stenlake, often using such sources as old postcards.

agriculture and fishing, education, healthcare, people and culture.<sup>24</sup> Said John Hutchison:

I would say — I've never thought about it until now — 60-70 per cent of the pictures have got people in. There is a very specific demand for shots of people and of locations with people doing things in them ... . The difficulty with shots like that, of course, is that they go out of date very quickly. Fashions change ... and that's one of the reasons why people tend not to put pictures of people in their photographs.<sup>25</sup>

John Hutchison said that the kind of images loaned by his company varied widely according to the demands of clients, "something like 60 per cent" of whom are based in the south east of England, "simply because that's where most of the publishing is." Most such clients asked either for a specific location or for a general scenic picture of the Highlands or of Scotland, "and that usually means the Highlands," said John Hutchison:

We get a huge request from people who want pictures of things like North Sea oil wells and drilling, distilleries, the traditional industries you associate with Scotland. But also, and I think is increasingly the case, Scottish clients are looking for typical images of people at work, whether it be farmers and traditional images or whether it be people in offices or whatever.

One of the things we spent a lot of time servicing is this concept of 'Silicon Glen'. You are looking for images that on the one hand say modern, up-to-date, high-tech, but then you're also looking for an image which says 'Scotland' ... you can talk about concepts till the cows come home; what we're talking about is translating those concepts into an actual image, and an actual image requires a location. You tell me where you will get high-tech factories and hills, lochs and glens... . If you think of the 'Silicon Glen' in

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<sup>24</sup> Still Moving Picture Company. <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/stillmoving> (18 February 1999).

<sup>25</sup> Hutchison, John. Interview, 23 February, 1999.

general terms, most of it is in the Lowlands, most of it is pretty flat. To me, 'Silicon Glen' is Glenrothes, Dunfermline, East Kilbride, Livingston, none of them particularly attractive: we're talking about whether they fit an image of Scotland which is big jaggy mountains. What we've had to do is take some shots specially which are accurate but which reflect people's perceptions of reality — they are reality but they're a biased reality. What we've had to do is to take some shots of high-tech factories, which exist, beside Stirling Castle, for example, or on the edge of the Highlands so you have got mountains in the background, so you get this concept of mountain, traditional Scottish icon imagery, if you like, and then the equally iconic image of modern high-tech industry.<sup>26</sup>

Not dissimilarly, when IBM commissioned London-based Ogilvie and Mather to prepare national advertising to persuade small businesses that, wherever they were located, they could benefit from IBM's electronic business services, the advertisements located the East Ayrshire village of Lugton — and the Lugton Brewery — in "the remotest reaches of the Scottish Highlands." The Lugton Brewery, about 15 miles from Glasgow, was presented as a "cream of the craft" brewer who grew from being a local supplier into an international exporter thanks to IBM's service. A spokeswoman for Ogilvie and Mather reportedly allowed that her company had used "a bit of artistic licence in the wording" of the advertisements.<sup>27</sup>

Photographically, there are certain features which people look for in any shot of Scotland, said John Hutchison:

There's no doubt about it, if people are looking for an image of Scotland it's got to be something like Eilean Donan Castle, Castle Stalker or whatever ... when you boil it down the images are mountain, water, castle, greenery. There are only three or four

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<sup>26</sup> Hutchison, John. Interview, 23 February, 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Anon. "Village's superhighway journey" (*The Herald*, 1 July, 1999). p. 8.

castles in Scotland that fit that: there's Eilean Donan, there's Castle Stalker, Castle Tioram to some extent, and there's Kilchurn Castle. Once you've done those four, you're up the creek after that. So people say, 'time and time again, why do we see the same old images on shortbread tins' and whatever. Well, that's the reason, there are only four which perfectly fit that image.

There is no doubt about it: that is the classic concept of what is Scotland.

But we get a lot of requests for Edinburgh, a lot of requests for Glasgow. Edinburgh's dead easy because you just take a shot down Princes Street with the Castle on one side, either from Calton Hill or from the Balmoral or the Scott Monument, providing there's no scaffolding around. Glasgow's really difficult. What is the classic shot of Glasgow? George Square really isn't: it's the middle of Glasgow in some ways but it's not very photogenic. Increasingly, we're looking at a shot down the river which has got the bridges and whatever else — but there's not the equivalent shot of Glasgow that there is of Edinburgh, or of Aberdeen, because you can look down Union Street from the Castle; in Dundee the classic shot is across the Tay Bridge; in Inverness, you have the bridges and the river.<sup>28</sup>

John Hutchison said the art of stock photography was to be "very, very general." It is not a question of whether a photograph is a beautiful photograph but of whether the photograph will meet a customer's need. A good stock photograph answers a number of possible needs. Stock pictures must be well composed, they have to be sharp, they have to be attractive, they have to have good colour saturation — "but their prime purpose is to be sold." Because the images are usually reproduced quite small — usually not more three to four inches square — photographs have to be very clear, simple, sharp and very easy to identify. Moreover, they are often reproduced without captions, so a picture has to explain itself. It has to be very simple and very direct.

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<sup>28</sup> Hutchison, John. Interview, 23 February, 1999.

Liverpool-born Dennis Hardley is a well-established professional photographer who lives in the small community of Benderloch near Oban. He specialises in scenic shots of Scotland: lonely glens and deep, still lochs, ancient stones and soaring slopes, blue skies and blooming heather, burns and braes. He likes to photograph reflections in water, so often prefers to work on still, well-lit days. He often likes to include a person in his photographs, generally in the middle distance, to add a flash of colour and give a sense of scale. To introduce a small flash of vivid red, he has sometimes asked a bystander to don his own bright windbreaker. He has also waited for and even asked people to take in their washing. He will wait patiently for a vehicle that is “wrong” to move on in the same way as he will wait for a change in the light or weather.<sup>29</sup> Says Dennis Hardley:

There’s two types of shot. There are the bread-and-butter shots which, you know, most places in Scotland on a nice sunny day, once you’ve become established like myself, one can sell them for general use. But then there’s the other shots that you only come across infrequently, the ones where you get the goose pimples because you see something or you make an effort and you get something really different from the norm.<sup>30</sup>

Given the way that the demand for photographs of Scotland is structured and serviced, it is inevitable that the “bread-and-butter” shots will predominate in print media — including postcards and calendars — relating to Scotland. The requirement is for the general view rather than the particular, the instantly identifiable rather than the subtle, the timeless rather than the quickly dated. What is more, the way that Scots might wish to portray themselves is almost invariably going to be subordinated to other people’s expectations and

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<sup>29</sup> Hardley, Dennis. Interview, 20 April 1997.

<sup>30</sup> Hardley, Dennis. Interview, 20 April 1997.

stereotypes. If a product works, the pragmatist is going to stay in business by using it — for as long as it works.

Photographs are being taken of people, as the exhibition *The Art of Documentary* at the National Portrait Gallery in May-June 2000 demonstrated. The exhibition featured the work of 21 photographers from the 1840s to the present. Sara Stevenson, curator of the gallery's photography collection, told *The Herald*:

I'm not sure I'm entitled to say it is *the* Scottish art form ... but it's a terribly important Scottish art form. it's one in which, from the very beginning, we were in there producing very important work which has had an international impact in the past and should be having an equivalent international impact now. ... I don't think people are ever going to give up being interested in people.<sup>31</sup>

But the market has shrunk from the days of *Picture Post*, commissions are rare and social photography projects are frequently self-funded.<sup>32</sup>

Photography that showed the social vibrancy, energy, skills, character and celebration that are to be found in Scotland could help to influence overseas opinion, but it is clear that it would have to be actively marketed from within Scotland. Such imagery would not have to be at the expense of magnificent scenery and imagination-laden buildings, but could very usefully supplement it. As it is, we find that images of Scotland's distinctive landscape and architecture (typically a castle) crop up again and again in marketing materials. Brochures commonly contain photographs of deserted or nearly deserted gift shops and restaurants. To a very large extent, this is a precise reflection of the way so many others see us at the beginning of the third millennium. A study by MORI for the British Council in 13 countries (Brazil, China, Egypt, France,

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<sup>31</sup> Jamieson, Teddy. "Life through a lens" (*The Herald*, 1 June, 2000). p.21.

<sup>32</sup> Jamieson, Teddy. "Life through a lens" (*The Herald*, 1 June, 2000). p.21.

Germany, India, Malaysia, Mexico, Poland, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Turkey) identified the images most commonly associated with Scotland by wealthier, better educated young adults as:

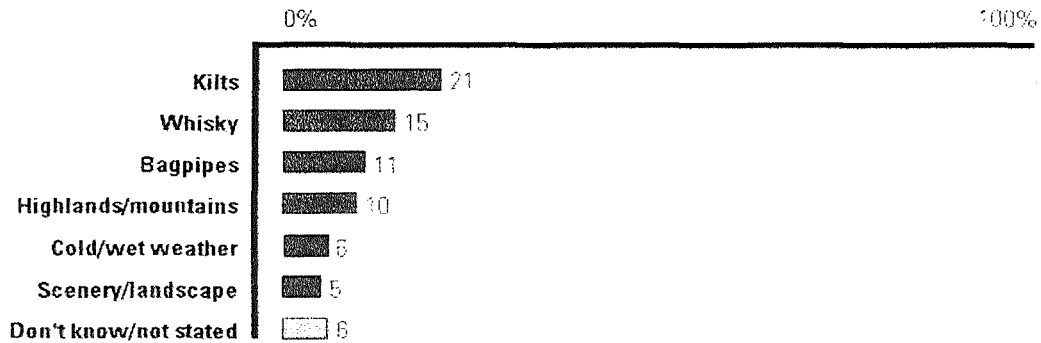


DIAGRAM (1): IMAGES most frequently identified with Scotland by “men and women, aged between 24 and 35, well educated, with above-average incomes, and likely to rise to positions of influence in their society” in a 17-country survey by MORI for The British Council in 2000.<sup>33</sup>

There is a feedback loop operating here: Scots have felt obliged to confirm the expectations they believe others have of Scotland to capitalise on the recognition these images provide; this confirms the expectations which, perceived in Scotland, are again confirmed. It is not an easy loop to re-shape, not is it one from which to break free. In the long run, identity must be conferred upon us by others; it is not something that we can construct for others to subscribe to in any straightforward way.

<sup>33</sup> The sample group was identified as the “successor generation”:

The precise way we define this group varies a little from country to country, but it may be generally understood as “men and women, aged between 24 and 35, well educated, with above-average incomes, and likely to rise to positions of influence in their society”.

— MORI. *Through other eyes 2 – How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council) [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000).



Because their design is less susceptible to market approval, postage stamps provide a contrasting perspective. Subjects relating to Scotland that have been depicted or commemorated on British postage stamps include:

1. **Literature:** Robert Burns (in 1966 and 1996, the latter a set of four excerpted lines: *Wee sleekit, cowran, tim'rous beastie, My luve's like a red, red rose, Scots wha hae wi Wallace bled* and *Should auld acquaintance be forgot*), Sir Walter Scott (1971), Long John Silver (1993), a five-stamp set of scenes from Sherlock Holmes stories commemorating the centenary of publication of *The Final Problem* (1993), *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1997), the *Hound of the Baskervilles* (1997),
2. **Architecture:** Edinburgh Castle (1988), St Giles' Cathedral (1969), Charlotte Square in Edinburgh (1975), Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh (1978), a commercial housing scheme in Perth (1984, marking "urban renewal"), a Fife harled (roughcast) house (1970), the New Lanark mail buildings (1989), the Glasgow School of Art (1990), the British Philatelic Bureau in Edinburgh (1990), the Haroldswick sub Post Office in Shetland (1997), Bell Rock Lighthouse near Arbroath (1998).
3. **Technology and transport:** a North Sea oil platform (1978, 1983, 1986), the snowbound Edinburgh mail coach of 1831 (1984), steam barges including the *Pride of Scotland* and fishing boats in the Crinan canal, Class 5 locomotive number 44957 and Class B1 number 61342 on the West Highland Line (1994), Sir Malcolm Campbell's *Bluebird* (1998), David Campbell's *Bluebird* (1998).
4. **Heraldry:** a 1987 four-stamp series marking the 300th anniversary of the revival of the order of the Thistle (designs are

the arms of the Lord Lyon King of Arms, the Scottish heraldic banner of Prince Charles, the arms of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture and the arms of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the unicorn of Scotland together with the horse of Hanover (1998).

5. **Historical events and people:** the signing of the Declaration of Arbroath (1970), David Livingstone (1973), King Robert I (1974), a trio of bearded Celtic monks in a boat (Christmas 1986), two designs of St Columba: at the prow of a boat and on Iona (1997).

6. **Sport:** a 1994 set of five stamps depicting Scottish golf courses (Old St Andrew's, Muirfield, Carnoustie, Royal Troon and Turnberry), the Royal Braemar Highland Gathering (1994).

7. **Scenery:** the Cairngorm mountains (1966), Glenfinnan (1981), St Kilda (1981), Ben Arkle in Sutherland (1994).

8. **Animals:** a Shetland pony (1978), a West Highland terrier (1979), a Highland cow (1984), a fallow deer (1992).

9. **Art:** the Sir Henry Raeburn paintings *Self Portrait* and *The Skater* (1973).

10. **Music:** a piper and Highland dancers (1976).<sup>34</sup>

The mix is a little more diverse, but all of the above depictions are safe, staid and frequently elitist in their design — dull, for the most part, by modern standards. Even King Robert I, armoured and mounted, looks more quaint than formidable. As might be expected, most of the designs are as much, if not more, “British” than “Scottish”. Along with other populist icons, Saltires and

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<sup>34</sup> See: *Stanley Gibbons Great Britain Concise Stamp Catalogue 1999 Edition* (Stanley Gibbons Publications, London and Ringwood, 1999).

tartans do not feature in the list above; Scotland's thistle and Royal lion appear but rarely and then in unassertive contexts. Interestingly, these are the very emblems that came to the fore when Scots were given a say in the matter. In 1999, to mark the opening of the Scottish Parliament, Royal Mail gave Scotland a set of four stamps, designed by the Edinburgh firm Tayburn Ltd, using elements chosen through a public consultation exercise in Scotland: the Saltire, the red rampant lion, the thistle and tartan. The colour, vividness and animation of the designs made them relatively powerful images, each boldly outweighing the small head silhouette of Queen Elizabeth in the top right hand corner. The Scottish Parliament designs broke something of a mould.

In 1997, Scotland the Brand<sup>35</sup> commissioned the London-based international brand development consultancy Craton Lodge and Knight (CLK) to revisit issues surveyed by earlier studies and, more ambitiously, to “unearth and define the intangible essence of Scottishness (sic).”<sup>36</sup> CLK was the consultancy commissioned by the New Zealand Trade Development Board in 1987 to co-ordinate a strategy for New Zealand in Western Europe. Other CLK jobs have resulted in Shell's “complete petrol station experience”, Pericl  fruit bitters in Germany for Bacardi International, Lycra Reflex tights in Britain and a Dettol range for Reckitt and Colman.<sup>37</sup> CLK's assignment, termed the ‘Galore Project’, identified as “core Scottish values”: inventiveness, tenacity, integrity and spirit. Said CLK chairman Greenagh Lodge:

In order to maximise its potential commercial power, Scotland needs to stand for something clear, motivating and distinctive in people's minds. The Galore project is to develop a proposition and

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<sup>35</sup> See Chapter 2. *Adding value*.

<sup>36</sup> Scotland the Brand. Promotional folder (Scotland the Brand, n.d., c. 1997).

<sup>37</sup> Craton, Lodge & Knight *CLK* — Information wallet (Craton, Lodge & Knight, n.d., c.1998)

positioning for Scotland that will be a real reason to prefer Scottish goods, services and the Scottish way of life.<sup>38</sup>

Existing research, Scotland the Brand acknowledged, “pinpoints the virtues that Scotland is seen to possess”:

...high levels of education, spectacular landscape, and a unique culture. We all know the worldwide reputation of our traditional industries such as textiles and salmon, and of course our whiskies are second to none. But we have never systematically studied these beliefs and brand loyalty to position Scotland as a total brand with considerably more than the obvious on offer.<sup>39</sup>

On completion of the study, said Scotland the Brand promotional material, “we will have achieved: the competitive re-positioning of Scotland, as a brand in the global market; a persuasive proposition to buy Scotland’s products, services and facilities above most other countries; a strategy to assist Scotland to achieve pre-eminence in key world markets.” Added Scotland the Brand:

We will then be able to shape a definitive brand statement as to what Scotland stands for, what its distinctive and attractive offer is for today’s global consumer and how this can be leveraged to Scotland’s advantage and prosperity.<sup>40</sup>

In May, the *Sunday Herald* reported that CLK, having surveyed 600 “consumers and business decision makers” in England, France, Germany, Spain, the United States and Japan, had found that Scotland was viewed as being “isolated and nostalgic for the past” and was rated highly for “spirit, tenacity, integrity and inventiveness”. Russel Griggs was quoted:

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<sup>38</sup> CLK Consultants’ Marcus Mitchell at the *Scottish Values and the Scottish Economy* conference organised by the Scottish Council Foundation, 20 October, 1998, at the Edinburgh Conference Centre.

<sup>39</sup> Scotland the Brand. Promotional folder (Scotland the Brand, n.d., c. 1997).

<sup>40</sup> Scotland the Brand. Promotional folder (Scotland the Brand, n.d., c. 1997).

...on the plus side, Scotland is associated with many attractive qualities such as honesty, integrity and spirit. But many of those questioned had an almost mythical vision of Scotland as a place which is trapped in the past and knew little about its modern economy and infrastructures. The challenge now is to decide how we can use this body of opinion to develop an image of Scotland that will help the country to make a bigger impact on the international stage.<sup>41</sup>

*The Herald* chose to pass editorial comment on the findings:

For many months now the image makers of Scottish Enterprise, under the name of Scotland the Brand, have been attempting to bring together the various facets which make up an understanding of what Scotland represents, with the particular aim of developing a brand strategy that will help promote trade, tourism and culture. This is a laudable aim but if the research results which have been announced thus far are intended to be helpful, it seems that a good deal of analysis will be required .... We hope that Scotland the Brand has a lot more material to work on after the expenditure of so much time and money. The consultation exercise over the summer will be interesting. Hopefully it will also be more focused.<sup>42</sup>

A GENERAL finding of the Project Galore study was that:

...the general uniformity of external perceptions and opinions towards Scotland and its people suggests that a tangible, identifiable image of Scotland exists within the world arena. Perhaps the most interesting and possibly surprising aspect of the

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<sup>41</sup> West, Sharon. "Scots plan how to take on the world" (*Sunday Herald*, 16 May, 1999). p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> "Editorial" (*The Herald*, 17 May, 1999). p. 12.

Galore findings is the overall consistency in the way the outside world sees Scotland.<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, the report found that, "in a number of ways the perceptions held by the world of Scotland are quite different from how the Scots see themselves and the way they assume that others see them."<sup>44</sup> Elsewhere, it noted that "only the English recognised Scotland's historic achievements in innovation."<sup>45</sup>

The "general uniformity" referred to is presumably that of the common factors which typically and repeatedly reflect our very durable icons. Given marked cultural differences between the countries studied, however, uniformity at that level does not mean that the perceptions of Scotland are understood the same way, have identical meanings across cultures or should be addressed in a standard way by Scotland. Looked at more closely, a number of significant differences do emerge. Previous studies have found that Scotland is better regarded than "Britain". In 1994, for example, Anneke Elwes, author of a report by London-based advertising agency BMP DDB Needham, likened Britain's image abroad to that of a gentleman's club "...aging, elitist and a bastion of conservative and traditional values ... stuffy and male ... no longer aspirational or even relevant to a new generation."<sup>46</sup> The agency's surveys found that in Australia and New Zealand (where, it might be observed,

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<sup>43</sup> Craton, Lodge and Knight. *Project Galore* (short version) Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001). p. 9-10.

<sup>44</sup> Craton, Lodge and Knight. *Project Galore* (short version) Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001). p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Craton, Lodge and Knight. *Project Galore* (short version) Scotland the Brand. <http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001). p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> Elwes Anneke (BMP DDB Needham, 1994) cited in Keller, Kevin Lane. *Strategic Brand Management – Building, Measuring, and Managing Brand Equity* (Prentice Hall, 1998), p. 278-279.

*Coronation Street* and *Eastenders* have long been popular television programmes) consumers' images of quaint countryside quickly gave way to urban images of darkness, dirt and overcrowding. While they admired British institutions, Australians and New Zealanders saw "Britain" as war-mongering and entrenched. Europeans were a little kinder and Americans tended to see Britons as proud, civilised, cultured, arrogant and cold.<sup>47</sup> Where Scots have found contention lies more in the character of some of the essentially good things people find to say about them. Scots appear in particular casts of positive light and desires for a new national image encounter a number of opposing realities. The first and probably more powerful is that definitional experiences of "Scottishness" are so widely available furth of Scotland. Another is that the good things people already say about Scots are often long-entrenched attitudes that differ qualitatively from one part of the world to another: they are strong, old and variable.

A 1990 study of European perceptions of Scottishness<sup>48</sup> identified "strong positive attributes associated with Scotland ... manifested in the highly marketable images of quality, tradition and integrity." This qualitative study, conducted through focus group discussions, identified some interesting European stereotypes of Scots, Scotland and Scottish products. In general, the faults Europeans saw in the Scots were a lack of dynamism and a poor capacity to market themselves. Scots were regarded as being a little too naive and quaint — but as much more likeable than most people.

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<sup>47</sup> Parker-Pope. "Britain Suffers from Stuffy Image Abroad An Ad Agency Finds" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 January, 1995). p. A8. Cited in: Keller, Kevin Lane. *Strategic Brand Management — Building, Measuring, and Managing Brand Equity* (Prentice Hall, 1998), p. 279-279.

<sup>48</sup> Smith, Colin, *Perceptions of Scottishness. — Executive Summary Report* (Scottish Development Agency, Jan.-Feb. 1990).

1. **Spaniards** thought us clean, green, healthy, rural and peaceful. Quality and tradition were seen as Scottish traits. We were also “rebellious, individualistic, hearty, friendly and hospitable but reserved.” We drink rather a lot. Imagery associated with Scotland included bagpipes, whisky, wool, Loch Ness and kilts; dark, humid, wild landscapes, green hills, woods and castles.

2. **Germans** saw tradition as a principal Scottish value. They, too, saw Scotland as “green” (in the environmental and picturesque sense), wholesome, uncomplicated, informal, close to nature. Scots, to the German mind, were warm-hearted, friendly, hospitable, relaxed, content, honest and reliable, with a strong sense of integrity. They imagined Scots living on a diet of high quality, simple and natural foods, probably produced locally: salmon, lamb and cheese; our lifestyle appealed as *gemütlich*. Scotland was isolated, small, rural, full of history, legends and bagpipes, appealing for the wildness of its landscape and its bleak weather.

3. **Italians** saw England as a “father ruling with an iron fist”, but they saw Scotland as “a world apart”: impenetrable, fascinating, full of charm, its past living in its present. They saw Scots as nature lovers with a strong civil and moral obligation, safeguarding what had been built through the centuries. The Italians’ Scotland was rustic, pure and a little lost in its memories, a land full of fables, magic, fog-bound castles, druids, lochs and fantasy.

4. **The French** also saw England as a forbidding father figure, but Scotland was “the bachelor uncle”, preserving freedom and independence of action, maintaining the family spirit, warm, open,



affectionate, a mediator between generations. Scotland was a rural land of myths, folklore, castles, quaint dress, clans and traditions, populated by rustically-garbed, friendly, affectionate, wise, pacifist lovers of nature. Scotland's climate as "unforgiving but attractive".<sup>49</sup>

5. **The English** saw Scotland as a tourist attraction. In a series of six group discussions in Bristol, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Watford and Manchester covering three age groups (20-24, 25-44, 45-60) and BC1, C1 and C2 social groups, the Piper Trust in 1989 found Scotland perceived principally as a tourist destination with "a very rich culture and history" and bad weather. Scots were considered to have a love of family and friends and a more relaxed attitude to life and work than the English. The quality of life was seen as being better than in England. Said the Piper Trust: "Scotland is seen as a separate entity to England, and many would support a greater measure of autonomy for Scotland than it currently has. The general feeling is that economic self-determination would help to boost the region more effectively than grants, etc."<sup>50</sup>

6. **Americans** often relate to Scotland as a part of their own history. Little formal research is available, but historical links do appear to be particularly important to many Americans — and the links go back a long way. The United States has, for example, maintained a consulate in Edinburgh (located at various addresses mostly in Leith until 1883) since 1798 — a response to the volume

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<sup>49</sup> Smith, Colin, *Perceptions of Scottishness. — Executive Summary Report* (Scottish Development Agency, Jan.-Feb. 1990).

<sup>50</sup> Piper Trust. *Perceptions of Scottishness in England*. (Scottish Development Agency, 1989).

of Scottish-American trade. Other consulates in Scotland followed: in Glasgow (1801-1965), Dundee (1834-1940) and Dunfermline (1871-1925). Consular agencies were operated in Aberdeen (1866-1922), Greenock (1873-1914), Kirkcaldy (1878-1909), Galashiels (1882-1909) and Troon (1891-1921). When, in 1996, the United States considered closing its last Scottish consulate in Edinburgh, a campaign led by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and supported by former U.S. presidents George Bush and Jimmy Carter, was successful in having it kept open. Another recent factor has been the growing American population in Scotland — more than 20,000. And there are 300 American firms located in Scotland.”<sup>51</sup>

Also to be considered in the context of Scotland’s international profile are initiatives such as Tartan Day. In response to action initiated by the Clans and Scottish Societies of Canada, the Ontario Legislature, following the example of other Canadian provinces, passed a resolution on December 19, 1991, proclaiming April 6 “Tartan Day”.<sup>52</sup> Then, following a campaign by the U.S.-wide Scottish Coalition, a networking organisation of America’s largest Scottish organisations, the United States followed suit on March 20, 1998, when Senate Resolution 155 (S. Res. 155), proposed by Senate Republican majority leader (and proud Scottish-American) Trent Lott, was passed unanimously. Another Scottish-American who helped to promote the move was Congressman Newt Gingrich.<sup>53</sup> The resolution, with its preamble, is worth examining in its entirety because of the extraordinary claims endorsed unanimously by the United States Senate:

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<sup>51</sup> *Eyes and ears of the nation* by Graeme Woodward (*The Herald*, Saturday, September 19, 1998). p. 18.

<sup>52</sup> Tartan Day website page, August 1998.

<sup>53</sup> O’Hare, Paul. “Help for the old country” (*The Herald*, 16 September, 1998).

**1. Res. 155**

— Whereas April 6 has a special significance for all Americans, and especially those Americans of Scottish descent, because the Declaration of Arbroath, the Scottish Declaration of Independence, was signed on April 6, 1320, and the American Declaration of Independence was modelled on that inspirational document;

— Whereas this resolution honors the major role that Scottish Americans played in the founding of this Nation, such as the fact that almost half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Scottish descent, the Governors in 9 of the original 13 States were of Scottish ancestry, Scottish Americans successfully helped shape this country in its formative years and guide this Nation through its most troubled times;

— Whereas this resolution recognizes the monumental achievements and invaluable contributions made by Scottish Americans that have led to America's pre-eminence in the fields of science, technology, medicine, government, politics, economics, architecture, literature, media, and visual and performing arts;

— Whereas this resolution commends the more than 200 organizations throughout the United States that honor Scottish heritage, tradition, and culture, representing the hundreds of thousands of Americans of Scottish descent, residing in every State, who already have made the observance of Tartan Day on April 6 a success;

— Whereas these numerous individuals, clans, societies, clubs, and fraternal organizations do not let the great contributions of the Scottish people go unnoticed:

Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the Senate designates April 6 of each year as "National Tartan Day".<sup>54</sup>

Tartan Day 1998 was marked by a host of community-based events around the United States. Many were very quickly organised, between the March 20 declaration and April 6. They included, for example, a Gala Scottish Concert "featuring the Strathspay (sic) and Reel Society of New Hampshire" at the

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<sup>54</sup> Tartan Day website page, August 1998

Newfound Regional High School in Bristol, New Hampshire. In Oklahoma, members of the Scottish club gave away badges with the Saltire and "Tartan Day April 6" on them, and Susie McClure-Beasley of Clan McLeod of the United Scottish Clans of Oklahoma gave a lecture to the Local Garden Clubs. She wore her tartan and explained the significance behind Tartan Day. In San Luis Obispo, California, the Pozo Whisky Games and Clan Gathering offered a programme of heavy field events and barbecues all day. At a "Picnic in the Park" in Mobile, Arizona, the Scottish Society of Mobile vied for the "prestigious Best Picnic Award". At the Round Table Club in New Orleans there was a St Andrew's Society Tartan Day party with a whisky tasting, food and a piper.

The St Andrew's Society of Pensacola, Florida, held a Scottish Evening with dancing, singing, piping and a speeches about tartans. Marty Stuart, calling a "gathering of the clans" at Grant's Pub in Yakima, Washington on Sunday afternoon, April 5, told folk: "If you possess articles of clothing representing your clan or sept, you are encouraged to wear them." A "short talk" and the raising of the American and Scottish flags by the Scottish Society of Treasure Coast marked Tartan Day at Vero Beach, Florida.<sup>55</sup> Tartan Day 2000 commemorations saw the plethora of smaller local events across the United States topped by a high profile parade through Central Park in New York, led by the Strathclyde Police Pipe Band, and a three-day programme of Scottish-related events in Washington, D.C.

Support from Scotland was not overly generous. While actor Michael Caine launched a campaign the same week to raise funds in the United States for Salisbury Cathedral's Magna Carta exhibition with lavish sponsorship from Rolls Royce, the BBC, BNFL, Astra Zeneca and British Airways, Tartan

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<sup>55</sup> Tartan Day website page, August 1998

Day's British-sourced sponsorship amounted to relatively humble support from the Scottish Tourist Board, Dewar's Whisky and Walker's Shortbread. Scottish participants in Tartan Day received reduced air fares, not from British Airways, but from Icelandair (a regular sponsor of the City of Washington Pipe Band).<sup>56</sup>

Some of the Tartan Day activities undoubtedly involve the sorts of thing some Scots delight in deriding, but Scots should remember that such events are usually conducted with sincerity and out of genuine respect and interest. It is to be wondered how such Americans would have responded to an idea Edinburgh's Millennium Hogmanay planners were at one point promoting: to make giant papier mâché statues of Scottish historical heroes and then burn them in a "Farewell to the Past" ceremony.<sup>57</sup>

Attending the Washington highlights of the Tartan Day 2000 programme was *Herald* columnist Jack Webster. He later wrote that there was "not a trace of cheap vulgarity in sight":

All they were trying to do was raise the profile of a nation which made its own Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 and provided the model for the American Declaration of Independence four and a half centuries later. It was also a reminder of the vast contribution we have made to the life and achievements of America, ridiculously out of proportion to our size. ... It can do nothing but good for this old land of ours.<sup>58</sup>

Expatriate and Scottish descendant interest is reflected in the publication in North America of Scottish-interest media such as *The Scottish Banner* (circ.

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<sup>56</sup> Peters, Nick. "U.S. paints the town tartan as Scots come out of their shell" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 2 April, 2000). p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> See: *The Scotsman*, (29 July, 1998). p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Webster, Jack. "Tartan Day to do our little nation proud" (*The Herald*, 13 April, 2000). p. 19.

about 70,000), *FamilyTree* (circ. about 77,000), *The Highlander*, *U.S. Scots*, *Celtic Heritage* (circ. about 35,000, published in Nova Scotia), *Am Braighe* (published in Nova Scotia) and other newspapers and magazines. There is also a host of clan, piping, Scottish country dancing and other publications, radio programmes and Website pages. *The Scottish Banner* makes some attempt to cover Scotland as it is today, as well as carrying 'heritage' material of uneven quality. The depth of interest is also evident in the number of some of the Scottish societies in North America — clan societies, Highland games organisations, St Andrew's and Caledonian societies, Gaelic clubs, piping and dancing bodies and others — and the strength and influence of some.

The largest of these, the Illinios St Andrew Society, has 1500 dues-paying members and about 1700 friends. Its mailing list reaches an even bigger audience, estimated at about 10,000. The society was founded in 1845 to help Scottish immigrants. During the Civil War and Great Depression it ensured that countless Scottish families received food, shelter, jobs and proper burials. It supports, shares and celebrates "Scottish culture" and heritage. Its president, E. Wayne Rethford, visited Scotland in September 1998 "to strengthen some of the friendships that have already been formed and to offer the good offices of our society to anyone who needs business contacts in Chicago." In Scotland he attended a dinner organised the charitable Caledonian Foundation which was addressed by the then Scottish Secretary, the late Donald Dewar, and at which he offered his society's support to help the Caledonian Foundation raise money for Scottish charities. He met with Professor Sir Graeme Davis, principal of Glasgow University, and Professor Malcolm McLeod, director of the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, to discuss ways the society could help the university to celebrate its 550th anniversary in 2001. And he met with

Scotland the Brand's George Russell to discuss involvement with Tartan Day on April 6, 1999.<sup>59</sup>

The Scottish Business Forum, founded by a group of expatriate Scots and American businessmen with the help of the Illinois St Andrew Society in 1996, has proved to be an important vehicle for generating American investment in Scotland. It is a premier networking venue for Chicago-area professionals of Scottish descent and representatives of more than 300 companies conducting Scottish-U.S. business. E. Wayne Rethford told *The Herald*: these people were looking for opportunities to help establish Scottish businesses in the Midwestern portion of the United States and to do business in Scotland.<sup>60</sup> On a national level, there is also the Scottish Coalition, which campaigned for the established of Tartan Day.<sup>61</sup>

This "Scottish population" of the United States reflects a peculiarly New World view articulated by Professor Peter Gomes, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard University in a *Timewatch* television programme about the English Pilgrim immigrants to Plymouth:

One of the great joys of a democracy like this (the United States) is you can choose your ancestors. Most Americans have decided in a democratic way that, since we can choose our ancestors, we will choose the Pilgrims.<sup>62</sup>

Gomes, of Cape Verde Island and American slave ancestry, personally identifies with the Pilgrims of Plymouth and, just as he chose the Pilgrims as "ancestors", a good many Americans have decided to choose Scottish

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<sup>59</sup> O'Hare, Paul. "Help for the old country" (*The Herald*, 16 September, 1998).

<sup>60</sup> O'Hare, Paul. "Help for the old country" (*The Herald*, 16 September, 1998).

<sup>61</sup> O'Hare, Paul. "Help for the old country" (*The Herald*, 16 September, 1998).

<sup>62</sup> Gomes, Peter, narrator, in: Gill, Jonathan (writer & producer) and Rees, Laurence (ed.). *The Pilgrim Fathers* (Timewatch, 1998.) Screened in Britain on BBC 2, Tuesday 13, October 1998.

ancestors. Eager to respect what they understand to be the ways of the Scots, they will attend Highland games, take up Scottish activities with great enthusiasm, observe Scottish festival days, from Burns Night to Saint Andrew's Day — and, in donning full Highland dress, will be careful to wear only the tartan to which they believe their name entitles them. They join Scottish interest clubs and clan societies in much the same way as they would join any other club or society.

The crux of the matter seems to be that there are significant qualitative differences between the way that Scotland is perceived in other Old World countries and the way that Scotland is perceived in the New World, at least as represented by the United States. To the rest of the Old World, we are another country — a different country — with which to interact. We are foreign. To many individuals in the New World, we are a part of their history and a cultural repository. To this cultural repository, many of those who see themselves as “also Scottish” feel they should have access. When and as they find it, they take Scottishness quite overtly into the midst of their communities. To some extent, American attitudes towards Scotland and “Scottishness” are likely to bear comparison with those of Australians<sup>63</sup>, New Zealanders, Canadians and smaller expatriate and descendant-influenced communities.

The fact that strong loci of Scottishness have been formed by overseas-based community and commercial forces removes any compelling reason to be coy about such things within Scotland. It should, in fact, be compelling a proprietorial response.

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<sup>63</sup> At the time of writing, moves were reportedly under way to establish a Tartan Day in Australia.

— Garavelli, Dani. “Tartan g'day takes off Down Under” (*Scotland on Sunday*, 10 February 2001).

p. 1.



## CONCLUSIONS

ATTEMPTS to differentiate on the basis of Scottishness have a reasonably long history. For want of strategic management, however, the options have fallen into communicative stasis and rigidity. They have largely lost touch with the living culture of Scotland, to the exclusion of people and of what it is that people actually do in Scotland. Where the simplest icons are supplanted, it has largely been with landscape scenery (which shift in step with geological time), or architecture (which reflects changes only over decades and centuries).

The difficulties of differentiating Scotland's dynamism on the basis of its Scottishness can only be addressed by allowing people — culture — back into the repertoire of differentiating strategies. As ever, the pre-existing definitional awarenesses of Scottishness within target markets must be drafted into the baseline construction of a differentiated identity, but these awarenesses do not also have to also define the conceptual boundaries. If they are allowed to do so, nothing beyond the existing stereotypes can be articulated and the resulting differentiation is impoverished.

Within Scotland's full range of cultural expressions, the options available to an exporter who wishes to develop branding initiatives that are at once "Scottish" and unique appear, in every practical sense, to be unlimited. But the potency of Scotland's cultures to produce commercial benefit through their powers of ongoing communication with target markets, and the establishment and promotion of ongoing cross-cultural relationships, is largely unexplored. This is almost certainly hampering the development of both sectors, cultural and commercial.

The marketer needs to know, however, where to find the resources most appropriate to the purpose in hand, and how best to incorporate and communicate them in his or her approaches to the target market. There is a clear

and pressing need here for a structured, research-based dialogue between cultural practitioners seeking to enhance their opportunities and commercial interests seeking to widen their markets. There is no reason to assume that these interests are irreconcilably disparate, albeit that there is a considerable need for improved mutual understanding<sup>64</sup>. Differentiation based on the bringing together of these interests, however, would become a potent and nuanced means of communication, and a way of illustrating the vigour, diversity, skills, humanity and creativity of modern Scotland.

Both sectors, of course, are extremely diverse in what they do, express and want to achieve. Target markets are also diverse. The co-ordination of activities on a wide scale is undoubtedly too much to hope for. But dialogue could well lead to rewarding project by project partnerships, each involving perhaps two or three companies with compatible interests in a particular target market, several different cultural practitioners or organisations and researchers in Scotland and the target market.

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<sup>64</sup> Referring to traditional music, for example, musician and festival organiser David Francis, author of *Traditional Music in Scotland – education, information, advocacy* (Scottish Arts Council, 1999), says: “The artist, in marketing terms, is responsible for product and should have complete control over that product. The job then is to bring people to it rather than change the product to meet people’s expectations. If you’re selling breakfast cereal and people don’t like sugar on it you stop putting sugar on it. But you can’t treat an art form, whether it’s traditional music or anything else, that way. I think there is always going to be a tension between the expectations of potential sponsors and the people who are out there doing the thing, often for very profound artistic purposes. They’re not doing what they’re doing simply to sell a seat; they’re doing it because they want to institute some sort of change in the listener or make some connection, move people in some way. There has to be a much wider awareness in business of (the) artistic imperative. It shouldn’t be that difficult. It just depends on how you approach it because so much in business is creative activity itself — you’re making things in a lot of cases, you’re producing ideas, you’re trying to make connections with people.”

— Francis, David. Interview, 30 June, 1999.

Necessary formative steps towards promoting a dialogue of the sort that was competent to forge such relationships would certainly include further research and consultation towards the development of some guidelines for the long-term management and co-ordination of differentiation strategies, and the identification of common interests and opportunities, and the establishment of:

1. a resources database,
2. mechanisms and media of communication (involving the sectors of interest within Scotland and target markets),
3. research networks,
4. a consultancy presence available to commercial and cultural interests within Scotland, to help bring together compatible project partners,
5. mechanisms to ensure that the relationships established to further policy objectives were mutually beneficial, and achievements rewarded.

## 4. ELEMENTS OF SCOTTISHNESS

ON a Saturday in August 2000, *The Herald* carried a five-column colour photograph by Neil Hope of two soft toy dolls: Mickey and Minnie Mouse. In the background stood the Mound and Edinburgh Castle. From head to foot, both grinning global celebrities were kitted out in tartan. Mickey carried a set of toy bagpipes. The caption read:

This Mickey Mouse doll is set to become one of Disney's best selling toys just weeks after hitting toy store shelves. Staff at the Disney Corporation's flagship Edinburgh store decided to give one of America's most famous residents a Highland makeover after being inundated with requests for Scottish products.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth reflecting on this image. Mickey and Minnie Mouse have been around for the greater part of a century and, as star creations of one of the world's most valuable brands<sup>2</sup>, they command instant recognition around the world. They are American, but occupy the globalised, iconised America of Disney Corporation, rather than the actual United States. They undoubtedly met up with tartan and bagpipes in a similarly globalised, iconised Scotland of

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<sup>1</sup> Hope, Neil (photographer). "Mickey MacMouse is covered in cheques" (photo overline, *The Herald*, 19 August, 2000). p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A 1999 Interbrand/Citibank evaluation defined "brand value" as the net present value of the economic profit that the brand is expected to generate in the future. It estimated Disney's brand value at \$U.S. 32,275 million. Ranked ahead of Disney were Coca Cola, Microsoft, IBM, General Electric and Ford. Disney branded revenue in 1998 was \$U.S.18,800 million

— Clifton, Rita, and Maughan, Esther. *The future of brands: twenty-five visions* (MacMillan Press, 2000). p. 110.

the imagination. Disney had marketed other limited editions of collectible dolls in other stereotyped national costumes, but it is nevertheless unusual to see one established icon reach for another to promote its own sales, albeit in a relatively small way. What is happening when clichés meet like this?<sup>3</sup> What is being appropriated? What is the appeal? What are Scots to make of the resulting image?

Two years previously, Pat Kane, contributing editor with *The Herald*, wrote:

There is, somewhere deep in our local quangos and think tanks, a growing pragmatism about the cultural question — and about recent popular culture in particular. Politicians and policy makers are beginning to regard Scottish culture as more than either an embarrassment, or a decoration — but a key capitalist resource. What Blairism couldn't manage with their Cool Britannia/Britain TM hype (because Britain is unravelling) and what the Irish have been managing for years (from Seamus Heaney to U2), could easily be managed under Scottish self-government. That is, the creation of a dynamic national brand — and a set of motivating national narratives — which could become Scotland's national compass for negotiating the information age.<sup>4</sup>

If it was really going to be that easy, one may rhetorically ask why is it that, at every turn, one encounters ironies and situations that eloquently illustrate the

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<sup>3</sup> Cowan, John. Interview, 28 August, 2000.

5,000 'Scottish' Mickey Mouse and 5,000 Minnie Mouse dolls were launched as a European limited edition on 24 July, 2000. On 22 August (just over four weeks later), the Mickey Mouses sold out. "About 150" Minnie Mouse dolls remained on the shelves at 28 August. John Cowan said: "Disney has done Mickey and Minnie for all over the world. ...Our staff here (in Edinburgh) designed the Scottish ones in response to a lot of requests from customers, and Europe approved them. The demand was from all over. They went very quickly, mostly bought by tourists and there is a collectibles market, but what surprised us was that many were bought by locals (Scots)."

<sup>4</sup> Kane, Pat. "Extremes Meet here: Scottish Popular Culture" in: Fraser, Maurice (ed.). *Essential Scotland* (Agenda Publishing in association with Scotland The Brand, 1998). p. 108.

discomfort which permeates Scotland's engagement with its own identity and "motivating national narratives"? For example:

1. Given that 67 per cent of Scottish businesses surveyed for Scotland the Brand felt Scottishness gave them "a distinct advantage in the marketplace"<sup>5</sup>, and that Scotland's education system recognises the commercial and employment values of education, how come so little Scottish history and traditional culture has recently been taught in Scottish schools?<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Griggs, Russel. "Scotland the product" in: Hassan, Gerry and Warhurst, Chris, *A different future: A modernisers' guide to Scotland* (Centre for Scottish Public Policy & The Big Issue in Scotland, 1999). p.139.

<sup>6</sup> On 8 May, 1998, for example, Barclay McBain reported in *The Herald* (p.4) that history (world, European, British and Scottish history) was taught within "environmental studies" in the 5-14 programme and was allocated about one hour a week, rising to between three and six hours a week for Standard Grade, Higher and sixth-year studies pupils. "Scottish history is a substantial part of Standard Grade history while the revised Higher introduced more Scottish options which are expected to be enhanced under Higher Still, although the number of new Highers [that] pupils will be able to take in fifth year is likely to be reduced."

The authors of Scotland's national cultural strategy wrote:

It is unrealistic to expect that every school can provide a comprehensive history of Scotland. There are many other pressures on the curriculum. It is, however, reasonable to assume that children and young people in Scotland should gain from formal education an overview of Scotland's past which allows them to set their own society in context. By studying Scottish history, they can be made aware of the influences that have affected the development of their communities and of Scotland as a whole. The history of Scotland should not be seen in isolation or studied from an ethnocentric or parochial perspective. Cultural and economic relationships can be identified between events and developments in Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, Europe or the wider world. Experience has shown that with the right materials and good teaching, children can derive lasting enjoyment from learning about Scottish history. Our strategy is to continue to promote interest in the history of Scotland and its people and to ensure that all young people have an

2. When the kilt is the most widely recognised identifier of Scottishness<sup>7</sup>, why is it considered eccentric in Scotland to wear one as ordinary streetwear<sup>8</sup>, but *de rigueur* for the Tartan Army, Burns Nights, Scottish country dancers, trade fair staff and pipe bands, and highly fashionable at weddings, graduations and other rites of passage? How is it that tweeds, with all their associations with landed gentry, escape the cultural compartmentalisation of kilts (except possibly at Oxford University).

3. Why, when Germans, for example, are proud of their sausages, are Scots so self-consciously ambivalent about haggis (a sausage of another sort), except when it is sold deep-fried with chips. And this, when — as the result of a tongue-in-cheek rhyme by Robert Burns — it is made the iconic centre-piece of Burns nights?

4. If Scotland's clean, fresh environment is an important export marketing image, how come so few of Scotland's bathing beaches have been meeting minimum hygiene standards.<sup>9</sup> And why, compared with,

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experience of Scottish history at school that will stand them in good stead as citizens of Scotland.

— Scottish Executive. *Creating our future, Minding our past: Scotland's national cultural strategy* (Scottish Executive, August, 2000). p.26.

<sup>7</sup> MORI. *Through other eyes 2 — How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council) [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000).

<sup>8</sup> See: *Chapter 5 Tartan. (Case Study 1):*

<sup>9</sup> Cairns, Christopher. "Scotland's filthy bathing beaches fail health tests" (*The Scotsman*, 1 October 1998). p. 3.

say, Canadians, Scandinavians or Melanesians, do Scots appear to be compulsive litterers?<sup>10</sup>

5. Why have the more extravagantly romantic things said about whisky typically escaped the sharp historical critique that makes tartan and kilts such emotionally complicated icons?

6. Why was it only in 1996 that the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama introduced Scottish music to its degree options?

7. Which raises another question: why has there so long been so little Arts Council and Scottish Office support for traditional Scottish music, compared with support for mainstream western arts (which are in no great danger of being lost to humanity), and compared with, for example, the levels of support in Spain for Galician piping?

8. Why is there such a culturally unrepresentative collection of “Scottish” artefacts for sale in tourist hotspots, such as Gretna Green and most Tourist Information Centres? Why are genuine Scottish arts so seldom evident in these settings?

9. Why does a “traditional Scottish breakfast” in most Scottish B&Bs consist of bacon, eggs, sausages and possibly a little slice of black pudding, fried bread and Lorne sausage? Why is it so difficult to find a B&B that will serve well-made pinhead, medium or coarse cut oatmeal porridge with salt and cream? (It was encouraging, however, to see Crieff-based food consultant Brian Wilton arguing that hospitality

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<sup>10</sup> A Market Research Scotland survey, commissioned by Scottish Natural Heritage, found 8 per cent of more than 5000 Scottish boys and girls aged 14-17 claimed to be “very interested” in Scotland’s natural heritage, and 38 per cent “slightly interested”. The majority (54 per cent) were “disinterested” or did not bother replying. Only 17 per cent claimed they never dropped litter.

— Edwards, Rob. “Environment is ‘dull and uncool’, say young Scots” (*Sunday Herald*, 9 April, 2000). p. 8.



providers should encourage tourists to eat porridge in the traditional way: standing up. "Turn serving porridge into a ritual and people will go home raving about it," he said.<sup>11)</sup>

10. Why, when a market the size of the United States showed its admiration and appreciation of Scottish influences by declaring a national "Tartan Day", did *The Scotsman* reply with a tartly sneering editorial?

11. What sources can be identified for some of the attitudes that appear to lie behind the bubbly irony and self-effacing wit of Lynn Cochrane, writing about Scots women in *The Scotsman*?:

Scots have to suffer more than their fair share of bad luck. Not only do we have to contend with horizontal rain, deep-fried food and a terrible national football team. But our national emblem is a weed and our national dish is scraped from the inside of a sheep.

And as if that isn't enough to sink us into the deepest of depressions, the rest of the world perceives us as a bunch of miserly, bad-tempered, foul-mouthed drunks with faces like bags of spanners.

There is no point beating around the bush. We Scots are not renowned for our good looks. It is in our genes. A new study of skeleton remains dug up on the remote Hebridean island of Ensay found that years of humping fishing creels had transformed women into virtual hunchbacks...

...And with that kind of gene pool what hope do the rest of us have? Supermodels Stella Tennant and Honor Fraser may have bucked the trend but they are

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<sup>11</sup> Wilton, Brian. Cited by Dalton, Alastair, in a story "Porridge eaters do it standing up" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 10 January 1999). p.1.

two roses among thorns. And anyway they are so posh  
they don't count.<sup>12</sup>

All of these questions relate in one way or another to aspects of a Scottish identity crisis. "Scottish culture" embraces diversity in language, social behaviour and attitudes. This diversity is also conditioned by social contexts. Scots, for example, are used to reading newspapers that use little of the language they hear and use in many social exchanges; the wearing of football team strips is accepted on the stands at a football game but banned from many schools and pubs. Accents, even vocabularies and whole languages, are consciously changed from one situation to the next. It is not, therefore, relativistic or theoretically careless to suggest that, provided their sources lie within the culture, one resource is ultimately as authentic as another. If we take an international view, it is stating the obvious to say that Scotland is many different things to many different people and this reality needs to be taken into account: Scotland's cultural diversity is international as well as domestic. Political questions relating to formulations of identity — notwithstanding a protracted debate about constitutional status — are, in their current post-devolution formulations, very recent: a lack of resolution is to be expected. Recency also characterises wider, longer-term perspectives on identity issues: political nationalism, for example, began to find a measure of practical consensus only in the middle of last century. Richard Finlay observes in his account of the origins of the Scottish National Party:

The most obvious and striking feature concerning the political development of the Scottish nationalist movement in the period

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<sup>12</sup> Cochrane, Lynn. "Wha's like us? Damn few — everyone else is far prettier" (*The Scotsman*, Monday, 14 September. 1998). p.9.

1919-1942 was its divisiveness and the difficulty it had in maintaining a united and cohesive front.<sup>13</sup>

... and its character, which found some stability then, re-entered a period of change with Scottish devolution.

One of the tensions arising from Scotland's ongoing identity debate has been a conflict between those who are happy to use and exploit existing constructs, images and icons and those who would like to give Scotland a new identity based on its modernity. Similar tensions were being felt by at least some of Scotland's youth. In 1998, Louise Lamont, then 15, wrote:

The growing awareness of national identity among my generation, aroused less appropriately by Hollywood than political manifestos, and the pride we can take from the knowledge that Scotland is not a land of haggis-scoffing, whisky-swigging, eightsome-reeling orange wig-wearers are touching emotions one would be hard-pressed to uncover easily in other nations' youth.<sup>14</sup>

In fact, of course, Scotland is just one of the crowd in having to face a shifting array of complicated identity issues. The world is changing.

The popular mind often tries to define a culture by identifying traits and attitudes that all adherents of that culture are supposed to hold in common. "How big is identity?" art historian Duncan MacMillan rhetorically asked delegates at the 1999 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention in

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<sup>13</sup> Finlay, Richard J., *Independent and Free — Scottish Politics and the Origins of the Scottish National Party, 1918-1945* (John Donald, 1994). p. 251.

<sup>14</sup> Lamont, Louise. "Scotland for Beginners" in: Fraser, Maurice(ed.) *Essential Scotland* (Agenda Publishing in association with Scotland the Brand, 1998). p. 125.

Edinburgh. "About five million will do very nicely for the Scots."<sup>15</sup> Orthodoxy, he was saying, misrepresents an essential aspect of Scottishness.

Place of birth, skin colour, language, place of residence, property, biological kinship and national origins are variously and unhelpfully used to extend or withhold full membership of cultures. In the modern world, simplistic cultural categorisation devices are almost invariably fallacious or impractical and multiple cultural identities are not uncommon. Is a "Scot" a landowner with a semi-permanent address in Scotland, someone who was born in Scotland (but may now live in Florida), someone who lives and was born overseas but identifies him/herself as Scottish, or someone who identifies their 'roots' in Scotland? What does a conservative Free Church of Scotland Minister from the Lewis have in common with a drug addicted solo mother from Easterhouse; what does a retired Orange Lodger from Bathgate share with an Islamic businessman from Govan or a feminist academic at Aberdeen? All are Scots. And the net obviously reaches far wider: "How big is identity?"

A culture in the modern world is likely to be usefully definable less in terms of its homogeneity than in terms of those things that define the polarities: people of different cultures identify different things to argue about, to identify with or against. Scotland has a few conspicuous epicentres of shared interest, but these can often be defined in terms of discourses of disagreement rather than wide group consensus. Cultures and, more specifically, the values that are embedded in them shape and, at the same time, are the products of human behaviour: they are always changing. The ideas and aspirations a culture generates may be engaged in long-running controversies with each other and

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<sup>15</sup> MacMillan, Duncan. In plenary address, "How Big is Identity", to *The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention* in association with the National Museums of Scotland, National Museum of Scotland. 24 September, 1999.

with the structures and the institutions the culture also generates. Clearly, in parts of Scotland at least, one defining value could be said to be “national identity”, simply because it is so frequently an issue. If we wish to pursue a view that identity is not conferred by others but something we must ourselves declare, we can quickly add to this list of values that produce debate in Scotland: religion, football, land, history, education, social equality, employment, language... . The resulting discourses may help to define something we choose to think of as contemporary “Scottishness”, but outcomes will fall short of articulating the clear identity mission statement some people may be looking for. For most analytical purposes, “Scotland” may best be principally considered: a) as a political entity in the context of those who live in it, and: b) as an emotional entity in the context of expatriate and descendant communities.

This would help us to keep clear the notion of “Scottish heritage”, as addressed by McCrone and others in 1994 — “a panoply of material and symbolic inheritances, some hardly older than the possessor” and something for which there is a “cultural need ... in our modern age” ... “this growing cult of the past”.<sup>16</sup> As such, it is plainly distinct from culture. “Heritage” is a construct rooted in political and emotional agendas that serves needs arising from experiences of modernity; “culture”, on the other hand, is the “programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (the way we are, in the sense of Geert

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<sup>16</sup> McCrone, David, Morris, Angela and Kiely, Richard. *Scotland — the Brand* (Edinburgh University Press, 1995). p. 1.

(McCrone et al. conclude that cultural and political nationalism are not connected. The author here would wish to add that a particular heritage, however, may be enlisted to more than one set of political interests, and that culture is something else again.)

Hofstede's image of "software for the mind").<sup>17</sup> "Scottish heritage" can, therefore be clearly defined as an assemblage made in or on behalf of a "Scotland" defined by the maker of the assemblage. To the extent that a context governs the content, the individual elements of the assemblage, no matter their sources, no longer represent those sources (as they did in situ) but are governed and interpreted by the new context in which they find themselves placed: their meaning has changed; they have become exotic rather than familiar. A "Scottish" assemblage seems to reach for a "Scottish culture" which is something than can only be fabricated. It is a too widely-ranging notion that can only reach for a tremendous wealth of diversity, uproot it from the sources of its sustenance, and obscure opportunities for appreciation or understanding. In short, it must either prove too big and complicated to handle, or be cobbled together as a "heritage" assemblage.

The broad, most readily accepted cultural identities of Scotland are Gaelic/Highland and Scots/Lowland. We can also speak of Orcadian, Shetland, Border, Northeast and Central groupings. We can identify Scottish Asian, Scottish South Asian, Scottish Irish and other groups, largely within the larger Central Scotland grouping. Italian-born Tony Cirignaco worked with Glencairn Crystal to produce a tartan for Scotland's estimated 50,000 Italian Scots but failed to please the Italian Consul General to Scotland, Giuseppe Zaccagnino, who told *The Scotsman* he preferred and would himself wear the "real" thing: "If people from Scotland moved to Italy and made a pizza, would you eat that? I don't think so."<sup>18</sup> Popularly, differences are recognised between Edinburgh

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<sup>17</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre, cited and translated by Hofstede, Geert, in his book: *Cultures and organisations – intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Lawson, Tracey. "Italians get weaving on a tartan of their very own" (*The Scotsman*, 6 November, 2000). p.5.

and Glasgow, Peterhead and Aberdeen, Inverness and Stornoway. At a personal level, people from towns and villages a mile or two apart declare their different identities. Scotland is a confederation of countless identities and has long been decidedly multicultural. Scots function in various ways across a host of more broadly or narrowly definable cultural entities and identities.

Thus, within different fields of interest and activity, from engineering to playing football, piping to needle-work, literature to running with Rangers' supporters, individuals experience a diversity of pressures and influences to conform. All of these help to create different ways for different people and different generations to be "Scottish" at different times. Levels at which forms of "Scottishness" exist are situational and in many cases evanescent (as at an international sporting event, or a professional association's conference). Thus an individual may function well in several groups more or less simultaneously in a location which may even be outwith Scotland. In such ways, many Scots (as a national identity) carry a kind of multiculturalism around with them, speaking lightly accented English in one context, for example, heavily accented English, regional Scots or Gaelic in the next, and adjusting behavioural norms in concert. Underlying this is not "Scottishness" so much as a culturally sourced repertoire of thought, language and behaviour.

Any usefully consistent definition of "Scottishness" as it exists in Scotland would require blind eyes to be turned to a rich cultural repertoire, and it should not be too surprising if empirical fieldwork was to conclude that "Scottishness" — as a coherently redacted set of cultural attributes — was most readily identifiable, not in Scotland at all, but in the "Scottish" repertoires of "Scottish" Americans, "Scottish" Canadians (not Cape Bretoners, who have their own distinctive culture), "Scottish" Australians and other descendant groups overseas. It is these people who will have managed their own redactions

according to real needs experienced in New World environments — geographical, economic, social and cultural — and there will, at least, be some authenticity in that process.<sup>19</sup>

Scotland's complicated cultural diversity apart, the arbitration of "Scottish" identification rests in no few sets of hands. The executives of bodies like Historic Scotland, the National Trust for Scotland, the Scottish Arts Council and the Scottish Tourist Board undoubtedly have less power in this area than the editor of the *Daily Record*, the daily newspaper that issued all those 'I'm a real Scot from ...' bumper stickers. It is one thing to be dismayed by what Harry Lauder got up to but, 'subcultural Scotchery' or not, it is a fact that he attracted Scottish as well as international audiences. Listening to Lauder today is to listen to a performer who, first and foremost, was used to playing to live audiences. We hear him across a century of shifted values and social change — an anachronicity made possible only by recording technology. Besides, it remains a matter of research to discover how seriously even his most ardent fans accepted his excesses as "true" depictions of the Scottish experience. The same must go for almost any internationally known or popular figure whose nationality is readily identified.

Identity has been a more or less keenly felt political issue in Scotland since 1707 when at least one half of the nation felt its birthright had been suborned and sold off by "a parcel o rogues". The idea that Scotland held onto some of its distinctive institutions has failed to appease those who have felt injured by the Act of Union. The perspective of Hugh Cheape, head of history and applied art at the National Museum of Scotland, is pertinent as a view from

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<sup>19</sup> This argument is based on the author's informal observations, principally in Scotland, Canada and New Zealand. The ways in which cultural repertoires may usefully be understood constitute an area requiring considerable field work beyond the scope of this study.



within the “heritage” sector. He put it that, during the Imperial and post-Imperial periods, the importance of imagery such as Highland soldiery and Scots in kilts turned identity into a somewhat patronising issue so that, where Scots were performing a role in kilts, they were accepted and approved. But, if the identity became political, it produced discomfort and disapproval.<sup>20</sup> Hugh Cheape said that, when the new Museum of Scotland was opened in Edinburgh in December 1998, two extracts from the Declaration of Arbroath painted onto a wall in the museum had been “lambasted as obscene graffiti” by some visitors to the museum.

That’s such an extraordinary reaction to us perhaps flying gently in the face of 100 years of British historical tradition where the notion of constitutional documents looked no further than the Magna Carta which is no better than a shopping list. The Declaration of Arbroath had never been looked at as piece of medieval rhetoric, a piece of documentation of European status — and really, when all’s said and done, it’s nothing to do with nationalism or patriotism. It is just a very, very fine document put together by international churchmen on an international issue in 1320. But we’re still so hung-up we use it as a rallying cry, or it’s perceived as a sort of obscene gesture, depending which side of the divide you’re on.<sup>21</sup>

As he sees it, after enjoying the “fruits of Empire,” Scotland began to experience setbacks:

Things only go sour by the late 1960s and 1970s, and then they go really sour. People turn round and say. ‘we’ve been sold a pig in a poke’ and what about Scotland’s defining moments? They’ve all been written up, described and defined by writers of the English language in the English language and they’re all English. And people say, ‘what about our own cultural background?’.

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<sup>20</sup> Cheape, H. Interview, 6 January, 1999.

<sup>21</sup> Cheape, H. Interview, 6 January, 1999.

The result was that, from the 1960s through the 1980s, Scotland's intellectual history underwent a period of healthy revisionism — “a stage of saying, ‘look, we’ve always bought our Scottish history through MacAulay, Maitland, Trevelyan, Stubbs, all the great names of English history in the English language. But, if we look at our own sources now with a more informed eye, they tell us something completely different’.

Then, the tail end of that ... it feeds enough Scottish history to the system to provide populist patriotic stuff which then gets intellectually distended and becomes dubious ... a sort of post-revisionist chagrin at the loony end of the market. At the end of the day, in the process of revisionism, things like tartan haven't been looked at because they were not intellectually respectable.<sup>22</sup>

Prompted by the interest of fashion houses in tartan, the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York mounted a major exhibition on tartan in 1988-89. The exhibition met with general enthusiasm and acclaim and it was thought fit to repeat the exercise for the Edinburgh Festival in 1989.<sup>23</sup> The New York event used subjective, emotive statements about tartan: “tartan is fun ... flamboyant ... fashion ... tartan is history and tradition ... tartan is theatre.” Despite greater constraint at the Edinburgh exhibition, critics in Scotland were hostile and the audience in Edinburgh was less accepting than the audience in New York.

Said Hugh Cheape, who worked on the Edinburgh exhibition:

We had rave reviews in the national press, rave reviews from London. The only sour voices we had were here in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Two particular reviews were very sour about it. I thought that, still, at the end of the day, we are sour about tartan because it's the Harry Lauder syndrome. Tartan has been manipulated by Empire ... the strings have been operated by the

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<sup>22</sup> Cheape, H. Interview, 6 January, 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Cheape, H. *Researching tartan* (*Costume Number 27*, The Costume Society, 1993). p. 35-46.

English language world who are secretly laughing at us anyway because we appear to be puppet figures, so the revisionism about that is very sour indeed and says that tartan is not Scotland in any way whatsoever — and out goes the baby with the bath water.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, for example, in 1990 (the following year), travel writer and *Herald* television critic Julie Davidson was asking “who do we blame for the traducing of Scotland? For the fantasies and falsehoods that have afflicted its history, culture, character, and even landscape in the 300-odd years since we lost our nationhood?”<sup>25</sup>

The “post-revisionist chagrin” of the Scottish media is revealed in many contexts, not least its rare use of the everyday language of so many of its readers. Pointing to another instance, Matthew Lindsay wrote in 1998 in *The Herald*. about the poor coverage by Scottish media of Scotland’s Highland games He quoted judge, coach and former hammer throw champion Bill Anderson:

There was a report on news pages of my local paper the other week on the Ballater Highland Games and it concentrated solely on the fact that Billy Connolly and his family had been in attendance. The games will always survive, no matter what level of support they get. But when I was in my heyday I was guaranteed good coverage of my performances. I feel sorry for competitors now. they do not get the plaudits they deserve.<sup>26</sup>

The same article pointed out that the backing for heavy field events from sports administrators was non-existent, “with the Scottish Sports Council opting to award no funding whatsoever to its dedicated participants through the

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<sup>24</sup> Cheape, H. Interview, 6 January, 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Davidson, Julie. “Heederum-hoderum: Scottish kitsch” in: Kemp, A., and Reid, H., *The Glasgow Herald Book of Scotland* (Mainstream Publishing, 1990). p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Lindsay, M. Story about Highland games (*The Herald*, September 5, 1998). p. 15.

Lottery Sports Fund while large sums of money are distributed freely to enthusiasts of pursuits as obscure and uninspiring as sub-aqua and surfing.”

Matthew Lindsay wrote:

Sadly, the recognition the Highland Games receives as a serious sport appears to be on an irreversible slide in direct contrast to the sharp rise in standards. ... For a scene that boasts some of the most committed and talented sportsmen and women in a country with a dearth of top athletes, it is an injustice that the exposure it receives is so paltry. For many years now, though, this thriving community has been overlooked by an uninterested press.<sup>27</sup>

Within Scotland, not much has changed, even in *The Herald's* coverage of Highland games events in 1999 and 2000. International interest, however, continues to grow. There are a number of Highland games in Europe, for example, and in September 2000, games were held for the first time in formerly communist East Germany. More than 8,000 people attended the two-day event, organised by the Schloß Machern Culture Association at the Schloß Machern castle estate. The programme included heavy field events, piping, Scottish food and product stalls, evening entertainment by Scottish and Irish folk groups, a multimedia show, Morris dancing, whisky tasting, a lecture on Scotland and specially arranged children's activities. It closed with an address by Major Dunkley, Scots D. G. and Assistant Defence Attache at the British Embassy Berlin, and a candlelight concert by the Westsächsischen Sinfonieorchester (playing, amongst other things, Mendelssohn's *Hebridean Overture*).

German piping writer Marcel Martens wrote:

The games proved such a success, it was decided that an International Highland Games and Pipe Band Competitions should

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<sup>27</sup> Lindsay, M. Story about Highland games (*The Herald*, September 5, 1998). p. 15.

be held at the same venue September 22-23, 2001. It is hoped that Scottish bands will participate. A full information packet will be sent to the RSPBA and the Scottish Highland Games Committee in the hope we can excite Scots to participate in this major event. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to organise Highland Games in the former East Germany.<sup>28</sup>

In the light of international enthusiasm such as this, it is worth considering Julie Davidson's conclusion in 1990:

The great tartan monster has become our national mascot. It's even possible to argue that this bizarre beastie has played its part in reinforcing that sense of identity which might so easily have vanished after the Act of Union. True, the symbol of (Scotland's) identity may be a peculiar mongrel mix of marketing emblems and kailyard stereotypes and historical distortions, and it may repel some Scots. But like it or loathe it, it's become our corporate logo. We can't uninvent it. But at least we can try to make sure we understand the elements which went into its design.<sup>29</sup>

One Scottish reaction has been to dismiss as "kitsch" many of Scotland's most obviously iconic elements, but with the interesting exception of whisky. It is a response that requires detached re-examination. Whisky provides an example that helps to illustrate this need. In terms of international identification with Scotland, whisky appears to be eclipsed only by kilts.<sup>30</sup> And it is as

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<sup>28</sup> Martens, Marcel. "Games brighten the East German summer" (*Notes No. 15*, The Piping Centre, Spring 2001). p. 15.

<sup>29</sup> Davidson, Julie. "Heederum-hoderum: Scottish kitsch" in: Kemp, A., and Reid, H. (eds). *The Glasgow Herald Book of Scotland* (Mainstream Publishing, 1990). p. 50.

<sup>30</sup> A survey of 17 countries in 2000 by MORI for the British Council found that 15 per cent of successful young adults, asked what one image best summed up Scotland, identified whisky. This compared with 21 per cent who named 'kilts' (the most frequently mentioned image), bagpipes (11 per cent), Highlands/mountains (10 per cent) and, further down the list, Edinburgh, the Loch Ness monster, *Braveheart* and Scottish thrift/greed, all at 2 per cent.

snugly wrapped up in romantic nonsense as any other Scottish icon. Folk singer Robin Laing is far from having been the first to embrace whisky with some dram-curdling sentimental invention in song:

When you hold it in your hand  
It's the pulse of one small nation  
So much more than just a dram  
You can see it, if you will  
The people and the weather and the land  
The past into the present is distilled.<sup>31</sup>

Writes David Daiches:

The Highlands of Scotland teem with the most beautiful clear water from stream and spring, and there are many peat bogs; so that if you need peat smoke in order to dry the barley and turn it into aromatic malt, and clear water for the further process of turning that malt into a fermented liquid before distilling it into spirit, there too Nature has laid everything on your doorstep.<sup>32</sup>

For centuries, he tells us, its production and consumption was largely confined to the Highlands "...for it is the Gaelic-speaking Highland clans whom we have to thank for this contribution to the joy of living. The word 'whisky' itself derives from the Gaelic uisge beatha, 'water of life'." But the image of the whisky-drinking Highlander — which, it must be said, was not David Daiches' invention — is somewhat larger than life, as Billy Kay and Cailean Maclean have pointed out:

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— MORI. *Through other eyes 2 — How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council) [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000). p. 81.

<sup>31</sup> Laing, R., cited by McFadzean, Dave. "A Passion for a Dram" (*The Scots Magazine*, January 1999). p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> Daiches, David. *Scotch Whisky: its past and present* (Fontana/Collins, rev. ed. 1976). p. 13.

The association is spurious since long before the first trickle of neat uisge-beatha ever issued from Highland stills, a surprising range and quantity of wines were being drunk the length and breadth of the Gaidhealtachd.<sup>33</sup>

They further point out that wine features in Gaelic songs, poetry and oral tradition centuries before whisky, and that the earliest references to uisge beatha date from around 1650 “and even in these it generally foots a list of more prestigious drinks.” In his book, *The Original Guide to Scotch Whisky*, Michael Brander refers to the widely cited Scottish Exchequer Rolls of 1494 in relation to the earliest record of malted barley being used instead of wine to make aqua vitae, but also observes that it was 1618 before mention was made, in an account of a chieftain’s funeral, of drinking uisge beatha. He comments:

To judge by surviving illustrations the stills of the 15th and 16th centuries were primitive indeed. Although there are plenty of entries in the Exchequer Rolls to prove that the King of Scotland and his nobles were fond of whisky the spirit in those days must have been not only powerful, but also potentially lethal ... it was not until the 18th century that distilling became really widespread in Scotland.<sup>34</sup>

It can be said with confidence that whisky, as it is known today, is a significantly different tippie from the spirit that was supped in the black houses and great halls of the 17th century Highlands. For one thing, it was only in the 18th century that French cognac distillers seem to have learned the advantages of maturing brandy in wood casks and, says David Daiches, no-one knows when it was first realised that whisky improved in wooden casks.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>33</sup> Kay, Billy and Maclean, Cailean. *Knee Deep in Claret: a celebration of wine and Scotland* (Auld Alliance, 1983). p. 147-148.

<sup>34</sup> Brander, Michael. *The Original Guide to Scotch Whisky* (Gleneil edition, 1995). p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Daiches, David. *Scotch Whisky: its past and present*, rev. ed. (Fontana/Collins, 1976). p. 28-29.

continuous patent still was invented by Robert Stein in 1828 and this was rendered obsolete in 1832 by Aeneas Coffey's continuous still. Coffey was a former Inspector General of Excise in Ireland. The first blended whiskies date from 1853.<sup>36</sup>

Modern Scotch whisky production and marketing is, for all of its picturesque distilleries and copper stills, a highly successful modern industrial and distribution business with a consistency of product lines that simply would not have been technically or managerially possible in the days of mythic yore. Had it not changed, adapted and modernised, the industry would not have survived against international competition of the liquor trade. In 1997, whisky exports were reckoned to generate some 10,700 jobs.<sup>37</sup> Whisky is a big earning, globally popular product that is required by law to be made and aged in Scotland and is sold as "Scotch". In return, Scotland appears to get some of the jobs and some return on local investments. But the big returns seem to go elsewhere — in excise duty, in profits to shareholders furth of Scotland and in jobs (much of the marketing, the biggest side of the business, is now based in the south of England). Said Sandy Grant Gordon, former chairman and managing director of William Grant and Sons Ltd, a family-owned company that prides itself on its Scottishness and sponsors a variety of piping, fiddling and Highland games events:

I have to say our own sales office is in the South for the simple reason that, if you're travelling regularly abroad — Scotland is rather better now, but at the time we set up there — it was increasingly difficult to travel out of Scotland without inconvenience. I remember myself travelling back from a trip to Japan and at 4 o'clock in the morning the captain of the plane said,

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<sup>36</sup> Brander, Michael. *The Original Guide to Scotch Whisky* (Gleneil edition, 1995).p. 17-19.

<sup>37</sup> Scottish Council Development and Industry. *Survey of Scottish Manufacturing and Exports 1997-98* (Scottish Council Development and Industry, December 1998).



you know, 'that's the lights of Glasgow down there'. It was 10 o'clock before we finally set foot in Glasgow having gone all the way down to London, waited, got the plane back. And for people who are travelling virtually every month of the year and coming and going, it is a disadvantage. But in no way does that affect our feeling that we are a Scottish operation directed and owned by the family.<sup>38</sup>

Does this sort of situation in any way constitute "exploitation" of Scotland and "Scottishness" by whisky companies? It is a fine line between promoting a national identity and exploiting it. The difference lies in whether the net result benefits or harms the nation.

In the case of whisky, there is persuasive evidence that it is one of Scotland's more economically benign industries. A report commissioned by Allied Distillers from the Fraser of Allander Institute at Strathclyde University, using 1998 figures for Allied's Scottish operation which produces Ballantines, Teachers and Laphroaig whiskies, concluded that whisky production had a greater knock-on effect to the Scottish economy than computing, banking or oil. Allied Domecq spent £99.5 million — 75.6 per cent of its year's gross spending on labour and commodities — in Scotland, on Scottish-based inputs. Within this amount, £48.6 million — 86.6 per cent of the company's wage bill — was paid in wages in Scotland. Moreover, 99 per cent of Allied Domecq's production was exported. The report said that, for every pound of Allied Distillers' £131 million total operational costs, almost £2 of additional outputs resulted elsewhere in Scotland, giving the company an effective £389.3 million impact on the Scottish economy. The report estimated that whisky supported 37,257 jobs, including 10.4 per cent of Scotland's agricultural jobs, and generated £3.44 billion a year for the Scottish economy. Transport and fishing

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<sup>38</sup> Sandy Grant Gordon. Interview, 31 October, 1999.

were found to be the sectors with the biggest multiplier effects, but the whisky industry outscored banking, insurance and finance, forestry, oil and gas, textiles and clothing, chemicals, electrical and instrumental engineering, hotels and catering, and many other manufacturing and service activities.<sup>39</sup>

RATHER than hammering away to produce narrower views of “Scottishness”, we should be more concerned about the dangers of diminishing our options. Sustainability, for example, should become a keener issue in relation to Scotland’s unusually rich array of cultural expressions and iconographies. It should, for example, matter substantially that there be a range of vigorous cultural resources, in part so that a business wishing to construct a unique, low-cost branding statement from ready-made components — a key strategy within an inter-cultural approach — is enabled to do so with some clarity of purpose and precision. It should also matter deeply to business that the representations it chooses have substance: that they identify a vigorous living reality. Consultation at a level sufficient to establish whether this is the case has rarely if ever taken place in Scotland.

It should be of wide concern within Scotland, especially within its business sectors, that a once potent signifier like tartan is becoming increasingly Celticised and generalised.<sup>40</sup> It should be of concern that contemporary Scottish traditional music CDs tend to be lost in overseas record bins under a slough of Irish “Celtic” music while the “Scottish” bins hold albums made years ago by performers like the Andy Stewart, Kenneth McKellar, The Corries, the Alexander Brothers, Billy Connolly and one or two (probably military) pipe bands. It should be of concern that the World Pipe Band

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<sup>39</sup> Fraser of Allander Institute. *Allied Distillers’ Whisky Report* (executive summary), Allied Distillers Ltd, 1999.

<sup>40</sup> See *Chapter 7 (Case Study 1): Tartan*.

Championships, which attracted 7,000 participants to Glasgow in August 2000<sup>41</sup>, are not more aggressively promoted and accompanied by a trade fair, street parades through the streets of Glasgow, ceilidhs and celebrations and the sale of overseas television rights, that tourists from England, Eire, Northern Ireland, France, Denmark, Holland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, United States and New Zealand<sup>42</sup>, for example, are not encouraged to come and support their countries' bands and that there is negligible coverage in the Scottish or British news media.<sup>43</sup>

It should be of concern that the long-established and unique system of heraldry and clanship in Scotland<sup>44</sup> is only weakly able to protect its intellectual/cultural property from opportunists overseas. It should be of concern that the print media reaching expatriate and Scottish descendant communities overseas are, by and large, anachronistic and unhelpful. It should be of concern that there is a dearth of creative thinking about strategies to more effectively market Scottish exports. It should be of concern that a prominent "Scottish" photographer can produce a book of photographs of the world's Hogmanay capital, the home of the International Festival and Fringe and the Military Tattoo, and have scarcely one person visible; that photo agencies

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<sup>41</sup> Mosson, A. (Lord Provost, City of Glasgow). "Message from the Chieftain" (*Official Programme, The World Pipe Band Championships 2000*, Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2000). p. 5.

<sup>42</sup> These were the countries represented by bands at the 2000 World Pipe Band Championships.  
— Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association. *Official Programme, The World Pipe Band Championships 2000* (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2000).

<sup>43</sup> See: Paterson, Mike. *A Scottish National Youth Pipe Band: a feasibility study* (The Piping Centre - unpublished, 2000); *The Cheshire Cat's Miaow: the substance and chimera of Scottish bagpiping*. Paper given at the Scotland Abroad Conference, University of Glasgow, 20 November, 1999.

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter 6 (Case Study 2): *Heraldry*.

supply pictures of only four or five selected Scottish castles to clients mostly south of the Tweed in order to meet clients' needs for "typical" Scotland imagery.<sup>45</sup> All Scots should be a little worried, at least, about the things that are said about Scotland and the Scots on the Internet — and be doing considerably more about it, including co-ordinating and strengthening, modernising, developing, promoting and possibly finding a way to quality mark Scotland's on-line presence to distinguish sites of substance from those that are merely exploitative or misleading. It has become absolutely essential to evaluate and market the icons afresh, and to energetically re-brand the resources that should be facilitating international exports of far less distinctive product.

It is a matter of urgency that infrastructures be established to ensure that discourse and consultation take place between aspiring Scottish business and the people and organisations who can provide potent repertoires of branding and marketing assistance and imagery. Such consultations need to be encouraged within Scotland, and with identified sources of definitional experiences of Scottishness overseas. Scotland must begin to own its own icons and its own signal imagographic, artistic and cultural resources.

THERE are ways in which cultures can be recognised by characteristic expressions of their values (through its arts, intellectual and social styles, customs and its material products) and their underlying sources of its values (such as a repertoire of narratives which are derived from a core of historical inter-experience). Border ridings and Highland games are indisputably such expressions, with community and economic roles to play — but there are many, many more. They are distinctive and readily identifiable, and many are

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<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 3: *Differentiating Scotland*.

inclined to be picked up and freely used to whatever end. After all, who can possibly “own” a beautiful view of a landscape, a thistle, the sound of the pipes, the stories of the past? It seems as silly as trying to “own” the air or the sky. As such, these identifiers are often undervalued and used carelessly in Scotland.

But a culture owns its own creations (“to every cow its calf”<sup>46</sup>), including its history and ideas as well as its artefacts, and can choose to claim and exercise rights of ownership. A culture may not “own” thistles, but it can certainly be possessive about the significance it places in a thistle; the bearers of a tradition should not be unreasonably restrained from claiming special rights to its essence and what it aspires to become.

These things can have a significant realised or potential commercial value, greater than many an artful logo from a design agency, and their exploitation should be to the benefit of the proprietorial culture, and not only on ethical grounds. Cultural property, used too freely to benefit individual opportunists and commercial interests, sees its value diminished by inappropriate associations. It is that culture’s worth to the greater community that is compromised and diminished, while an individual or two gain. He who pays the piper may get to call the tune, but should be restrained from trying to re-define what piping is. The Maori people of New Zealand have a word that captures this idea of cultural property: *taonga*. It is often translated as “treasure” and is understood as something that should be handed on to generations to come, enhanced by the deeds and insights of the present generation. It is

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<sup>46</sup> ... though, according to the legend, St Columba immediately ignored this judgement of the High King at Tara.

— Marsden, John. *The Illustrated Life of Columba* (Floris, 1995). p. 37.

something to respect. If you squander your cultural property, it can never be replaced by something else, only lost. Lost, it can never be fully recovered.

In their pre-devolution book *Scotland the Brand*, which is not about “brand” in the marketing sense so much as “heritage” issues, David McCrone and others drew a range of interesting conclusions in relation to some widely recognised manifestations of Scottish “heritage” promotion, its fabrication, iconography and the generation of stereotypes, a process that “has a negative psychological effect on Scots by confining them to stereotypes of themselves which are judged to have adverse political consequences.”<sup>47</sup> They observed, in a narrowly selected sample (life members of the National Trust for Scotland), that political nationalism and cultural nationalism were different, independently acting motivations. But they headed their key concluding chapter *Heritage in a Stateless Nation* — which, given the strength of the 1997 vote for Scotland’s move to devolution, suggests that it is time to revisit the subject they opened to study. So, too, does the observation of Raphael Samuel that heritage is “proving quite crucial in the construction of post-colonial identities ... . Through the medium of cultural tourism it is allowing, and indeed encouraging, a whole new class of historic nations to emerge.”<sup>48</sup>

It is a widely dispersed impulse. It was largely to resist the acculturation of their children that Asante leaders established a museum in their old capital of Kumase, in Ghana. Professor Malcolm McLeod, director of the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow, who was asked to be an adviser to the project, said the museum was very much what the Asante themselves had

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<sup>47</sup> McCrone, David, Morris, Angela and Kiely, Richard. *Scotland — the Brand* (Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

<sup>48</sup> Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory Volume 1: Past and present in Contemporary Culture* (Verso, 1994). p. 308.

wanted.<sup>49</sup> The museum's ground floor is much as Prempeh II knew it until his death in 1970, down to small personal souvenirs of his reign. Asante who remember going on their knees before that autocratic ruler are startled to encounter his very lifelike effigy, seated where Prempeh II himself sat to hold audiences. The second floor houses a lavish display of courtly regalia. The museum attracts keen interest within Ghana but also draws numbers of overseas tourists who contribute significantly to the museum's financial success.

This vogue for heritage is widely identified as a characteristic of postmodernism but, for want of a definition, "heritage" has proved very difficult to deconstruct. David Lowenthal, Emeritus Professor of Geography and Honorary Research Fellow at University College London, observes that "heritage today all but defies definition. Overuse reduces the term to cant. So routinely is heritage rated a good thing that few ask what it is good for."<sup>50</sup> With no want of passion, he identifies heritage as a spiritual calling:

The creed of heritage answers needs for ritual devotion, especially where other formal faith has become perfunctory or mainly political. Like religious causes, heritage fosters exhilarating fealties. For no other commitment do peoples so readily take up arms. Once a dilettante pastime, the pursuit and defence of patrimonial legacies is now likened to the Crusades — bitter, protracted and ruthless.<sup>51</sup>

If such passions pulsed through the veins of McCrone's life members of the National Trust for Scotland, he certainly did not mention them.

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<sup>49</sup> Paterson, Mike. "A museum fit for a king" (*University of Glasgow Annual Report*, 1995-96). p. 19.

<sup>50</sup> Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade — and the spoils of history* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 94.

<sup>51</sup> Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade — and the spoils of history* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 1-2.

Aspects of heritage enthusiasm are held to include retro-fads and nostalgia, both of which constitute sizeable markets in the wealthy West, comparable with British Victorian appetites for exotica and Chinoiserie. Certainly there is a booming antiques and collectibles trade, but reproductions and designs merely based on those of the past also enjoy a vogue. In fact, in many ways, the past as any sort of a factual reality is every bit as incidental to many postmodern heritage consumers as the realities of Chinese life were to Victorian imbibers of tea and admirers of Ming vases, silks, porcelain and embroidery. Heritage is about enjoyment of the present; it is in many ways a consumer product and/or service of the moment. It is packaged piecemeal.

This is what sees tartan flung over a variety of other products — from dolls to ballpoint pens, golf bags to tee-shirts — in some flagrantly superficial ways by Scottish and overseas manufacturers and salesmen. But tartan is also chosen as a high fashion option by some overseas designers and sells strongly as a furnishings fabric. Tweed and knitwear are also marketed internationally on the basis of their Scottish origins.

It is one thing to see that so much of the tartan “thing” has been abused, and another to forget that tartan design is uniquely Scottish — so uniquely, in fact, that there must have been a time when Scots could have been as punitively possessive about tartan as the French are about their bubbly wine. If you don’t like the way other people are using your cultural property, you need not let go of it; you can reclaim it. Haggis (exports of which have been greatly restricted under legislative regimes) and shortbread sometimes seem to encrust the Scottish identity like garish adobe-work. But, despite any embarrassment this may cause, both generate good incomes for small producers overseas and are only two of the many food products that are, to varying degrees and with various levels of exclusivity, internationally associated with Scotland.



Alongside an awareness of haggis and shortbread, there are cheeses, oatmeal (widely hailed as a health food *par excellence*), oatcakes, black bun, salmon, venison, Scottish beef, Scottish lamb, smokies, marmalade, rock, tablet, butterscotch, etc. To the extent that they are regarded as definitively “Scottish”, all of these foods help to mask a far richer regional cuisine. In this regard, small, high quality producers in Scotland are likely to find value in the Slow Food organisation which originated in Bra, Italy, in 1986 as “Arcigola Slow Food’ and has since grown into an international movement claiming 60,000 members in 35 countries. It promotes a philosophy of taste as a combination of knowledge and pleasure, and follows a Manifesto (endorsed by delegates from 16 countries who met in Paris in December 1989, which states:

Our aim is to rediscover the richness and aromas of local cuisines to fight the standardisation of Fast Food. Slow Food is the avant-garde response to the Fast Life which has changed our lives and threatens the environment and the landscape in the name of productivity.<sup>52</sup>

With support from the Italian Ministry of Agricultural Policy, it works energetically on a number of fronts to preserve and cultivate markets for traditional regional crops and craft-based food production through educating people to an awareness of the quality and diversity that are available. Scottish chef and food writer Catherine Brown — having recently attended Slow Food’s Salone del Gusta in Turin as a judge (and observing that, at this “showplace of artisanal national products, you might have thought there was only one [product from Scotland]: whisky) — encouraged Scotland to follow the example of Italy and make use of EU provisions which give regions the opportunity to win exemptions for traditional food products from the more

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<sup>52</sup> Slow Food. *Slow Food, from its origins (1986) to the present day (1999)*: Slow Food.

<http://www.slowfood.com/principles/manifest.html> ( 9 December 2000).

stringent hygiene and food handling regulations, and set them apart from the anonymity of supermarket distribution systems. She would like to see such exemptions secured, for example, for Mermaid Fish Supplies' smoked salmon (South Uist), Shetland lamb, kippers, smokies and finnans, some of Scotland's distinctive cheeses and other products:

...I could go on. They are all quality products, under threat of extinction, with historic ties to a specific place, symbolically important as a regional food and with potential for increased production.<sup>53</sup>

In a way that is comparable with the way in which the iconic or partly iconised "Scottish" foods mask the potential of many regional specialities, the lone piper on the tourist poster helps to mask the tens of thousands of youngsters all around the world who are daily picking up practice chanter because they love the sound of the pipes. It would be throwing the baby out with the bath water to dismiss their interest as misguided cultural puffery.

At the Scotland International Trade Fair at the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, Glasgow, 21-24 January 1999, for example, J. D. (Dennis) Trickett of Sheffield-based Edwin Blyde & Co. Ltd said that one third of his company's production of quality pewterware — including quaichs, hip flasks, tankards, picture and clock frames — was being sold in Scotland, a success driven by the popularity of Celtic and Charles Rennie Macintosh designs<sup>54</sup> — just two iconic styles. His company's success was not without plenty of competition from Scottish producers of similar product. At the same event, another English company, Wilkinson Sword (who make swords for the

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<sup>53</sup> Brown, Catherine. "Taste of tradition" (*The Herald Saturday Magazine*, 16 December, 2000). p. 18-19.

<sup>54</sup> Trickett, J.D. (at the 1999 Scotland International Trade Fair, Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, Glasgow, 21-24 January 1999). Interview, 23 January 1999.

British and American military) introduced a range of miniature Scottish weaponry: a Wallace Sword, a basket hilted broadsword, a claymore, and so on, along with sgian dubhs. It also was displaying full size, replica Scottish weapons, including a "Millennium Claymore". The show, catering especially for craft and giftware producers, displayed a wide assortment of mostly Scottish products from kitsch to quality, and the inspired to the banal. Tartan was used plentifully. Celtic and Charles Rennie Macintosh-inspired designs were frequently evident and products included ceramics, fabrics, baked goods, glassware, pewterware, crafted felt, art prints, confectionery, drinks, jewellery, knitwear, bagpipes, kilts, books, stationery, art prints, giftware, toys and crafted furniture. There were some interesting attempts to exploit perceptions of Scottishness. McRock International of Selkirk, for example, was using a postmodernist heritage approach to test the market for fist-sized lumps of Scottish rock on small pillows in various clan tartans. These were offered at prices ranging from £11.25 per item for orders of 30-100 to £12.50 for orders of 1-5. Said the literature:

McRock™ has silently witnessed the romantic, mysterious and ultimately tragic history of Scotland ... . Genuine ancient rock from the Highlands of Scotland, forged in volcanic fire three billion years ago, McRock™ may be the oldest thing you will ever touch .... Did Robert the Bruce toy with this same rock during a moment of deep reflection? Was it dislodged by that enigma of Loch Ness, silently foraging for food? Or has it felt the footsteps of Bonnie Prince Charlie as he prepared for Culloden, the final chapter.<sup>55</sup>

The idea may find its market. Nova Scotian Jack Kenneth Laurence Ross, who lives in a timber-frame "castle" modelled on a much scaled-down Dunvegan Castle, has a fondness for tartan and early medieval replica Scottish

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<sup>55</sup> McRock. Packaging material, January 1999.

weaponry and says the Scotland he knows “existed in the 1700s”, treasures a stone sent to him by a friend from the beach at Tain — “my pride and joy,” he called it, adding: “that’s as much of Scotland as I’ve ever seen.”<sup>56</sup>

It is important to see that Scotland’s cultures are under few unique pressures, nor are they the victim only of “English” influences. Were Scots to opt for full political independence, there are few reasons to believe that it would do very much of itself to diminish pressures on the culture and its various forms of expression.

## CONCLUSIONS

IDENTITY issues are ongoing in Scotland, and are likely to remain lively as Scotland establishes new relationships with the rest of the British Isles, with Europe, with its expatriate and descendant communities and with trading partners in a shifting global political and economic environment. Scotland is not unique in facing identity questions and can afford to face these questions with greater self assurance. Definitions of ‘Scottishness’ must not be forced. Rather, diversity should be celebrated. The implication is that, instead of persuading businesses to consistently adopt a bland compromised “brand” identity, we should be resourcing and helping exporters to construct their own branding from a wide repertoire of distinctive regional as well as national Scottish identifiers.

Old identifiers and icons need dispassionate re-evaluation. Their present position needs to be understood; what they say and do needs to be brought closer into line with reality, and their genuine cultural significance needs to be

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<sup>56</sup> Davie, Emma (writer & director) and Higson, Frances and D’Entremont (prod.). *Flight Searching for Scotland* (Antonine Films Ltd and Imagex Ltd., 1998, broadcast on Channel 2, BBC Television, 2 March, 1999).

nurtured and enriched. Moreover, we need to communicate our cultural realities very much more effectively to people around the world who, for various reasons, are interested in Scotland and Scotland's cultures.

As well as being product specific, constructed expressions of Scottish sourcing need to address various target markets in particular and appropriate ways. Degrees of overlap will ensure that the added value to be had from "Scottishness" is not weakened. Scottishness should, in fact, mean many things to many people, and there are no reasons to believe this cannot continue.

There is not only a need in Scotland today for greater confidence to claim what is Scottish, and to define that and apply it as Scots see fit, there is also the opportunity provided by an enviable openness to Scotland internationally. Increased autonomy is likely to give Scotland a bigger stage on which to be Scottish, but it will also mean that Scotland has to think bigger and act more boldly to make the best use of its attributes and aptitudes in increasingly competitive, fragmenting world markets that require strong product and service identification and differentiation, and careful positioning.

And, before we too peremptorily dismiss something as "kitsch", it is probably worth remembering exactly what the word means:

Kitsch (kitʃ). 1926. [G.] Art or *objets d'art* characterized by worthless pretentiousness; the qualities associated with such art or artefacts. Hence *Ki.tschy* *a.*<sup>57</sup>

To return to the opening of this chapter, perhaps Mickey and Minnie Mouse and their tartan garb do have something useful to tell us: that there is a toy world, within which the referents are circumscribed by play, and there is a real world where referents need to be taken more seriously. The two worlds need each

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<sup>57</sup> Onions, C. T. (rev. & ed.) *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd Edition (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, with revised etymologies, addenda and corrections, 1984). p. 2639 (Addenda).

other and inform each other, and it is our problem if we muddle them up. Play pricks pretension's bubble: Mickey and Minnie are toys and Mickey's bagpipes are a toy. We animate them in our imaginations. To see living Scotland's living cultures expressed in their toy accoutrements would be as mistaken as seeing Minnie and Mickey as real mice. If we do that, we will be inclined to reach for mousetraps to deal with the rodents, and a wheelie bin for Scotland's cultures.

Mickey and Minnie, as visitors from their play world, are also telling us that, out in the real world, we should perhaps examine the referents we exploit rather more closely and rather more seriously for it is there that we risk being found guilty of pretentiousness, artifice and kitsch.

## 5. TARTAN (CASE STUDY 1)

WITHIN Scotland, the word “tartan” has at times been used as an emotive epithet of invective, as a word intended to signify all that is narrow, inwards-looking and reactionary in Scottish life and culture, in usages such as the “tartan tax” and “tartanry” which are clearly intended to induce embarrassment or guilt at overt displays of, or identification with Scottishness: a “tartan cringe”. Writing in *Scottish Field* in 1998, journalist Eilidh MacAskill, made it clumsily clear that she was aware of the negative associations tartan has within Scotland and wished to distance herself from the “tartan” camp, but she seems to have felt awkwardly constrained from full-blown iconoclasm:

In childhood tartan often symbolises midgy ridden holidays up north, photo printed tin boxes full of shortbread, hairy plaid blankets in the back of the car, oblique discussions on your family clan history, threats of a kilt to call your own and the hysterical and faintly disturbing sight of your father bearing (sic) his knees at your cousin’s wedding. Tartan did not, as I recall, mean fashion, style or cutting edge. But then things do change when you get older and now the kilt, aided by a well behaved tartan army, various fashion designers, Ewan McGregor’s patronage at the odd premiere and our own parliament, is as fashionable as, oh, a fashionable thing.<sup>1</sup>

As she went on to point out, a range of international fashion designers have reached for tartans: Jean Paul Gaultier, Alexander McQueen, Vivienne Westwood, Clems Ribiero, Christian Lacroix and Tommy Hilfiger (who

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<sup>1</sup> MacAskill, Eilidh. “Tartan Through Time” (*Scottish Field*, November 1998). p. 82-84.

claims to be a descendant, through his mother, of Robert Burns' brother, Gilbert<sup>2</sup>). Hilfiger made tartan the central theme of his Fall 2000 collection after visiting Scotland in 1999. He was quoted by *Scotland on Sunday*: "I was overwhelmed by the striking beauty of the land and the rich traditions of the people."<sup>3</sup>

Tartans and kilts must be conceptually separated for the markets of either to be understood, and that has not always happened. That tartan is far from being exclusively a kilt fabric is amply indicated by all of the other uses to which tartan has been put. Nor are kilts necessarily tartan: there are the hodden grey kilts of the London Scottish Regiment, the Ulster "orange" kilt and many of the non-tartan fashion kilts produced by modern fashion designers .

The modern Scottish tartan fabric market falls, in fact, into three main areas: the kilt and Highland dress trade, the furnishing trade and the fashion trade with significant exports to France and Italy. Tartan designs are also used in all sorts of contexts to sell all sorts of products, from golf umbrellas to table mats and Christmas gift wrap.

Within Scotland, however, the main line of innovation in relation to tartan has almost invariably been denied the more capital intensive routes, such as experimenting with new fibres or establishing new applications for tartan, in favour of creating new setts or designs in traditional wool: the fabric of "Highland dress" kilts and women's long skirts. In itself, however, this has to be seen as having been a considerable marketing success over a good many generations.

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<sup>2</sup> Morton, Tom. "Tom Morton's Essential Diary — Tommy has designs on Rabbie" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 10 January 1999). p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Peters, Nick. "U.S. paints the town tartan as Scots come out of their shell" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 2 April, 2000). p. 3.



The former executive president of the Scottish Tartans Society, the late Dr D. Gordon Teall of Teallach, emphasised tartans' heritage value. Writing in 1994, he said:

Tartans have always formed part of Scotland's historic heritage and it is a compliment to their country that they have become so widespread throughout the English and Gaelic speaking world. They are probably more popular now than they have ever been because they have come to symbolise the spirit of families, clans and districts and, more recently, corporate institutions.<sup>4</sup>

While this may sound like an extravagant assertion of historical credentials, it is in fact defining a context in which concerns over issues such as the antiquity and authenticity of tartans and of kilts are irrelevant. In doing so, it points to a core issue raised by McCrone and others in relation to tartan: "...not why so much of it is a 'forgery', but why it continues to have such cultural power."<sup>5</sup>

The answer lies in appreciating that the development of modern tartans had much more to do with helping to draw together and define a market, and clarify a demand, than with developing a product to service an identified demand. In a basic form, the product can be said to have existed. Marketing gave it potent new meanings exterior to the culture that was its direct source. Tartans were "forged" to meet needs, not for woollen fabric but for meaning, so that their stories say considerably more about the nature of emotional demands outwith the Highlands than anything they might purport to say about 17th century Highland social history: a case of selling the proverbial "sizzle not the sausage". Tartan is unassailably Scottish — in the same way that any other product of the Scottish imagination is Scottish. It was created, in the sense that

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<sup>4</sup> Teall, D. Gordon. "Foreword" in: Urquhart, Blair (ed.), *Identifying Tartans* (Quintet, The Apple Press, 1994). p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> McCrone, David, et al. *Scotland - the Brand* (Edinburgh University Press, 1995). p. 207.

we know it today, in the early 19th century and it very quickly connected with and met many people's experienced emotional needs in ways that could well be productively explored by modern marketing theorists: fortuitous or not, it has been an astonishingly successful marketing story. Within Scotland, tartan's acquired powers of signification have been so strong, in fact, as to have frequently overwhelmed the fabric's simple product value as an attractive, high quality woollen fabric. Thus, there are situations in which most Scots feel diffidence in relation to tartan. To wear tartan is to risk making a statement; to make an inappropriate statement brings embarrassment. The existence of genuine needs, their diversification and redefinition is what gives tartan its ongoing cultural power — not its historicity; tartan is necessarily contemporary.

The needs served by tartan have related to identification in a diversity of contexts, from the elitist to the popular, the nationalistic to the personal: tartan's early appropriation by the British Army, the oddly ritualistic association of tartan with Burnsian events, the individual accomplishment represented at a university graduation, the linking of families that is achieved by a wedding, the bonding of a national group within the Tartan Army or of a social interest group as in expatriate and Scottish descendant clubs and societies, the distinctive display of a national identity by the kilned trade mission participant, a signification of preparedness to perform for a competing solo piper, Highland dancer or Scottish country dancer, and so on. In the hands of fashion designers, tartans almost certainly can help to provide people in a postmodern world with a purchasable, wearable personal identity. Tartan has also found its way into the gift wrap and Christmas tree decorations market, and is used to add value to the tackiest of Scottish souvenirs. In each context, the signification values of the tartan — which functions as a uniquely flamboyant badge — are somewhat different. Tartan has a wide repertoire of significations because its

authenticity has been rendered elastic. "Forgery" has enhanced tartan's cultural value by extending tartan's versatility in ways that can hardly have been foreseen by the likes of Sir Walter Scott, Major-General David Stewart of Garth and the genteel early members of the Highland Society of London.

Tartan's signification power undoubtedly underlies the Scottish tartan industry's emphasis on the production of named tartans, rather than on the exploitation of tartan as an attractive fabric style in its own right for far wider applications. This emphasis is characterised in the Scottish Tartans Society, which keeps a well-stocked library and archive, a "Register of All Publicly Known Tartans" which records more than 2,500 setts, and maintains museums in Scotland and the United States. More than 30 tartans are being added to the Register each year. They fall into a number of categories established by the Scottish Tartans Society: clan, historic, family, district, promotional, corporate, trade or fashion, military, commemorative, novelty, and unnamed. It all tends to be blamed on Sir Walter Scott, along with what is proclaimed as a damagingly outmoded international view of Scotland:

The crucial role played by Sir Walter Scott is that it was he who first defined the product and its provenance, which lie at the heart of Scotland's present image, identity and brand profile ... . The market response to the perceptions created by Scott has proved so strong, appealing and enduring, and the identity he provided for Scotland and its people so clearly defined, that any subsequent view of the country and its people which did not conform to his vision has had little impact on the way in which Scotland is perceived...<sup>6</sup>

Yes and no. Scott, through his prolific and articulate prose, public showmanship and private influence, undoubtedly took the limelight, but it is a

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<sup>6</sup> Griggs, Russel. "Scotland in a new light, towards a collective national image" in: Fladmark, J.M. (ed.), *Heritage and Museums, shaping national identity* (Donhead, 2000). p. 230-231.

little over-enthusiastic to credit him uniquely, as some do, with the construction of an identity so seamless that “not only is Scotland’s image now caught in a time warp, but it may also be that many important and valuable aspects of Scotland have either been ignored or positively rejected since.”<sup>7</sup>

Tartan tends to be placed at the heart of this syndrome of Scottish anachronism. The ways in which tartan has flourished in its modern Scottish and international contexts do indeed owe their origins in the early part of the 19th century and that era’s Romantic and aristocratic concerns to make the most of whatever mementoes might be recovered from what were seen as the ruins of a high early Highland culture, but the Borderer Scott was far from alone in its construction. In 1814, for example, Andrew Robertson, a fashionable miniaturist who had been a student of Sir Henry Raeburn, wrote to Major-General David Stewart of Garth suggesting that the “tartans, plaids and banners” of the clans should be preserved. Stewartt replied enthusiastically:

There are several heads of families who are not chiefs but who have distinguishing marks and plaids and banners, such as Lord Breadalbane, head of a powerful branch of the Campbells, Glengarry, Glencoe and Keppoch of the MacDonalDs, and so on. There is no proper Stewart tartan, unless what is called Prince Charles Tartan be considered as such ... besides the Tartans of chiefs, and heads of families, there are country and district Tartans, such as the Athole Tartan (of which there are two kinds, both very beautiful, one for the Plaid and Coat, and Kilt, and one for the Hose and trouser). These are considered as the Tartans of the Country and not of the family of Athole.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Griggs, Russel. “Scotland in a new light, towards a collective national image” in: Fladmark, J.M. (ed.), *Heritage and Museums, shaping national identity* (Donhead, 2000). p. 231.

<sup>8</sup> Robertson, James Irvine. *The First Highlander: Major-General David Stewart of Garth CB. 1768-1829* (Tuckwell, 1998). p. 73-81.

Stewart, along with other Highland gentlemen like him, set about researching and collecting tartans, work which ultimately earned him a vote of thanks from the Highland Society of London, an organisation of London-based Highland aristocrats which, in 1815, had none other than the Prince Regent, later George IV, as its "chieftain". In a more potent and pervasive way than Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry's Society of True Highlanders, the Highland Society of London was working to promote the profile and the welfare of the Highlands, along with the interests of its members as the surviving remnants of the Highland elite.

Colonel Alexander Robertson of Struan, in response to inquiries about clan tartans, told Stewart:

It does not appear to be ascertained, either by tradition or by authentic history, that the different Clans in the Highlands of Scotland, wore any distinctive pattern or tartan. It is well known that they all had particular Colours, or Standards, emblematical of some of their most honourable attachments, but as far as I have been able to discover, they wore no uniform Garb.<sup>9</sup>

He was not alone in his views. Stewart's biographer, James Irvine Robertson, observes that, while a few chiefs were able to quickly provide tartan samples,

...other chiefs had not the faintest idea of their clan patterns but promised to do their best to find out and forward examples. This often meant copying of one of the designs shown in an old family portrait. Others denied they ever had a tartan of their own and still others proudly claimed the government sett used by the 42nd (the Black Watch) for the best part of 80 years.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Robertson, James Irvine. *The First Highlander: Major-General David Stewart of Garth CB. 1768-1829* (Tuckwell, 1998). p. 77.

<sup>10</sup> Robertson, James Irvine. *The First Highlander: Major-General David Stewart of Garth CB. 1768-1829* (Tuckwell, 1998). p. 77.

Nevertheless, by 1826 34 “authenticated” samples and “about forty others” unauthenticated had found their way into the collection of the Highland Society of London.<sup>11</sup> In 1987, Angela Nisbett recorded 586 tartans in the four file boxes holding the tartan collection of the Highland Society of London.<sup>12</sup> Other sources over the years have included the collection made by Sir William Cockburn from 1810-1820 and now kept in Glasgow’s Mitchell Library, James Logan’s 1831 *The Scottish Gael or Celtic Manners, as preserved among the Highlanders* which included 55 tartans, the Sobieski brothers’ *Vestiarium Scoticum* of 1842, the 1819 and 1847 pattern books and documents of tartan weavers William Wilson and Sons of Bannockburn, Robert Ranald McIan’s prints of Highland figures for *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands* with James Logan’s text (1847), William and Andrew Smith’s *Authenticated Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland* (1850), James Grant’s *The Tartans and the Clans of Scotland* (1886), D.W Stewart’s limited edition *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans* containing 45 tartans specially woven in silk, W. and A. K. Johnston’s *The Tartans of the Clans and Septs of Scotland* (1891 and 1906) which featured more than 200 tartans, Donald C. Stewart’s *The Setts of the Scottish Tartans* (1950) containing 261 patterns, and Robert Bain’s frequently revised and reprinted *The Clans and Tartans of Scotland* (1938, 1946, 1953, 1959).

When it comes to the burgeoning of tartan in the 19th century and the proliferation of designs, much is usually made of the significance of “the King’s Jaunt” to Scotland in August 1822<sup>13</sup>, but the occasion orchestrated by

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<sup>11</sup> Urquhart, Blair (ed.). *Identifying Tartans* (Apple, 1994), p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Nisbett, Angela. *Record of the Highland Society of London’s Tartan Collection* (manuscript copy held by the Scottish Tartans Society, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> James Irvine Roberston, for example, refers to “the astonishing frenzy of excitement into which it threw the citizens of Edinburgh and much of the rest of Scotland, and the pre-eminence in the festivities of the Highlander and Highland garb.”

the likes of Sir Walter Scott and Major-General David Stewart of Garth for King George IV did not appeal to everyone in Scotland. Thus, for example, a song called *The King's Muster* (to the tune, *The Auld Wife ayont the fire*) was circulating in Glasgow — at least in 1823 — which poked fun at Edinburgh's Royal extravaganza:

Little ken ye wha's coming.  
 Clans and clowns and a's coming.  
 Gursie and his cook's coming,  
 Glengarry and his tail's coming,  
 Duke and Dungwaessell's coming,  
 And walth o' gaucie bailies coming.  
     Little wat ye wha's coming,  
     Now the King himsel's coming.  
 Tartan's coming, muslin's coming,  
 Gragarich's coming, Greenock's coming,  
 Here's the holly badge o' Drummond,  
 And there's a Celt, that's but a rum one.  
     Little ken ye wha's coming,  
     Cat and Capperfae's coming.  
 Breadalbane's breekless kernes are coming,  
 Paisley's weaving barns are coming,  
 Dirks are coming, treddles coming,  
 Provost Jarvie's coach is coming.  
     Little wat ye wha's coming,  
     Now the King himsel's coming...<sup>14</sup>

In fact, a proliferation of Ossian-inspired gentlemen's clubs and societies had already been generating a growing demand for tartan for some decades, and the

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— Roberston, James Irvine. *The First Highlander, Major-General David Stewart of Garth CB, 1768-1829* (Tuckwell Press, 1998). p.136 et seq.

<sup>14</sup> Hutchison, R. (pub.) *The King's Muster* — "published and sold, wholesale and retail, by R. Hutchison, Bookseller, 19, Saltmarket. 1823" (a chap book in the Special Collections of the University of Glasgow Library at Bh13-d.6).

celebrated Scottish heroes and heroic incidents of the Napoleonic Wars must have added a slightly more populist lustre to the “garb of old Gaul”. Subsequently, there was the possibly decisive impact of Queen Victoria’s attachment to the Highlands in the context of Britain’s culminating imperialism. But, as Alastair Campbell of Airds has pointed out:

One factor which has been decisive throughout the history of the development of the modern system has been the influence of the tartan manufacturers. ... As with any marketing organisation it was important to maintain a steady flow of ‘new products’, and every year new patterns were produced. ... The idea of individual tartans providing a clan or family identity was a most attractive one, which was adopted enthusiastically by both wearer and seller alike.<sup>15</sup>

The concern to match tartans to family names has tended to become stronger overseas than in Scotland, but surnamed tartans constitute a phenomenon that undoubtedly originated in Scotland and reached its full expression in the 19th century and the high Victorian era. Writing as “Cuthbert Bede”, the Rev. Edward Bradley, an Oxbridge Englishman, wrote several romance-primed travel books about Scotland. His *A Tour in Tartan-Land* (1863) includes a description of Edinburgh’s attractions. Thus, for example:

No-one can stroll down Princes Street and glance in at the shop windows, without being fully alive to the fact that he is in Tartan-land. Thus, the drapers are gay with all manner of plaids; although there are some establishments — like that of Romanes and Paterson, on the North Bridge — which are especially devoted to the Clan tartans, and from which you can emerge with all the

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<sup>15</sup> Campbell of Airds, Alastair. “Tartan and the Highland dress” in: Way of Pleau, George, and Squire, Romily, Collins *Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 37-38.



necessary materials wherewith to convert yourself into a Highland chieftain of any known or fancy clan.<sup>16</sup>

Referring to dolls dressed up “in every variety of tartan” he observed:

... the costume of each clan is preserved to a nicety, so that these dolls may be said to combine amusement and instruction.<sup>17</sup>

Then, said Hugh Cheape:

...coming on the back of the late Victorian urge to wear tartan, were the Edwardian notions of uniform, etiquette, dress sense, tied to ideas of social caste and status anyway ... another level of rules which people love to take on. You find them codified particularly in little Edwardian books on Highland dress and through into the 1920s There was a thing called The Kilt Society which told you exactly how to wear, what to wear, when to wear, why to wear ... and these were enormously influential. Then, in 1938 — perhaps just when things were starting to loosen up — Sir Thomas Innes of Learney produced a book on Scottish tartans, *The Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland*, and the whole thing is given monumental significance. Sir Thomas served as Lord Lyon King of Arms from 1945 till 1969: a Lord Lyon who was immensely keen on this codification and the importance of it.<sup>18</sup>

The Scottish Tartans Society, formed by Sir Thomas in 1963, and The Register of All Publicly Known Tartans are independent charities. Neither claims to be a rigid authority since both profess to seeing tartan as “an expression of culture”. They are there to “advise, record and provide a world reference point.”<sup>19</sup> The Society will create a new design for a client — including a trial weave of about a yard of fabric — for £300. The object of the

<sup>16</sup> Bradley, Rev. Edward (writing as Bede, Cuthbert). *A Tour in Tartan-Land* (Richard Bentley, 1863). p. 295.

<sup>17</sup> Bede, Cuthbert (Bradley, Rev. Edward) *A Tour in Tartan-Land* (Richard Bentley, 1863) p. 297.

<sup>18</sup> Cheape, H. Interview, 6 January, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> Scottish Tartans Society. <http://pro1.taynet.co.uk/users/tartan/> © 1996 (December 1998).

design exercise is to incorporate as many of the ideas of the proposer as possible, says the society. Computer trials are made, and colour print-outs are used as the basis of the discussion between the client and the Register which acts as a consultant. These are adjusted until the proposer is satisfied and then the trial weave is made.

Some of the modern design criteria for new name-related tartans are indicated in the description in the 1994 book, *Identifying Tartans*: of the Teall of Teallach tartan, designed by the weaving manufacturer D. C. Dalglish and accredited by the Scottish Tartans Society in 1966:

Teall of Teallach (Pitlochry, Perthshire) is associated with the House of Gordon, hence the yellow stripe; the Singer Sewing Machine Company, hence the red; the merchant navy, hence the blue; and the Priory Independent Schools, hence the black. White forms part of the Teallach coat of arms. This tartan has been adopted by the Tartans Society in Scotland and by the North Carolina town of Highlands, where the Scottish Tartans Museum in America was established. Other recently registered tartans set out to evoke olden connections. An example would be The "MacLeod Red" tartan, approved by the chief in 1982, 'based on the one worn by Norman MacLeod, 22nd chief of the clan, in a portrait by Allan Ramsay (1713-84) in 1748. In accordance with normal contemporary practice, the costume was painted for Ramsay by Van Haecken, using an 11-yard (10-metre) bolt of tartan specially ordered from Skye by MacLeod in 1747. To enhance the resemblance to other MacLeod tartans and to differentiate this from Murray of Tullibardine, the name now attached to the sett in the portrait, Ruaridh MacLeod added a yellow stripe to the sett.<sup>20</sup>

The symbolism reached for by Geoffrey (Tailor) in its design for a "21st Century Tartan" was considerably more sweeping: red to symbolise "man's spilling of blood over the last 2000 years", pale blue for the United Nations,

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<sup>20</sup> Urquhart, Blair (ed.), *Identifying Tartans* (Quintet, The Apple, 1994). p. 15.

deep blue for the oceans which cover seven tenths of the planet, green for “the land and the ecology” with silver and white for the space age and technology.<sup>21</sup>

The Register says that its aim is to record all the publicly known tartans that have been woven and to provide a system of reference that allows checking for identification and avoidance of confusion. Two types of confusion exist, it says: legal and visual:

The former are those that might result in legal action and are relatively easy to avoid, although the amount of case law involving tartan is limited. Visual confusions are much more difficult as a system of reference does not easily identify them. It relies on the knowledge of tartans by the observer. The Council and the Society’s membership have considerable knowledge and expertise on such matters. Most important to the Register is the provenance of a tartan. Its historical significance, reason for design, i.e. colours, sett etc., the proposer, the reason for it, who may wear it, are there weaving restrictions, who is the designer, these are all points that add to the status of a tartan.<sup>22</sup>

Registration answers the requirements that establish copy and intellectual rights, the Register being a public place. “The provision of the facility for registration counters the unnecessary proliferation (sic) and trivialisation of tartan,” says the society. The Register, which was a major reason for the creation of the Society, is an archive of samples, records of major weavers and tartan researchers, indexing systems, and paper records on each of over 2500 tartans. “It is a vital independent record to separate fact from fancy,” says the society which identifies the primary functions of the Register as:

... to provide a public place for the display of tartans and related information; record their history and status; offer a point of

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<sup>21</sup> Cairney, Val. (ed.) *The Scottish Banner*, October 1998, page 1

<sup>22</sup> Scottish Tartans Society. <http://www.tartans.scotland.net> © 1996 (13 December 1998).

reference worldwide; record ...; establish the copy and intellectual rights involved; prevent confusions in, and the trivialisation of, tartan; provide a design service; to develop computer products based on the Register.<sup>23</sup>

The source of tartans is not an issue when it comes to recording and registration. Many of the setts on the Register come from outside collections and from other countries. Tartans created within the fashion industry are sometimes recorded, sometimes not.<sup>24</sup>

Three levels of recording are undertaken: “noting”, “registration” and “accreditation”. Noting is for samples of tartans with which the society has had no involvement, but which come to attention of the Register. Some are donated, some are unnamed; others may be noted somewhere else, such as with the Lord Lyon. Many are historic; others are trade patterns. Registrations at a cost of £45 are offered for new tartans where the proposer does not have the authority to name or control them. The certificate states that the registration “is solely a record and does not imply this tartan has the approval of the Lord Lyon, clan chief, head of the family, district authority or the Council of the Scottish Tartans Society”. Accreditation — at a cost of £200 — requires the proposer to have full authority for the use and name of the tartan. This might derive from the chief of the clan, head of the family or armiger, the board of directors of a company for a corporate tartan, the council for a district or the club committee for a club. Where this is not possible, as for a family without arms, then the name would have to be made specific to that family or body. Any category of tartan can be accredited, but accreditation requires that the Council of the Scottish Tartans Society be satisfied that the appropriate

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<sup>23</sup> Scottish Tartans Museum and Heritage Center website, via <http://pro1.taynet.co.uk/users/tartan/> (13 December 1998).

<sup>24</sup> Lumsden, Keith (research officer, Scottish Tartans Society). Interview, 20 November 1998.

approvals have been given before the status is granted. As a promotional add-on, a ceremony of accreditation, managed by the council, can be booked for £100 plus expenses. The ceremony, designed to coincide with other promotional activities, has been used for a number of years to launch tartans.<sup>25</sup>

The standard form involves, as host, the body or organisation whose tartan is being accredited and The Scottish Tartan Society represented by at least one but normally two or more council members. Other society members and office bearers are encouraged to attend by arrangement. All wear Highland dress. A piper or pipers are an added option. The “host” provides a tray of glasses “hopefully containing whisky and in sufficient quantity for the two parties”. The society carries the scrolled accreditation certificate, a piece of the tartan and a copy of the accreditation certificate mounted on the tartan and framed. If pipers are present, the parties are piped into position. There is an introduction by the hosts followed by an address by a society council member who explains the reason for the tartan, and its historical significance. The “Prayer to the Tartan: is read — by a minister, if one is present, or by a council member. The society makes its presentation of the accreditation certificate, mounted copy and piece of the tartan and charges those present “with the custody in perpetuity of the tartan”. Following an acknowledgment by the host, the whisky puts in its appearance and a toast to the new tartan is proposed by the council member. To close, the piper or pipers play out the participants.

According to the Society’s website:

... the system of weaving coloured cloth is an ancient skill. In Scotland the patterns came to express identities, social, community, political, military, etc. This formalisation, gave the cloth a function, making it more than just a fashion item ... .

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<sup>25</sup> Scottish Tartans Museum and Heritage Center website, via <http://pro1.taynet.co.uk/users/tartan/> (13 December 1998).

Design and use of tartan is controlled by good taste and social convention which in itself is an expression of culture. As it changes so will tartan.

It has emerged as the icon of Scottishness ... its global acceptance has produced a marketing emblem that could not be bettered. Driven by commercial and other interests the quantity of tartans has increased with the danger of confusion as well as its image becoming tarnished.<sup>26</sup>

Keith Lumsden is the research officer for the Pitlochry-based Scottish Tartans Society. Tartan, he said, is "the biggest promoter for Scotland that there is" — but it enjoys no legal protection:

Somebody can come into here and say, 'Keith, register that'. I could say, 'don't be funny, that's not a tartan, it's something else.' But I've got not right to say such a thing and I could get sued if I really got the chap cross. So I can't refuse to accept things onto the register at all. So long as they agree with what our register is and they've been woven, there's nothing we can do. There were three Scottish Parliament tartans in the pipeline before one of them went public (in 1998). The fact is he only did it by getting the press along and saying, 'here it is, take photographs of this'. That's no way to establish a tartan. He has no authority for the thing at all and he's hoping that the Parliament will adopt it but he's made quite a big investment even then. The good news is that it stopped the other two — but that's chaos.

Quite justifiably, somebody else had written to the Secretary of State for Scotland and asked 'what about a Scottish Parliament tartan?'. They (the Scottish Office) said, 'no, no wait until the Parliament's established'. He's quite angry that this other guy jumped ahead of him. And if you take the arguments over Princess Di's tartan it's even worse.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Scottish Tartans Museum and Heritage Center website, via <http://pro1.taynet.co.uk/users/tartan/> (13 December 1998).

<sup>27</sup> Lumsden, Keith Interview, 20 November 1998.

This is a situation Keith Lumsden would like to see changed. He would like to see the establishment of an official national register of tartans, and a prohibition against using the word “tartan” to market a textile unless it had been accepted by that register. “How you go about that I don’t know — but that’s my next battle,” he said.<sup>28</sup>

One difficulty about protecting tartan, says Hugh Cheape, is that:

...the period when it was possible to preserve tartan as Scottish property, so far as it was anywhere, was in the 17th and 18th centuries. That’s when tartan really did exist, was very potent, was political. It ended up on the wrong side, of course, in the Jacobite wars for obvious political reasons, but has a very interesting background in renaissance dress sense and all sorts of interesting strands which gave it a tremendous integrity and authenticity. But that’s not the kind of period where issues of intellectual ownership and copyright were around.<sup>29</sup>

The value of tartan to identify Scottish commercial products — in domestic as well as in international contexts — has long been recognised and exploited<sup>30</sup> but it has been only very recently that businesses have begun to design their own corporate tartans and have them officially accredited by the Scottish Tartans Society. The first company to do so — in October 1987 — was Highland Spring Limited of Blackford, Perthshire. “Recently they changed their packaging to include the tartan,” the society noted. “An instant increase in sales was the result, somewhat to their surprise.”

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<sup>28</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Interview, 20 November 1998.

<sup>29</sup> Cheape, Hugh. Interview. 6 January, 1999.

<sup>30</sup> W. and A. Smith of Mauchline, publishers of *Authenticated Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland* (1850), for example, were making tartan decorated souvenir ware from 1820

— Cheape, Hugh. *Tartan* (National Museums of Scotland, 1991). p. 65.

Other companies quickly followed, not all of them uniquely Scottish. In 1996, British Airways accredited a flame-proof non-repeating tartan fabric designed in England and woven in Portugal for its Club Class furnishings. (The situation might have been different had flame-proof material been available in Scotland, said Keith Lumsden.<sup>31</sup>) Other company tartans accredited in 1996 included Coopers and Lybrand (for the international accountancy firm), Callaway (a Californian golf course and golf merchandising company), Bristow Helicopters (Britain's largest helicopter operator), Simple Technology (an American electronics firm opening a plant at East Kilbride that year), Exabyte (for an American software company's unit at Larbert near Falkirk), Caledonian Brewery, British Energy, Irn Bru, Scottish Nuclear, Hydro Electric, American Express (for American Express Travel, for the company established in Glasgow in 1903), Racing Stewart (for the Jackie Stewart Formula One racing car team), Mother's Pride, Forbo Nairn (for a linoleum manufacturer).<sup>32</sup> The Edinburgh Crystal Company tartan was designed in-house with the purpose of displaying glassware in mind.<sup>33</sup> The Indigo Blue Works tartan is a promotional tartan aimed at the Japanese market. It uses only various shades of blue. Japanese film crews filmed the accreditation ceremony at Pitlochry in January 1997.

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<sup>31</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Telephone interview, 11 February, 1999.

<sup>32</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Report of the *Register of All Publicly Known Tartans* in Teall, Ruth (ed.) *Tartans: Magazine of the Scottish Tartans Society Commemorative Issue*, Teallach Publications, 1997). p. 15-18.

Lumsden, Elizabeth and Keith. "Report of the Register of All Publicly Known Tartans" (*Tartans: Magazine of the Scottish Tartans Society*, February 1998). p. 10-11, 14 & 21.

Lumsden, Keith. "Report of the Register of All Publicly Known Tartans" (*Tartans: Magazine of the Scottish Tartans Society*, August 1998). p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Telephone interview, 11 February, 1999.



A small society of German malt whisky imbibers in Franconia had their own "Franconia" tartan accredited, as did the congregation of a Presbyterian church in Bloomfield, Michigan: "Kirk in the Hills" tartan commemorates their church's 50th anniversary. The American Society of Travel Agents marked their world conference in Glasgow in September 1996 by having a tartan designed and accredited.<sup>34</sup>

From the mid-1980s, new tartans have been registered and accredited in growing numbers, partly in response to promotion by Scotland's "tartan village". Said Keith Lumsden:

We and other people started to advertise them, telling people, 'we'll design it for you'. It was also a way of retailers getting business and particularly the very valuable business of corporate business, big firms used to spending huge amounts on promotion. If you look at it, in 1998, I have added onto the register over 100 tartans — that's all categories of registration. The year before, would be in the 60s, and the year before that in the 50s, and before that they would hang on at 30-40 back to 1990 and before that they would be much lower.<sup>35</sup>

This industriousness contrasts strikingly with the official position of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs that it has no interest in tartan whatsoever. Said George Way of Plean:

Our official position is: 'look, if you like the tartan, wear it if you like'. ...There's an excellent chap called MacDougall of Dunollie. He is dead now but when he was matriculating arms — a very ancient MacDougall subchief — he was questioning Lyon's incorporation (with his crest) of a tilting helmet and he made the comment (that) 'if any of the MacDougalls of Dunollie owned a

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<sup>34</sup> Lumsden, Keith. "Report of the Register of All Publicly Known Tartans" (*Tartans: Magazine of the Scottish Tartans Society Commemorative Issue*, 1997). p. 15-18.

<sup>35</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Telephone interview, 8 February, 1999.

suit of armour, I'll eat it', and said that if ever they had, they stole it. To some extent that's very much the issue, the idea that a Highlander would not pick up a fine piece of wool that kept him warm because he thought the colour might be that of a Campbell is really very, very hard to accept.

But, certainly in America, they want a tartan for everything and they want every range of it ... when I've visited, I've know people that actually owned four or five kilts, for different purposes and different occasions. I'm told the largest sales are to Japanese anyway, they want what's pretty and they want it to match and they want to know 'can we get them a golf bag in that too?'<sup>36</sup>

George Way reflects here a wider Scottish discomfort with tartan, and an impulse to attenuate its signification power, something which would make it rather easier to live with. That this signification power is already becoming more diffuse is evidenced in his observation that, in Scotland today, a concern about tartan seems to be how it will look in wedding photographs:

I was talking to a friend who runs one of the kilt hire shops (in Scotland) and he was saying that he's finding an increasing trend for the groom's group to hire all the same tartan, no matter what their names are — for the photographs. He's finding he's having to keep more of the major tartans in groups and ... he can't keep everything in stock. He's finding that he's now getting many, many bookings and they want five kilts the same, because the groom's Campbell so all the boys are going to be in dress Campbell. I think that's an indicator. I mean that just wouldn't happen in the United States, they wouldn't dream of it. Here I think, for a great many people, the kilt has become part of our evening and formal dress but an understanding of why the tartan

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<sup>36</sup> Japanese interest in tartans is not new. Hugh Cheape said it had always impressed him that in the National Museum of Scotland collections "we've got some lovely 17th and 18th, early 19th century Japanese prints and there's plenty of tartan to be seen there — typically samurai warriors, wearing tartan plaids."

— Cheape, Hugh. Interview, 6 January, 1999.

should be different is rapidly diminishing, and how it looks in photographs is more important to a vast majority of Scots, I suspect, rather than whether they're wearing a tartan that's appropriate to their name.<sup>37</sup>

Anecdotal evidence from kilt hire shops and wedding photographers suggests that interest in tartan is strong Scotland and that many young people are responding to tartan's appeal. The weddings-driven kilt hire market within Scotland has helped to boost the demand for universal tartans such as Black Watch, the old Government tartan, which can be worn by anyone and, therefore, can be experienced as less strident but still uniquely Scottish identifiers. So too can the old Hunting Stewart, Caledonia, Shepherd's Check and Jacobite<sup>38</sup> setts. Recent additions to the range include Spirit of Scotland, Scotland the Brave, the Clansman, Highlander, Stone of Destiny, Scottish National, Pride of Scotland, Twenty First Century, Independence, Scottish Parliament, even European Union. Said Keith Lumsden:

*Braveheart* tartan was produced for a judo dan from Aberdeen [Ronnie Watt] who wanted a tartan to appear in the European Games, and they called it *Braveheart* (Warrior). At the same time, the film came out and the person who'd organised it quickly produced three '*Braveheart*'s: *Braveheart*, *Braveheart Dress* and *Braveheart Hunting*.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Way of Pleas, George (secretary, The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs). Interview, 3 November, 1998.

<sup>38</sup> The Caledonia tartan is of doubtful origin but was "popular in the 18th century", while the Jacobite sett has been known from 1712 "and is claimed to have been popular in 1707 when Lowlanders wore it as a protest against the Union of the Parliaments."

— MacDougall, Margaret O (re-edit.) *Robert Bain's Clans and Tartans of Scotland* (Collins, 1974 rev. ed.). p. 274.

<sup>39</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Telephone interview, 8 February 1999.

In October 1998, the Forfar-based Strathmore Woollen Company introduced a "Scotland 2000" millennium tartan designed by its former mill manager Arthur Mackie. Said the company's managing director, David Cowley:

Scotland 2000 is a very valuable addition to our range as there has been an increasing demand over the past few years for generic tartans which can be worn by people who do not have an affinity to any particular clan.<sup>40</sup>

Another option for the many people with no clan affiliation is to choose a district tartan, the tartan of their university, favourite football club or professional association. In February 2000, in the midst of public controversy over the Government's announcement of its intention to repeal "Section 28", Scottish Parliament tartan designer Ronnie Heck launched the "Rainbow" tartan for the gay community. Mt Heck was quoted in the press: "There is already lots of interest in Scotland, the United States and Australia because it gives the gay community something to identify with in tartan terms."<sup>41</sup>

Despite the demand and diversification of tartan design, the tartan fabrics produced in Scotland have limited versatility, being mostly woven in wool with Highland dress in mind; the Scottish tartan industry has not risen as well as it might to challenges arising from developments in the fabrics market. Said Keith Lumsden:

In many ways, the industry isn't fit to produce these other things [a wider range of tartan fabrics]. Ribbons are a good example: there are still only about 25 tartans in ribbon. The mills in Scotland are set up for wool. Even in the wool side, to make a kilt you need to have a selvage edge. As long as you can split [a double width of cloth] down the middle, you can get two kilts from a double width.

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<sup>40</sup> Simpson, Cameron. "Weave of red lion and white cross" (*The Herald*, Monday 26 October, 1998). p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Anon. "The perfect tartan for a Gay Gordons" (*Metro*, 25 February 2000). p. 3.

But now looms are going wider. I happen to know one very big weaver who gets all his short lengths done by another weaver down the road who has kept the old looms, so he can get into the big fabrics for upholstery. Sooner or later, though, the fashion for tartan upholstery will shift. ... Tartans are being made from new non-traditional fibres. We're moving out of Scotland here, but England has started producing vinyl viscous tartans. These are things you can throw in the washing machine and are extremely good reproductions of tartan, good for children's clothing. I gather that the Germans do this a lot better than we do. The Germans are very good, not too fussy about that 'you've got to have 1,000 yards of it before I'll even look at it' approach. Then you have cotton. I'm a bit surprised how poorly the American cotton industry's response to tartan in but, in Europe, it's Spain and Portugal who produce it in cotton. Then you've got special fabrics, like for airlines, that need flame retardant materials. Furnishings materials ... I'm pretty certain that quite a lot of the stuff used in furnishings in tartan is never treated with a fire retardant although somebody did say you can get them treated quite cheaply — a pound a yard or something like that. I know very well if you wanted an old people's home to have tartan curtains, you would not be able to sell them anything but fire retardant curtains.<sup>42</sup>

Scotland has long had rivals in the production of tartan. Internationally, the fashion industry has had a long involvement with tartans, said Keith Lumsden:

In the mid-late 1800s, tartans were fashion all across Europe and some of the tartans that are now 'Scottish' and adopted came from those fashion tartans of Paris, woven by the silk people in Alsace or Lyon, and there was a big Italian trade in tartan as there is to this day. A few of them got formalised into proper tartans — MacNeill, Fitzpatrick, for example — there's a collection called the *Clan Origineau* [published in Paris in 1880 by J. Claude Fres et Cie].

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<sup>42</sup> Lumsden, Keith. Interview, 20 November 1998.

The Chinese have been producing tartan for a long time — they were the cheapest producers of cotton tartans by a long way.<sup>43</sup>

Today too, Scotland's tartan manufacturers face direct competition from a diversity of overseas sources. Overseas tartan producers range from small specialist weaving businesses to large companies for which tartan is but one of a number of product lines. Examples include:

- In business since 1929, West Coast Woollen Mills in Vancouver, Canada, specialises in Scottish and Canadian tartans and other fine worsted woollens. Said the company's website:

If you are looking for Scottish tartans, but don't want to pay high Scottish prices, you have come to the right place. We produce and stock over 40 Scottish tartans and Canadian tartans. This fabric is woven from fine Australian merino wool in our factory in Vancouver, British Columbia.<sup>44</sup>

- Whiteley and Green Ltd in Holmbridge, Huddersfield, was established in 1879. Its 330-gram, 155cm-wide new wool worsted tartans include Black Watch, Royal Stewart and Lindsay.<sup>45</sup>

Less commercial, but also addressing the same general market are crafts people, for example:

- Molly V. Manaugh, in Fairbanks, Alaska, is "A Tartan Weaver" — a craft weaver who has specialised in Scottish Tartan weaving since 1995. She learned weaving in her home state of California

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<sup>43</sup>Lumsden, Keith. Interview, 20 November 1998.

<sup>44</sup>West Coast Woollen Mills. <http://westcoastwoollenmills.com/tartanfabric> (8 October, 1999).

<sup>45</sup>Whiteley and Green Ltd. <http://www.whiteley-green.demon.co.uk> (8 October, 1999).

with the goal of weaving her own "clan tartan": MacNaughton.

That done, she went on to weave other tartans:

I love to watch the pattern unfold before me on the loom. Tartans are wonderful. Using a few basic colours, so many different patterns have been created. Now my goal is to weave tartans for others. I have access to many patterns and will weave any tartan.

... I use a 45" Leclerc floor loom, and a 25" Schacht Baby Wolf floor loom. The portable Baby Wolf travels with me each Summer to the Alaska Scottish Games in Eagle River, Alaska where I use it to demonstrate tartan weaving. I also represent Clan MacNaughton at these games.<sup>46</sup>

Her products include scarves, cotton lunch bags, cotton pillow covers, cotton kitchen towels, cotton table runners, lap rugs and baby blankets.

- Patricia Magee of Courtenay, British Columbia, Canada, invites her customers to call her "The Tartan Lady". She has been a weaver for 25 years, producing mostly tartans from her studio and home on Vancouver Island. She also offers weaving workshops.<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, industrial production of tartans in blended and synthetic fibres is being addressed in places as diverse as Taiwan and Turkey:

- Istanbul-based Baskan Tekstil Sanayi ve Ticaret Ltd., with a factory in Bursa, Turkey, can produce 7,000 metres of fabric a day — 2 million metres a year — on its fully automatic weaving

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<sup>46</sup> Manaugh, Molly, *A Tartan Weaver*. [www.mosquitonet.com/~tartanweaver/index](http://www.mosquitonet.com/~tartanweaver/index) (8 October, 1999).

<sup>47</sup> Magee, Patricia, *Tartan Lady Weaving Studio*. <http://www.island.net/~estuary/weave> (8 October, 1999).

machines with an electronically designable weft in 8 different colours. Baskan's range includes tartans in 100 per cent cotton (250 grams/metre), polyester/cotton (160 and 215 grams/metre), georgette (150 grams/metre), polyester/viscose/floss (170 grams/metre), floss/acetate (150 grams/metre) and polyester/viscose/lycra (240 grams/metre), in widths of 190-210 centimetres.<sup>48</sup>

- Jeen Wei Enterprise Co. Ltd's Chyuan Ye Textile Co., Ltd., Taiwan, has made and exported nylon and polyester fabrics since 1967. Its range includes tartans. It prides itself on prompt delivery — 2-3 weeks worldwide — and good service; it accepts small orders and guarantees its products.<sup>49</sup>

- Satab's 17,000 square-metre factory in Saint-Just-Malmont, France, employs 160 people making textile ribbons — including tartan ribbon — for the clothing industry: 100 million metres of ribbon a year.<sup>50</sup>

AN EXTREME articulation of the significance tartan can have in expatriate and Scottish descendant communities overseas is provided in the "kirking of the tartan" rite which is practised around St Andrew's Day in North America and Australasia, and very possibly in Scottish descendant communities in other parts of the world. Typically there will be a street parade of clan organisations behind a saltire. Tartans are worn and banners are carried to a Presbyterian Church where, during a service of worship, scraps of tartan are presented to be

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<sup>48</sup> Baskan Tekstil. <http://www.turkindex.com/basteks/eindex> (8 October, 1999).

<sup>49</sup> Jeen Wei Enterprise. <http://www.jeenwei.com.tw/> (8 October 1999).

<sup>50</sup> Satab. [www.synextile.com/english/satab/rubrique](http://www.synextile.com/english/satab/rubrique) (8 October, 1999).



blessed. Tartan can be given preternatural significance in this context. In an address to a kirking of the tartan service in Savannah, Georgia, on 25 September, 1994, for example, a J. D. Murdock, "SC, FSA Scot.", referred with rising rhetorical energy to the remembrance of "those that have gone before", MacPherson clan territory around the River Spey, the "history and the romance of war", Jacobitism, the writings of Anne Grant and her book *Letters from the Mountains* with its evocations of the "majesty of the mountains and the mystery of the moors", the gracious egalitarianism of Highland chiefs, genealogy, and the clan's welcome for one of its own, evoking ideas of a kind of Christian commonwealth:

I think about the stranger that comes through the door, his only connection to the clan is an ancestor. An ancestor, who had the name Macpherson, or Murdock, or Carson, or Clark, or Gillespie, or Gillis, or one of 50 other names and variations. And here in this place, he is welcomed like the prodigal son. And we kill the fatted calf and put on a feast in celebration of a family reunited after a year or a lifetime. Suddenly he is no longer a stranger, he is family, and everyone is a cousin. And I tell myself I know why we are here! It's a sense of belonging that only a clansman can know. In *Galatians* Paul wrote: "In Baptism you have all put on Christ like a garment. There is no such thing as Jew and Greek, slave and freeman, male and female, for you are all one person in Christ Jesus." And I tell myself I know why we are here! Over the years our family has left the Badenoch and the surrounding countryside. No longer are we just Scots. Today we are British, Canadian, Australian, Indian, New Zealanders. We come from Sweden, Luxembourg, South Africa, Singapore and a thousand other places. Some are even Americans. But today I tell you we are a family. We have come to this place, and we have come to this time, to ask God's blessing. Not for a piece of cloth, but for the family it represents. ... Here, with God's blessing, when we put on that

tartan, we become one with all clansmen past and present, we are a family!<sup>51</sup>

At this point, tartan has been turned by words and emotions into a talisman against the human capacity for loneliness and the passport to a fantastical Otherworld populated by imagined ancestors who are waiting to embrace the possessor as one of their own.

There are elements of similar thinking, if less strongly articulated, in many of those activities of overseas Scottish descendant communities where tartan is seen as an indispensable identifying element. Hugh Cheape, curator of Scottish collections and assistant keeper for the National Museums of Scotland, writes:

For the descendants of Highland families now dispersed all over the world the old style of kinship is no longer tangible, but the need for identity survives. This reality focuses on tartan as the symbol of the old relationship, through a simple equation of tartan and surname. ...Unfortunately, surname is never an accurate indication of either a common ancestor or blood relationship. Clan identity has been fostered by clan societies, which began to be founded in the 1880s. The fact that they are still flourishing today is a reflection of the need for roots and a sense of belonging. A link with ancestry, tradition and history still conveys a strong emotional message.<sup>52</sup>

Along with a proliferating array of clan societies and organisations in the New World for which tartan is a badge, the Scottish Tartans Society appears happy to encourage expatriates and Scottish descendants overseas to make simplistic links between surname, clan and tartan. In turn, these links open the way for sales of a wide range of clan, family-name and tartan-linked products from full

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<sup>51</sup> Murdock, J. D. (Arizona Scots).

[http://gb.accessarizona.com/servlets/Servlet/SiteServlet/azscots/Kirking\\_of\\_the\\_Tarta.html](http://gb.accessarizona.com/servlets/Servlet/SiteServlet/azscots/Kirking_of_the_Tarta.html) (14 November 1999).

<sup>52</sup> Cheape, Hugh. *Tartan* (National Museums of Scotland, 1991).

Highland evening dress outfits to clan-crested bookmarks and tartan key-rings. The Society runs a tourist-oriented Scottish Tartans Museum on the third floor of Scotch House (Burberrys), in Princes Street, Edinburgh. It is also behind the 2200 square-foot Scottish Tartans Museum and Heritage Center in the W.C. Burrell Building on East Main St., Franklin, North Carolina. The American museum opens daily: 10 a.m. - 5 p.m., Mondays - Saturdays, and 1 p.m. - 5 p.m. on Sundays. Admission is cheap: \$2 for adults, \$1 for seniors and students and free to children 12 and under; gift shop admission is free. Says the museum's website:

Your trip to the Scottish Tartans Museum and Heritage Center is a small visit to Scotland itself, for we are the only American extension of the Scottish Tartans Society, the official Register of All Publicly Known Tartans. ...Find your family tartan in our Tartan Room. Trace the influence of the Scots on Appalachian and Cherokee culture, and on the history of North Carolina. Visit our Gift Shop of Celtic treasures from Scotland and hand made Appalachian crafts.<sup>53</sup>

The American museum displays tartan and Highland dress from the Renaissance to the present, the evolution of the kilt and the weaving of tartans. A computer is available to search and identify tartans by family name. There is a tartan research library and the gift shop. Goods sold include ties, scarves, sashes, "county caps", tams, shawls, bow tie and cummerbund sets, clan crest jewellery, clan mugs, bookmarks, postcards, books, music, and videos. The museum also has some close links with the local community. Programmes of music, dance and weaving are presented throughout the year by a Friends Of The Museum organisation and volunteers. Events can have a high local profile: on June 20, 1998, for example, the museum sponsored a free "Taste of

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<sup>53</sup> Scottish Tartans Museum and Heritage Center website, via <http://pro1.taynet.co.uk/users/tartan/> (13 December 1998).

Scotland" event on the grounds of the museum with Scottish food, Celtic music and dance. The museum is a member of the North Carolina Museums Council, the American Association of Museums and the Franklin Chamber of Commerce. It has its own "official" pipe band: the Highlands Pipes and Drums, founded in 1988 in the nearby Town of Highlands. The band is run as a non-profit educational and cultural institution "dedicated to encouraging interest in Celtic music and preserving the art of playing the bagpipe and drum"<sup>54</sup>. It performs at parades, weddings and festivals, and competes at Highland Games wearing kilts of the Teallach tartan, which is also the official tartan of the Scottish Tartan's Society and of its former executive director, the late Dr. Gordon Teall, Baron of Huntly.

The 1997 band roster revealed an interesting mentor-apprentice membership mix and range of other community and professional involvements. The pipe major was Michael Waters, M.B., an instructor of music at Western Carolina University where he directed classical guitar studies. He was also band director at Nantahala High School and a Spanish language specialist for the Macon County Schools. Other band members included a Professor of Biology, a Professor Emeritus of Education, a materials science specialist retired from the paper industry, a schools music teacher specialising in Orff methods, a retired merchant mariner, a church organist, "an actor on a popular television series" and several school and university-level music students.

Arthur McAra, vice-president of the U. S. Piping Foundation and treasurer of the executive committee of the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association, is a Glasgow-born expatriate. He said: "There is no question about the strength of

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<sup>54</sup> The Highlands Pipes and Drums website, via <http://www.tartans.scotland.net/index.htm> (13 December 1998).

Scottish identification in the United States.”<sup>55</sup> For many such people in the New World who claim “Scottishness”, tartan is an indispensable part of expressing those ties. And, because tartan is so widely recognisable and identifiable, its wearers have to be regarded as providers of definitional experiences of Scottishness in their own communities. In this way, tartan — wherever it is manufactured — has implications that extend far beyond its own markets and parameters of interest. This has implications for everyone using a Scottish identity in any target market where tartan is popular. American states, Canadian provinces, Canada and New Zealand all have tartans. There are schools, universities and golf clubs with their own tartans — all expressing a recent and growing enthusiasm for tartan.

Tartan “kilture”, however, is no longer unique to Scotland. Kilts and tartans are being linked to serve a lucrative niche market amongst “Irish” North Americans. In response to a demand that had been recognised for three or four years previously, the House of Edgar (Woollens) Ltd in 1996, launched a set of 32 Irish county tartans and an Irish National tartan designed by their own designer, Polly Wittering. None had the official sanction of Irish local or national bodies or agencies and they are described as “district” tartans.<sup>56</sup> Ryan & O'Carroll's in Allentown, Pennsylvania, tells its customers:

In 1956 a piece of tartan fabric was found at Dungiven in Northern Ireland. As it did not match any known Scottish tartan it was given the name Ulster and when dated it was confirmed as 16th century, circa 1590-1650. The Celtic races all have a shared heritage, and this is shown in the similarities of their music, dance, and culture. A large part of this shared culture is the tartan. *Clan Originaux* was published in Paris in 1880 by J. Claude Fres et Cie. It contains the

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<sup>55</sup> McAra, Arthur. Interview, 30 October, 1999.

<sup>56</sup> Report of the *Register of All Publicly Known Tartans* as published in *Tartans: Magazine of the Scottish Tartans Society: Commemorative Issue, 1997*, p. 18.

earliest known records of a number of Irish family tartans, including Tara, Murphy, Forde, Kennedy and Fitzpatrick. The historical and family tartans to date do not represent a complete and coherent range of tartans. Using historical tartans as a basis, the Irish County Tartans were developed. These new tartans, with their foundation deeply rooted in history, are reminiscent of the counties of Ireland with soft, warm colors dominating. Anyone of Irish descent will be proud to wear a tartan associated with their ancestral birthplace. Ryan & O'Carroll's goal is to help you proudly honor your Irish heritage, and if you're not Irish, we won't tell anyone so that you can still enjoy these beautiful tartans. We offer gents and ladies kilts, scarves, throws, ties, caps and even bulk tartan. If you need information about our products or help selecting an item just call Marisa or Paul...<sup>57</sup>

There has been interest in Cornwall as well. Columnist Robert McNeil, writing in *The Scotsman* in January 1999, observed:

Cornish people are now starting to wear the kilt out of some deep Celtic longing to look stupid ... The Corns want to show they are distinctive from the Snooty English and have adopted the same ludicrous Victorian ensemble of short jacket, sporran and a skiing doo (sic) down the socks If they are anything like our own embarrassing kilties, they will also stick out their posteriors and walk like Max Wall. (Why *do* kilties do that?)<sup>58</sup>

In *The Herald* on the same day, there was a letter from Howard Curnow “(Cornish Bardic title: ‘Kernow’)” of Penzance who went to some lengths to claim antiquity for Cornish kilts which he said were being reintroduced because “there is firm evidence that the ancient Celtic peoples of northern Europe wore a similar garment and ... we have firm evidence here in Cornwall of local people wearing a kilt-like garment in the reign of Elizabeth I.”<sup>59</sup> Cornish

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<sup>57</sup> Ryan and O'Carroll. website pages (5 January, 1999).

<sup>58</sup> McNeil, Robert. Robert McNeil's Week in *The Scotsman*, 16 January, 1999, p. 14.

<sup>59</sup> Curnow, Howard. “Letters to the Editor” (*The Herald*, 16 January, 1999). p. 14.

people, he said, believed their right to wear the kilt was as good as that of any other Celtic people and that the popularity in Cornwall of tartans was an “expression of our national identity”.

## CONCLUSIONS

TARTAN is a highly versatile identifier and a means of maintaining lively, wholly distinctive connections with the world of high fashion and the international interior design market, and provides a marketing conduit into various North American “Scottish” communities. Tartans are widely liked and admired. They can be woven in an almost infinite choice of colours and design variations for a variety of purposes and still be unmistakably tartan. At the start of the second millennium, Scotland has in its 2,500 or so publicly known tartans — and a uniquely valuable but widely misunderstood asset.

But Scotland appears to be diluting its capacity to hold on, in the longer term, to the advantages that tartan promises for Scotland. There appears to be negligible strategic thinking in terms of how Scotland should use, develop and promote tartan as an asset that has enjoyed a considerable branding value. It would be very harmful to Scottish interests if that value was allowed to depreciate through inattention and carelessness. If we consider tartan in terms of signal value<sup>60</sup> — its intercultural capacity to establish productive associations on behalf of a particular interest, and probe target market cultures for areas of common interest or value — we may grow apprehensive:

- a) tartans are still widely perceived as having the capacity to add value by reinforcing a “Scottish” core value, but this is being compromised by

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<sup>60</sup> See *Chapter 1: Introduction*. p. 23-24.

their Celticisation and universalisation, largely but not wholly at the hands of the Scottish tartans industry;

b) tartan, in a general way, continues to provide opportunities for participative responses on the basis of its “Scottishness” value, but not only on the basis of that value. Scotland’s inability to meet world demands for a full range of fabric applications (e.g. wash and wear synthetics, upholstery, etc) has further internationalised tartan and helped international fashion interests to blur understandings of what tartan is and dilute its value as an identifier;

c) tartans’ cultural and commercial benefits are becoming increasingly diffuse as they become less specifically Scottish;

d) tartans are capable of a diversity of expressions and representations;

e) tartans are used in performance contexts (piping, Highland and Scottish country dance, etc) and there are international involvements;

f) an infrastructures to help identify appropriate expertise and with which businesslike arrangements can be entered into exists, but is weak.

While tartans continue to have a significant commercial value, their signal value is being eroded despite retention of the traditional market for tartans. As it is, this is a secondary niche market, weaving up expensive small batches of many designs for manufacture into a limited range of garments. Fashion interest appears to have been seen almost as an annoying distraction<sup>61</sup>, and

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61 Keith Lumsden, for example, observed: “Since I took up my role with the Society in 1992 I’ve seen two fashion booms for tartan. It’s quite interesting. There are a few of them that have moved ... fashion designers who’ve picked up tartan — Vivienne Westwood desperately — and used it, created rubbishy designs: all woven in Scotland mind you ... and causing me no end of trouble when it comes to these things in 20 years time when somebody walks in and asks ‘what tartan is this?’ which has been cut out of the back of a dress, of no name at all except it was in the Paris exhibition one year.”

— Lumsden, Keith. Interview, 20 November 1998.



investment in research, development and new technologies — not to mention promotion into diversified markets — has fallen short of achieving potential sales. Scotland has lagged, possibly terminally, in the development of high quality tartans using cotton, silk and washable synthetic fibres. Flame-retardant tartans also seem to have been a difficulty. What is perhaps the most difficult issue in relation to tartan is the extent to which there has been an almost obsessive concern with creating and protecting named designs to the exclusion of research and diversifications that might well have allowed Scotland to weave more versatile fabrics at competitive prices and reach mass demand markets.

At the same time, the development of Irish (or Irish-American) and Cornish markets for tartans are indications that tartan is being lifted into the broader “Celtic” domain, a diversification that would open wider markets for tartan producers but which could seriously compromise the distinctively “Scottish” identity that tartan has long enjoyed. No mechanism or instrument exists to protect tartan from “misuse” by interests having nothing to do with Scotland or Scotland’s interests although a small but significant number of businesses have, by formalising their own tartan designs, endorsed the position and recognised the standing of the Scottish Tartans Society and the Register of All Publicly Known Tartans which undoubtedly play an important, if weak, role in asserting Scotland’s cultural rights in relation to tartan.

Their role, however, bears re-examination and the authority of the register should almost certainly be strengthened by persuasion and promotion if not by legislation. The Register of All Publicly Known Tartans is an important resource and the only mechanism by which a Scottish cultural claim over tartan — as opposed to a private copyright for individual designs — can be expressed. To the extent that Scotland sees benefit and added value in exporting and tourism deriving from the Scottishness of tartans, the Register of

All Publicly Known Tartans deserves recognition and support. Its collection of sample swatches establishes and descriptions clearly identifies what can only be called a tradition, no matter that it goes back a little over 150 years. Within that tradition can be identified dominant aesthetic ideals against which attempts at innovation and experimentation clearly stand out. It also contains persuasive evidence that, far from being anachronistic, interest in tartan has recently been experiencing growth.

The challenges and opportunities are serious enough to warrant a serious evaluative investigation by an agency such as Scottish Enterprise that is not confined by the perspectives of the “tartan village”. It is likely that considerable investment would be needed to regain lost ground and marketing would need to be intense, but the potential tartan still has is internationally enviable and the base a strong one. As well as the direct benefits that might accrue from Scotland’s making a bid to compete in larger markets for tartan fabrics, any such initiative would also be helping to assert the distinctively Scottish provenance of tartan. What cannot be protected by law could well be laid claim to by innovation and energy.

When we look towards the New World in relation to things like tartan, it has to be remembered that the New World is, in fact, still new. An “old tradition” in the New World is — for all except First Nations people — one that goes back two or three generations. Nationality in New World countries, from the United States to New Zealand, is still in formation. Cultural diversity is still more evident than cultural cohesion. So why should tartans not be used one way in Scotland and another way by “Scots” overseas? Tartans have been promoted and used to identify surname groupings for long enough to qualify as a New World tradition. In that capacity, in a society committed to individualism where most families are nuclear or solo parent, they help to bring people

together and celebrate their own sense of “roots” and identity. That might be seen, from a Scottish perspective, as a good thing: as a means of making and maintaining friendships abroad.

## 6. DIASPORA AND CLAN (CASE STUDY 2)

SCOTLAND the Brand has stated that, as Scots...

...we think that our ex patriot (sic) community is a source of strength to us due to the fact that all of them we meet abroad wish to 'Find out where they came from'. In truth though Scottish expatriates are less likely to desire to come "home" to trace their roots, compared to Irish or Israeli descendants. Those latter groups may have particularly compelling reasons to visit "home", given their nations' turbulent history, compared to the Scottish experience. Devolution may provide some impetus for Scots expatriates to re-visit Scotland, and even to re-settle there.

This lack of contemporary support by the ex patriot (sic) community for 'mother' Scotland is a significant competitive weakness for Scotland internationally.<sup>1</sup>

This statement overlooks several critical points: the role that expatriates and descendants play in providing definitional experiences of "Scottishness", the fact that they gave Scotland "Tartan Day" in Canada and the United States, and that they can be helpfully influential in their new communities and countries. In the United States, for example, Scottishness appears to be a preferred identity of choice: an estimated 30,000 Americans are actively involved in some 200 clan organisations alone, and many public figures have flaunted their Scottish ancestry: Republican presidential nomination candidate John McCain, publishing magnate Steve Forbes, billionaires Donald Trump and Bill Gates,

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<sup>1</sup> Craton, Lodge & Knight. *Project Galore* (short version) Scotland the Brand.

<http://www.scotbrand.org.uk> (26 January, 2001). p. 4.

and the actors Cliff Robertson, Robin Williams and *X-Files* star David Duchovny.<sup>2</sup> There are about 60 known St Andrew's Societies and some 260 Highland games and Scottish festivals are held annually.<sup>3</sup> People, with options to chose in favour of other descendant cultural identities are being recruited into Scottishness. Work by social psychologists on the ways in which individuals are perceived has usually focussed how they come to be liked; research in relation to the perception of groups, responding to issues like racism and negative stereotyping, has concentrated on the way groups (particularly "outgroups") come to be disliked. Recognising this, Russell Clement and Joachim Krueger (1998) devised a study that looked at both processes, side by side. They found that the "desirability" of a person's characteristics uniquely predicted how well an individual was liked: "people prefer associations with desirable rather than undesirable individuals. For example, they prefer kind persons to unkind ones regardless of the degree of kindness they attribute to themselves." Impressions of groups, on the other hand, were based on how well people saw themselves potentially fitting into the group: "In other words, they need to ask how similar their own characteristics are to the characteristics of various group members." Clement and Krueger saw in their results a route to stereotype change:

The crucial ingredient is a change in categorisation. Stereotypes may improve if the perceiver reassesses the similarity between himself or herself and the group. Liking for a group may increase especially if the perceiver categorises the self as a group member.

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<sup>2</sup> David Duchovny turned up to a Royal charity premiere in Edinburgh on 24 May, 2000, in full Highland dress. He told media that his mother, born in Whitehills, Aberdeenshire, was his Scottish link.

— Anon. "The 'ochs' files" — photograph caption (*The Scotsman*, 25 May, 2000). p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example: Cornwell, Tim. "Roots, mon" (*Weekend section, The Scotsman*, 11 March, 2000). p. 1-2.

This mechanism can produce increases in liking even without changes in the perceived desirability of the other group members' characteristics.<sup>4</sup>

In ways such as these, expatriate and descendant groups overseas function as intermediaries between Scots and consumers in some of Scotland's most important target markets. The role needs to be recognised of, for example, those expatriate and descendant American Scots who are responsible for various highly visible, overtly Scottish cultural expressions in their local communities. Similarly, a Scottish advertiser selling a Scottish product into this market should be aware that glamour and celebrity models, whom individuals may find desirable, may be less effective in some circumstances than cultural figures with whom people in the target market can identify. Another view is that of Duncan Bruce, a Wall Street banker, who firmly believes in and promotes the achievements of Scots and Scottish descendants. As the author of *Mark of the Scots* (1996) — a best seller in its category in the United States — and *The Scottish 100* (2000), he has been an influential image-maker for his fellow expatriates and descendants. Both of his books proudly list achieving Scots and Scottish descendants. He includes in *The Scottish 100* such figures, for example, as Guglielmo Marconi, Thomas Edison, Ulysses S. Grant and Edvard Grieg). He was reported as saying of his later book that he hoped:

... this book will be an antidote to those who think that Scots only equal Highland games, haggis, whisky and bagpipes. I like all of those things, but there is another view which I think stands out above the others: the amazing intellectual achievements of the men and women of a small ethnic group and how they have influenced the world. ... I know I am going to come under fire, but it is about

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<sup>4</sup> Clement, Russell W., and Krueger, Joachim. "Liking persons versus liking groups: a dual-process hypothesis" (*European Journal of Social Psychology* 28, 1998). p. 457–469.

time people in Scotland realise you don't have to be born in Scotland to be a Scot.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, for example, it was a \$(U.S.)30,000 personal donation from New York businessman Euan Baird that funded a Smithsonian Institution forum, *The Living Legacy of Scotland*, in the 2000 Tartan Day programme<sup>6</sup> where the keynote speaker was Professor E. J. Cowan, Professor of Scottish History at the University of Glasgow. According to Glasgow-born Arthur McAra, vice-president of the U. S. Piping Foundation and treasurer of the executive committee of the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association:

We're very fortunate that, over the years, we've had certain individuals who usually prefer to be anonymous who have the interest and the resources, and will put up the money to partly sponsor a competition or a workshop. Generally speaking, supporters are people of Scottish descent — quite clearly of Scottish descent — who have close associations with Scotland and are involved in cultural ties other than piping. ...The biggest part, though, is from organisations such as St Andrews Societies, clan societies and Highland games who, when approached — because all us Scots, we never give away the money until somebody comes up and asks for it — are supportive. Many clans help. We have organisations like the Clan Donald Educational Trust which sponsors a workshop every year, allowing us to bring instructors from Canada and Scotland ... And there are a lot of Highland games in the United States who will use a lot of the proceeds from a good year to sponsor, say, a workshop. We know we want to continue the culture in America; we know we want to raise the standard of piping in America. We also understand that doing that raises the standard of piping in general, and that's very important.

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<sup>5</sup> Young, Noel. "Could Marconi and Edison really be the forgotten sons of Scotland?" ( News section, *Scotland on Sunday*, 19 November, 2000). p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Peters, Nick. "US paints the town tartan as Scots come out of their shell" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 2 April, 2000). p. 3.

One of the things we really want to do is to be accepted as being able to produce people in the States who are capable of being the very best.<sup>7</sup>

Scottish Heritage USA, founded in 1965 by Ward Melville “to recognise and enhance the original bonds of ancestral and national character among the peoples of Scotland and North America” is a booster organisation for the National Trust for Scotland. It holds an annual Spring Gathering and gives members free admission to properties of the National Trust for Scotland and the National Trusts of England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Members get subscriptions to *The Highlander* magazine, Scottish Heritage USA's newsletter and the National Trust for Scotland's magazine, *Heritage Scotland*. Volunteers staff tents at Highland games and Scottish gatherings around the United States to distribute information about Scottish Heritage USA and The National Trust for Scotland. Scottish Heritage USA has provided a number of scholarships and exchanges for American and Scottish students and for National Trust for Scotland staff who are sponsored to attend National Park Service workshops in West Virginia and does other educational and promotional work.<sup>8</sup>

Networks such as these can be effective mobilisers of various sorts of community resource. In late 1993, for example, the Association of Scottish Societies in Wellington, New Zealand, suggested holding a Scottish Festival. An organising group was established and a programme put together for August 1994 that, invoking Scottish networking contacts, in various ways involved Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington City Council, Government House (the office of the Governor-General of New Zealand), the Royal Society of New Zealand, the Wellington Cathedral, several sports groups and

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<sup>7</sup> McAra, Arthur. Interview, 30 October 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Scottish Heritage USA. <http://www.sandhills.org/shusa/>, (6 January, 2000).



organisations, and a number of other bodies, public and commercial. Outcomes included the establishment of a Victoria University Scottish Interest Group and the holding of a Scottish-New Zealand videoconference on science education (involving the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and the Royal Society of New Zealand). The only non-local sponsorship was from the British Council towards the return airfare from Scotland of clarsair and Gaelic singer, Mary Ann Kennedy. It was specified, as a condition of this support, that she sing at least a part of her repertoire in English.<sup>9</sup>

Behind such activities are several different sorts of Scottish self-identification, the characteristics of which would be well worth looking into. Temporary expatriates, migrant expatriates, first-generation descendants and multiple-generation and distant descendants would almost certainly be found to differ in a number of ways. Scottish-born expatriates appear more inclined to look towards Scotland, its geography and friends and relatives “back home” to nurture their identity; overseas-born descendants seem more inclined to look to genealogy, family lore and history (including post-migration local histories). These inclinations meet — and sometimes clash — in cultural explorations of the sort represented by the Scottish interest media<sup>10</sup>, Highland and Scottish country, step and ceilidh dancing, social gatherings such as ceilidhs and “inglesides”<sup>11</sup>, festivals and Highland games, summer schools, clan societies, Caledonian, other Gaelic and Scottish societies of various sorts, piping, fiddling, accordion playing, singing and ensemble musical performance, Burns

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<sup>9</sup> The author was a main organiser of this event.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, the Florida-based *Scottish Banner* which circulates in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Also *Celtic Connections*, a regular Access Radio programme produced by Ken Weir in Wellington and Palmerston North, New Zealand.

<sup>11</sup> The term “ingleside” for a less formal Scottish evening is often used as a Scots alternative to the Gaelic term “ceilidh” in New Zealand, for example, but appears to be unknown in Scotland.

Societies and suppers, St Andrew's Day celebrations and the like. Inseparable from many of these activities, and promoting and helping to sustain the identifications with Scotland that underlie them, are the signifiers that enable individuals to make their identification with Scottishness overt and unmistakable. Thus, for a proportion of expatriates, there comes a time when, with the photographs from "home" fading but with the constant reminder of translocated Scottish placenames, through a growing awareness of the personal importance of their own culture, they feel their first inclination to sport a tartan tie, wear a clan badge or buy a kilt. They begin to assimilate into the subculture through social and cultural organisations that, in many cases, are typically sustained by Scottish descendants rather than by Scottish-born expatriates.<sup>12</sup> Thus, for example, for a recent Glasgow-born migrant (to the United States), joins the descendant in an emotional subscription to the idea of Scottishness:

Americans ... always identify themselves as 'Irish-American' or 'Italian-American' or whatever else — 'Scots American' — whereas in actual fact the vast majority of them are just Americans. They all have got some other kind of background. But these ties (to parent cultures) are very deep and, since they're emotional ties, you can tug the heart strings. It's all emotion, but it does get to a lot of people — like myself.<sup>13</sup>

A contrasting explanation, from the multiple generation descendant's point of view, was expressed by Susan Cromarty, editor of the glossy Australian-published *SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine ("more than a magazine. a way of life") in an editorial carried on the magazine's website:

I am a fifth generation Australian and enormously proud of that fact, but I am equally proud that my roots are deeply embedded in

<sup>12</sup> This is an informal observation based on some years of involvement with Scottish-interest organisations in New Zealand and Canada

<sup>13</sup> McAra, Arthur. Interview. 30 October 1999.

the rich soil of the Black Isle. Pride seems to be a characteristic shared by all people of Scots descent and has always been so. In fact, the French say “fier comme un ecossais” — proud as a Scotsman. ... It was this pride, along with courage and determination which enabled Scots pioneers to settle into their new lands and prosper. From the ranks of these Scottish settlers rose men and women who were to distinguish themselves around the world. Throughout Scotland's long and turbulent history her greatest export has been her proud, patriotic and independent people, In one of the great mass migrations in human history many hundreds of thousands of Scots, in some cases entire villages, packed up and left for the New World. While some went willingly, untold numbers of others suffered the pain and ignominy of dispossession and exile that started the Highland Clearances, the cruel and long drawn out process in which sheep replaced people following the final, disastrous Jacobite rising of 1745. From the icy wastes of Patagonia, to the soft green hills of New Zealand, the vast open spaces of Australia, Canada and the United States, Scots men and women settled and left an indelible mark. Few other emigrant groups can claim to have had such a pervasive influence on the politics, commerce, banking, medicine, engineering, literature and philanthropy of the New World as have the Scots. We're a clannish, loyal people. ...In today's swiftly changing world we can take inspiration from the courage and determination of our ancestors. Our people have run a proud and colourful race through the centuries and in linking ourselves to that history we make ourselves more complete human beings.<sup>14</sup>

There are also part-descendants who find in their “Scottish side” a particular attraction. American novelist Garrison Keillor reflects this sort of attachment to Scotland:

We Keillors are taken for Scots, thanks to James Keillor's marmalade of Dundee, a familiar item in America, but in fact the

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<sup>14</sup> Cromarty, Susan. “Editorial” (*SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine).

<http://www.scotsheritage.com.au/EDITORIAL.htm> (23 December, 1999).

Keillors were Yorkshiremen, and my Scots blood is on my mother's side, from my grandpa William Denham, who emigrated to Minnesota from Glasgow in 1906. He never explained why he went, and so we keep coming back to Scotland to investigate the matter. My mother, who is 85, came over last summer (1999) for a train trip through the Highlands, her fourth or fifth trip here, and I am coming back for my sixth time. It is a constant pull, Scotland. We keep flying over, roaming the countryside, walking the streets, trying to imagine our lives here if William hadn't gotten on the boat. We keep looking for Our People.<sup>15</sup>

MUCH of this sort of attachment tends to make Scots uncomfortable: it is too openly sentimental. But not all of it daft 'tartanry', and sweeping accusations of expatriate cultural tomfoolery are difficult to justify. A part of the problem may be held to lie within Scotland. Competitive structures for piping and Highland and Scottish country dancing, for example, tend to remove these activities from the arena of public performance and at times take themselves extraordinarily seriously (which may help to explain the popularity of line dancing in a country as richly endowed as Scotland is with its own dance traditions). Much of this can undoubtedly be traced to experiences of cultural suppression, but there have also been some very complicated historical mechanisms of complicity within Scotland to sharpen the edge of that suppression. If, for example, Scotland is being strangely misrepresented internationally, Scots must take a measure of the blame. Why is the best quality magazine currently available about Scotland published in Australia, edited by a 5th generation Australian?<sup>16</sup> Existing Scottish publications with international circulations are either humble niche-market, small circulation and special interest publications like the College of Piping's *Piping Times* and The Piping

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<sup>15</sup> Keillor, Garrison. "A Scot from Lake Wobegon" (*The Scotsman* — features section, 21 February, 2000). p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> The reference is to *SCOTS Celebrating Our Scottish Heritage* magazine.

Centre's *Notes* and the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association's *The Pipe Band*, or woefully nostalgic magazines such as D. C. Thomson and Co's *The Scots Magazine* and the anachronistic *Scottish Memories. The People's Friend* also has some expatriate circulation. *Scottish Field* calls itself "Scotland's Quality Lifestyle Magazine" and, in 1999 was addressing in its editorials such issues as:

As the point-to-pointing season gets into full swing it is prudent to wonder what the effect of a ban on hunting would be to pointing. One of the stipulations of running a point-to-pointer is that it must have qualified on the hunting field ... <sup>17</sup>

In May 1999, Scott House Publishing, Edinburgh, launched a glossy new 108-page Scottish monthly, *Caledonia* with a reception for the titled and wealthy at the National Portrait Gallery. In his first "Letter from the Editor", author Iain Gale observed that "for 200 years Scots have tended to look in upon themselves through a haze of romantic nostalgia," and said it was the magazine's aim to "present informed comment and lively debate in an elegant and accessible form." The first issue was colourful, shiny and included writing from the likes of Lady Claire Macdonald, literary agent Giles Gordon, "Walter Scott enthusiast" James Robertson, author Candia McWilliam, Princess Alexandra's son James Ogilvy, Suki Urquhart (ex-wife of controversial former owner of Eigg, Keith Schellenberg) and *Daily Telegraph* political writer (and former *Scotland on Sunday* editor) Alan Cochrane, while features included stories about Sir Walter Scott, sculptor Gerald Laing, "Lovable Lairds", Alexander 'Greek Thomson', author A. L. Kennedy, and a nameless walled garden. It was less modern than a self-consciously contemporary packaging of much that was essentially "romantic nostalgia" of the sort it professed to

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<sup>17</sup> Mackenzie, Archie. "Editor's Aspect" (*Scottish Field*, March 1999). p. 3.

disdain.<sup>18</sup> Outside of their own niche markets few of the Scottish publications appear capable of accomplishing much — because of their circulation and/or content — by way of helping Scotland to export goods, attract tourists or gain a higher and more appropriate international political profile.

In the case of the nostalgia publications, it is likely that they help to perpetuate anachronistic views of Scotland in expatriate and descendant communities where individuals' most recent first-hand memories of Scotland may go back 20-40 years or more, where stories from previous generations remain in circulation and where, because personal identities are defined in terms of connections in the past, there is an inclination to look backwards in time anyway. Most clan societies, for example, place a high value on genealogical research. Letters by members of these communities to the editor of, for example, the American-based *Scottish Banner* monthly newspaper (which applies a much lighter editorial hand to its letters column than, say, *The Scots Magazine*) are very often from people seeking to extend family history interests or share personal recollections of Scotland. Others ask for clarification on historical questions or seek pen-pals. Many reveal anachronistic, yearning and culturally deflected attitudes about Scotland and Scottishness:

During a recent visit to an uncle's, we discovered some of our heritage. We found that my husband's great grandparents spoke Gaelic, and so we are starting Gaelic lessons, and we would like to discover more...<sup>19</sup>

My daughter is getting married in February and I am looking for any funny Scottish wedding stories or traditions to include in my speech.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See: Gale, Iain (editor). *Caledonia* (Scott House Publishing, June 1999).

<sup>19</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, December 1997). p. 2

<sup>20</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, December 1997). p.2.

I'm interested in locating any and all places that are Scottish oriented in Houston, Texas, USA. I am trying to discover my proud Scottish culture.<sup>21</sup>

I am an expatriate Scot born in Edinburgh and now living in Brisbane, Queensland. I have been here since 1963. I am looking for the piano music and words for the song 'Always Argyll'.<sup>22</sup>

I am looking for relatives or anyone else willing to correspond with me from the Irvine, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire areas. My grandfather ... relocated to the United States in 1907.<sup>23</sup>

We recently watched a travelogue of Scotland on TV and the narrator was treated to a 'Piping in the Haggis' ceremony. ... The piper then gave the traditional salute to the haggis, raised his glass and invited the guests to do likewise ... He spoke a word of toast which we did not understand. We taped the show and replayed it over and over. ... It sounded like 'wan-je-lah' or something like that ... Could someone out there help us?<sup>24</sup>

The Scottish culture/heritage has been an interest as far back as I can recall. Perhaps there is a connection as my birthday is January 25th; same as Robert Burns...<sup>25</sup>

I would like to know if there is a piper who might have the music for the tune titled 'Mull of Kintyre'. I heard Paul McCartney sing it.<sup>26</sup>

I have been trying to trace a lady who worked with me when I lived in Musselburgh 46 years ago...<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, November 1997). p.2.

<sup>22</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, June 1998). p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, June 1998). p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, April 1999). p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, April 1999). p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, April 1998). p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, March 1998). p. 2.

I am learning how to sing traditional Gaelic songs and I have been trying to find the words in Gaelic to 'The Road to the Isles. I wonder if someone could send me the words and the phonetics to this song?<sup>28</sup>

I'm a fan of Scottish folklore and mythology. I would like a penpal who enjoys Scottish culture.<sup>29</sup>

I am trying to solve the problem of my father's clan name. His name was Kinninmont, and I have yet to be able to define which clan is his.<sup>30</sup>

In the absence, until recently in some cases and into the present in others, of authoritative migrant histories, a range of informal stories and recollections has helped to shape views and attitudes that may be strongly held by at least some of the influential people in these communities. In some cases, expatriate mythologies have been very deliberately created and actively promoted, as Professor Ted Cowan has shown in the case of Canada.<sup>31</sup> In some cases, the process is less formalised and deliberate. Departures from Scottishness as it is expressed in Scotland, as a consequence of various sorts of remoteness, can begin subtly and become integrated into activities that might be expected to exemplify "Scottishness". In New Zealand, for example, the establishment by the Piping and Dancing Association of the New Zealand of the Academy of Piping and Dancing to regulate competitions and formalise teaching in 1946 and the incorporation of the Academy two years later<sup>32</sup> has, after difficulties in

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<sup>28</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, March 1999). p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, March 1999). p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Letter to the Editor (*The Scottish Banner*, February 1999). p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> See: Cowan, E. J. "The Myth of Scotch Canada" in: Harper, Marjory, and Vance, Michael E. (eds.) *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory* (John Donald/Fernwood, 2000).

<sup>32</sup> Nicholson, J. C. *Piping and Dancing Association of New Zealand (Inc.) 1908-1983* (Piping and Dancing Association of New Zealand, 1983).



co-ordinating with Scottish-based Highland dancing organisations, led to a situation in which New Zealand Highland dancers cannot compete outside of New Zealand without modifying their style and technique. There is, in other words, an organisationally endorsed New Zealand way of Highland dancing that has diverged from international norms. This has tended to further isolate Highland dancing in New Zealand. New Zealand pipers, on the other hand, through maintaining contacts with Scotland, have reached the highest levels of international competition and achievement.<sup>33</sup>

THERE are reasons to be concerned here. In a number of Scotland's New World markets, other cultures rival Scottishness for prominence — in Scotland, it is the success of Irish cultural promotion that is perhaps the best known. It is important to realise that the Scottish "diaspora" of the last few centuries is not unique. Many countries are increasingly multicultural, the result of often highly controlled immigration policies. Canada, in particular, sees immigrants as "a vital source of human capital"<sup>34</sup> and shapes its policies to attract people with skills that its economy needs. Countless stories of expatriate

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<sup>33</sup> New Zealander Murray Henderson, for example, has won the most prestigious competition in piping — the overall award at the Glenfiddich piping Championship — four times. In the military, New Zealander Pipe Major Bruce Hitching retired as the British Army's senior Pipe Major Instructor in November 2000. Greg Wilson, a former new Zealand army officer, established the National Schools Piping Project for The Piping Centre, Glasgow, in 1998 and is a leading solo competitive piper.

<sup>34</sup> Canada's Year 2000 Immigration Plan noted that:

...Canada needs to attract highly skilled workers, along with developing the skills of its domestic work force, as an essential part of maintaining its competitive position in a knowledge-based and service-oriented world economy. ...Economic immigrants are selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to Canada's economic and social well-being.

— Canada, Immigration. <http://cicnet.ci.gc.ca/english/pub/anrep00e.html> (19 February 2000).

and descendant communities from a diversity of cultures are woven into post-migration traditions<sup>35</sup> in their new social environments, and parent cultures come to be seen in new ways.<sup>36</sup> Thus, for example, Vinay Lal, assistant Professor of History at the University of California Los Angeles, points out

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<sup>35</sup> Examples are provided by the director of the Finnish Institute of Migration, Olavi Koivukangas, in a website article on Finnish migration:

a. In relation to North America:

... Major contributions made by the early Finnish settlers in America were burn-beating, a new way to build log-cabins, and the art of living at peace with Indians. A descendant of these early Finns was John Morton who signed the USA Declaration of Independence in 1776.

b. In relation to Australia and New Zealand:

"In 1769—70 Captain James Cook sailing the Endeavour claimed New Zealand and the eastern parts of Australia to the British Crown. He was accompanied by H. D. Spöring [a Finn], a draughtsman and naturalist belonging to Joseph Banks' retinue. ... Finns have been the pioneers of New Zealand pulp and paper industry. ... The major settlement of Finns is in Auckland with an active Finnish society.

c. In relation to Sweden:

As long ago as in the 14th century some people from present Finland went to Sweden in search of better livelihood. ... The first Finnish society started in 1830 and after the postwar mass migration the Federation of Finnish Associations in Sweden was established in 1957. In 1987 the federation had 168 local societies with 46,000 members.

— Koivukangas, Olavi. *Finnish migration*. <http://www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/art/susag> (20 February, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> After a 1999 visit to the Cape Verdean Society formed in Wales in 1990, William A Gomes, a retired civil servant living in Randolph, Massachusetts, wrote:

Each member should be commended for acknowledging their Cape Verdean-Welsh heritage. For it was their forefathers that settled in Cardiff, Wales, some hundred years ago. They instilled in their offspring the seed of *sensacao* for the Republic of the Cape Verde. ... It is a profound fact that the Cape Verdean culture has enhanced every segment of society wherever Cape Verdeans are dispersed throughout the world.

— Gomes, William (10 March, 1999) published at Cape Verdean Society website. <http://www.umassd.edu/SpecialPrograms/caboverde/cardiff> (2 July, 2000).

that modern India, in all of its complexity, is not the “India” of Indians of the diaspora “whose idea of their homeland remains bound to ossified conceptions of Indian religion, tradition, and cultural practices”. But he also observes that in the diaspora new art and cultural forms are emerging, “and the relation between India and its diasporic offsprings may yet alter our understanding of Indian civilisation”:

... the question of the 'Indianness' of Indians acquires a particular poignancy overseas, as Indians abroad are presumed to shed their regional, linguistic, and ethnic identities in deference to the more general identity of being an Indian. It is arguable that one is more easily an Indian abroad than in India; the category of 'Indian' is not contested abroad as it is in India. This is perhaps all the more remarkable, when one considers that the 'Indianness' of the Indian diaspora is not as evidently conceptualizable, or even visible, as the distinctly Chinese characteristics of the Chinese diaspora or the Islamic features of the Arab diaspora. Hindi does not bind together diasporic Indians in the manner in which Chinese holds together the Chinese diaspora; nor does Hinduism play in the Indian diaspora a role comparable to that of Islam within, if one could speak of such a thing, the Islamic Diaspora. Thus, in Mauritius, the national language remains a French Creole, though Hindi is the language of the preponderant portion of the numerically dominant Indian community.

... other forces have emerged to cement the widely disparate elements from the Indian sub-continent into an 'Indian' community. One can point, for example, to Indian cinema, Hinduism, and food. The popular Hindi film provides a considerable element of commonalty to Indian communities, even among those where Hindi is not spoken, a profound homage to the Hindi film's rootedness in the deep mythic structures of Indian civilization. ... Likewise, Indians overseas routinely invoke Indian civilization with a self-assurance that in India would be both mocked and contested. ... Finally, in the matter of food, one beholds with amazement how Mughlai food has become the cuisine

of India, entirely synonymous with Indian food. The same surely cannot be said of the cuisines of Gujarat, Andhra, and Kerala, or even of the popular snack food, idlis and dosas, of South India. In the Indian Diaspora, the plurality of India is condemned to disappear, even as the most esoteric traditions are given a fresh burst of life, and a unitary vision of 'Indianness', of Indian civilization and of Hinduism, appears poised to dominate.<sup>37</sup>

In the global context, in numerical terms, and alongside massive emigrations from other, vaster cultures, Scotland's diaspora is a relatively small demographic incident of rapidly diminishing significance. The under-researched ways in which migrant Scots have made their adjustments to new cultural contexts, however, have resulted in some relatively visible expressions of identity. In some of the regions that Scotland regards as target markets they have been significant enough to warrant much more notice than they have received. Given that Scotland does so pitifully little to actively encourage or inform this range of self-identifications and interests<sup>38</sup> and that individual Scots

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<sup>37</sup> Lal, Vinay. *Reflections on the South Asian Diaspora*. (History, University of California Los Angeles). <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/Diaspora/reflect>. (20 February, 2000).

<sup>38</sup> In this context, the attitude of, for example, Egypt's Minister of Manpower and Emigration, Ahmed El Amawy, is interesting: "From Egypt to all of you Egyptians abroad who carry with you the pulse of its great history, and the responsibilities towards its new renaissance ... the Emigration Sector of the Ministry announces its wish to establish close links with you individually or through your groupings."

— El Amawy, Ahmed. Egypt, Ministry of Manpower and Emigration's Emigration Sector. [http://www.emigration.gov.eg/Home\(e\).htm](http://www.emigration.gov.eg/Home(e).htm) (14 March, 2000).

*Irish Abroad's* extensive website carries regular features, discussions, chat, free e-mail postcards, and a wealth of Irish information: daily Irish news, horoscopes, recipes, information about flight specials, Gaelic and Irish slang, and Irish employment and property, Irish technological developments, daily exchange rates, advice on emigration and living abroad, a searchable calendar of Irish events and listings of Irish businesses and pubs. Genealogical, statistical, cultural and tourist information, songs, games and jokes are all there.

— Irish Abroad. <http://www.irishabroad.com> (13 March 2000).

are from time to time given to publicly heap derision of expatriate and descendant communities<sup>39</sup>, it becomes significant that Scotland is uniquely endowed with a highly-developed genealogically-based structure, constituted in law, that helps to provide a coherent (if frequently misunderstood) underpinning for some of the important symbols of descendant identification overseas: the Lyon Court.

The Lyon Court is an institution with origins that long antedate the establishment in 1672 of the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland. A Lord Lyon King of Arms was appointed with knightly rank at Arbroath Abbey in 1318 by Robert the Bruce. But the 1672 Act, as well as repairing damage done by Oliver Cromwell's destruction of Scottish records, gave formalisation and order to the use of arms in Scotland and made it unlawful to bear unregistered arms. It also required all subsequent grants of arms to be properly recorded. The Lyon Court, of little significance to the daily lives of most Scots within Scotland, is still to be taken seriously, say its supporters. Its role is often in relation to determining the rightful chiefship of a clan at a time of a contested succession — something that, not including the litigants themselves, is likely to be of most interest to active clan members

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<sup>39</sup> In response to an article by Bob Brown comparing other nations' interest in their diasporic communities with Scotland's ("Putting the sporran into diaspora" (*Sunday Herald Seven Days* section, 23 January, 2000. p. 8), a Dr M. M. Gilchrist of St Andrews wrote to the editor of the *Sunday Herald*:

I think we ought to be glad that the Scottish diaspora is less influential than that of some other countries. Playing the diaspora card is unhealthy. It inhibits the development of a modern multi-ethnic society, implies a notion of nationality based on 'blood' rather than residence and commitment, and exploits notions of racial purity. Diaspora also frequently exhibit ignorant and bizarre misconceptions about their ancestors' home countries: the ludicrous American Kirkin' of the Tartan ceremonies which pander to a Brigadoon image of Scottishness are just one example.

— Gilchrist, M. M. (*Readers' views, Sunday Herald Seven Days* section, 30 January, 2000). p. 6.

overseas. George Way of Plean, secretary of the 147-member Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs, wrote in 1994:

Many important cases have come before the Lyon Court in the twentieth century and perhaps the most significant in recent years was an action in 1990 to determine rights in the chiefly House of Dunbar of Mochrum. The case is important for the procedures and the process which were followed. The Lord Lyon sat in a courtroom normally used by the Appeal Court in the Court of Session in Edinburgh. The petitioner was represented by Sir Crispin Agnew of Lochnaw, Baronet, who wore, in addition to his advocate's wig and gown, the uniform of Unicorn Pursuivant and the Nova Scotia Baronet badge worn by all chiefs of Clan Agnew since 1629. The respondent was represented by a distinguished Queen's Counsel. The Crown has also entered the proceedings, being represented by the Lord Advocate, the most senior Scottish law officer and a member of the British Cabinet. The Lord Lyon's decision in the case was not accepted and an appeal was then heard in the Inner House of the Court of Session and ultimately the case was resolved in the house of Lords in London. This demonstrates not only that the Lyon Court is a fully integrated part of the Scottish judicial system, but also that clan rights have survived to this day, not just as a historical curiosity or romantic ideal, but as a part of Scotland's heritage, worthy of the attention of the highest courts of the land.

... Chiefship is a title of honour and dignity within the nobility of Scotland. Any claimant to such a title must establish, to the satisfaction of the Lord Lyon representing the sovereign, that he or she is entitled to the undifferenced arms of the community over which they seek to preside.<sup>40</sup>

George Way of Plean defines a clan as a "community which is both distinguished by heraldry and recognised by the sovereign". Contrary to

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<sup>40</sup> Way, George. "The Law of the Clan" in: Way of Plean, George, and Squire, Romily (ed.), *Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 21-30.

widespread popular belief at home and abroad, a “clansman” need not be able to prove a biological relationship to his chief, he said: “A clansman can be said to be one who professes allegiance to a chief and the other members of his noble community, whether by descent with a common name, territorial origin or adoption, and who respects the Law of Arms in Scotland.”<sup>41</sup> The options of adoption and territorial origin separately and together open membership of almost any clan to almost any person who is willing to respect the recognised chief and “the Law of Arms in Scotland”.

The practical implications of these attitudes are not dissimilar from the view expressed by Professor Peter Gomes that, “in a democracy like the United States you can choose your ancestors”.<sup>42</sup> You can certainly choose your own clan: a body “distinguished by heraldry and recognised by the sovereign”. If to descent, adoption, territorial origin and adoption, the ancient Gaelic tradition of fosterage is added, clanship becomes a highly elastic understanding of kinship, conceptually capable of embracing any of the realities of modern post-nuclear family life, human relationship and diverse child-rearing contexts. It is not facetious to observe that Scottish clanship could well be an institution that, far from belonging to the past, potentially has a yet-to-be realised future and appeal. In the Old World context of Scotland, the Scottish chiefs’ attitude to clan membership has origins in the situation of the 17th century when, according to David Stevenson:

Feudalism was often as central to a chief’s power as kinship. Chiefs used feudalism willingly when it worked to their own advantage, and only made the discovery that it was something alien

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<sup>41</sup> Way of Plein, George (secretary, The Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs). Interview, Tuesday, 3 November, 1998.

<sup>42</sup> Gomes, Peter (narrator) with Gill, Jonathan (writer & producer) and Rees, Laurence (ed.). *The Pilgrim Fathers* (Timewatch, 1998). Screened in Britain on BBC 2, Tuesday 13, October 1998.

and unnatural if it happened to work against their interests. When feudal ties did not exist, chiefs often found it convenient to invent quasi-feudal ones to bolster their authority. ... As well as such quasi-feudal ties, quasi-kinship ones were created; not just through the general myth of kinship wider than that which actually existed, but also through the artificial kinship of fosterage. ...Fosterage could be used to strengthen real kinship ties ... or it could be used to create an entirely artificial kinship.<sup>43</sup>

In the urbane, modern version of clanship in Scotland — as opposed to the community-based extended family that is still to be found in the Highlands — a declared respect for the Law of Arms in Scotland is supported by the Lord Lyon's statutory powers to protect the rights of those whose arms are properly recorded by imposing fines, confiscating of offending articles and even in theory, by imposing imprisonment. In this policing role, the Lord Lyon is assisted by the Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records and by a prosecutor, the Procurator Fiscal, who brings complaints about the misuse of arms to the Court.<sup>44</sup> Enforcement of the laws intended to protect the art of aristocratic identification in Scotland may never have taxed the resources of Her Majesty's Prisons, but the existence of those laws has given Scotland's heraldry a kudos and status that might otherwise have faded. The value of that distinctiveness is now being keenly raised in the New World by descendants of Scots who may well have been more familiar with the pit dungeons and exactions their chiefs than with their great halls, bards and heroes. But, for those who want but have not inherited arms of their own, there is another recourse. Not only are arms heritable property and strictly protected in Scotland but also, as Gordon Casley

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<sup>43</sup> Stevenson, David. *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars* (John Donald, 1980).

<sup>44</sup> Way of Plein, George, and Barden, Patrick. "Heraldry" in: Way of Plein, George, and Squire, Romily (ed.), *Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopedia* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 43-61.



told the 1998 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention, new, personal coats of arms are relatively freely available in Scotland:

Qualifications for gaining a coat-of-arm vary considerably throughout Europe, and may depend on nobility or caste. Through the impact of the Celtic social system upon Scotland, the system is egalitarian, from the fundamental theory underlying clanship (and Lowland 'houses') that every member springs from the founder of the clan. Thus any person judged by Lyon to be *virtuous and well deserving* may be granted arms. The petitioner can be female or male, for Scotland has always maintained sexual equality in heraldry.<sup>45</sup>

When Inverness-based Hugh Grant retired after 30 years in the hotel business, it was with an awareness that many of those who visited Scotland came looking for genealogical and clan roots. He and his wife Joan decided to service this particular interest: people wanting to find out more about the origin of their name and wanting to find out about the coat of arms granted to that name. The result, a company called Heraldic Art and Design, set up in 1991, has been an successful small business founded on the methods and technology of another era. Heraldic Art and Design relates each customer's name to a heraldic device — provided it is one of the many thousands of names that fall within the heraldic system of Europe, or a variant of one — and prepares individually hand-painted blazons of arms in full colour on parchment vellum. The firm also hand-embroiders coats of arms for its customers in gold, silver and French silk thread, in a choice of sizes. This work established a new cottage industry for women in some of the remote communities of Harris and Lewis who learned the art of fine embroidery and trained and recruited friends to produce the hand-worked crests. The company employs and trains its own

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<sup>45</sup> Casley, Gordon. "Heraldry and identity, from knights to corporate branding" in: Fladmark, J.M. (editor) *In search of Heritage, as pilgrim or tourist?* (Donhead, 1998). p.179-191.

artists and calligraphers. It also has developed its own research department and established an International Library of Arms. It employs a consultant genealogist to trace names that may have changed markedly with the move of a family to the New World. An enterprise that began on the Grants' kitchen table at home in 1991 in 1997-98 had an annual turnover approaching £400,000, 75-80 per cent of that accruing from export sales. It was by then giving work to about 60 people in Scotland, Wales and England. Most of the staff at the Inverness head office were full time.

Hugh Grant identifies his market in the diaspora — the “tremendous interest in the North American people about their ancestry and where they came from”, and people from South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. He describes their having an interest in their names or origins that indigenous Scots “find strange because they live with it all the time.” He estimated that about 10 per cent of his customers had carried out some family research and already knew what their name's arms were and where their names originated. In most cases, Heraldic Art and Design provides the information. It does no specific genealogical research — “genealogy is a quite a different and much more expensive and time-consuming study,” said High Grant — but does point people to the oldest registered coat of arms for their surname.

Hugh Grant said it would be difficult to know how closely his customers would be related to the families that rightfully possess those arms:

Just because they have a clan name, there's no real way of checking any true link at all. It's just the fact they have a name and we will show them the first coat of arms of that name. I... There is a lot of wishful thinking. Without genealogical evidence to prove a line of descent, the likelihood of a genuine, biological relationship really is a long shot — and names have changed. ... What they are looking for is an image that somehow appears to connect them to what they understand their biological origins to be. And they are

looking for something with the status of an heirloom. ... I find that very interesting, the fact that they want to create an heirloom to make their mark and leave it to subsequent generations.<sup>46</sup>

Those with titles and full legal rights to a properly registered coat of arms rarely buy Heraldic Design's handsomely embroidered crests. But the protection afforded Scottish heraldry by the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland* and the office of the Lord Lyon, is a significant asset to Hugh and Joan Grant's business.<sup>47</sup> The market is growing, said Hugh Grant, and Heritage Design finds itself in a zone of small-medium sized business that are collectively making a strong contribution to Scottish employment and which constitute a significant share of the total Scottish business activity.

It is probably impossible to put a potential total value on the Scottish-interest niche market served by the likes of Heraldic Art and Design. It is a market that merges at its boundaries with a yet broader "Celtic" niche market, fuelled by post-postmodern hungers for heritage and identity, especially in the New World. There are numerous clan organisations and societies, many of them with formalised structures and hereditary chiefs. Others, especially in the New World are less formal groups pursuing family history research or social programmes. Serving this market and the interests of countless other Scots descendants and "wishful thinkers" are tartan weavers, clan badge and crest makers, jewellers, kiltmakers, the engravers of dram glasses, video production companies, book publishers, tee-shirt printers and garment embroiderers. There are clan-crested beer mats, kilt pins and whisky miniatures. Competing with Scottish producers are a good number of clan product manufactories overseas. The Celtic Studio on Salt Spring Island off the west coast of British

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<sup>46</sup> Grant, Hugh. Interview, 23 September 1998.

<sup>47</sup> Grant, Hugh. Interview, 23 September 1998.

Columbia, Canada, widely advertises Scottish clan crested sportswear, clan rings and “coat of arms rings” in solid silver and 14 carat gold: the “family heirloom ring”. Tartan and Time, P O Box 1212, Randolph, MA, in the United States sells “13 different styles of wall, desk and mantle clocks custom made to display your family tartan or clan crest.” The Croft House at 131 Kent Street, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada, also does “Scottish clan tartan” clocks and markets clan crested stationery. Colin Cameron’s Cailean’s Glassworks at West Petpeswick Road, Muquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia, Canada, markets Scottish and Irish crests in stained glass: “These handmade, painted and fired Clan Crests may depict plant badges, clan castles, tartans, knot work or any other combination as background ... double crests with claddha are popular wedding and anniversary gifts ... coats of arms can be made for any family with a drawing or description,” says a 1997 advertisement in *Celtic Heritage* magazine. Tartan and clan crest cross stitch kits are marketed by Sugar Plum Sundries, Fair Forest Drive, Stone Mountain, GA, in the United States. The 2,000 square-foot Celtic Connection (“your Celtic merchant and shoppe”) in Caroline Street, Fredericksburg, VA, exhorts that “trade inquiries, clan fund raisers and bands” are welcome to strike deals in relation to a range of products from “Scottish fortune cookies” pewter dragons, Bruce axes, claymores, Welsh love spoons, clan crest and heraldry products, art and maps, kilts, sporrans ... something for everyone.<sup>48</sup>

The array of products seems as remote from the deliberations of the Lyon Court and the proceedings of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs (formed in 1952) as they themselves seem from the daily lives of most Scots. But, though the overseas producers are beyond its reach, the Standing Council of

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<sup>48</sup> e.g. *The Scottish Banner*, Vol. 22, No. 3, August 1998; *Celtic Heritage*, October-November 1997.

Scottish Chiefs has a direct involvement with products manufactured in Scotland that carry clan insignia. (In 1998 some 30 Scottish manufacturers of clan badges and the like and a number of individual craftspeople were registered with the Standing Council.) George Way said it was the policy of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs only to seek to persuade Scottish manufacturers to conform with the intent of the legislation. Said George Way:

We have a badge ... a circlet with three chief's eagle feathers with 'Standing Council of Chiefs' on it and underneath it says 'approved manufacturer' ... that is meant to be used by anyone who has our licence so that the public know that they are licensed ... the Council's primary interest in the souvenir market is to ensure that, if it says it's Mackay, it's Mackay and not MacGillivray. The Council is, as the Americans would say, a non profit organisation and its principle aim is to ensure that what's produced is decent and of a quality which at least isn't tawdry. ... We have never, ever, exercised our legal rights against anyone. We work entirely by persuasion and drawing to their attention the advantages ... I've no doubt there are people out there even now making things that I've not seen, but it's very much the velvet glove inside the velvet glove.<sup>49</sup>

Gordon Casley told the 1998 Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention that heraldry was very much a living art in Scotland:

... the growth of heraldry during this century (the 20th) has been nothing short of explosive. Heraldry extends into all spheres of life. spiritual and secular. It harks back to the past while providing a bond for the future. Yet heraldists remain far too modest in promoting themselves. their ancient craft is proving one of Scotland's modern growth industries with downstream opportunity is design, print and manufacture. the underlying trend suggests that

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<sup>49</sup> Way of Pleas, George. Interview, 3 November, 1998.

this growth will become even more pronounced in the 21st century.<sup>50</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

SCOTLAND's expatriate and descendant communities have a potential value to Scotland, far beyond their worth as a niche market in their own right, and this value might well be tapped, were Scotland to take a positive interest in them. Any value lost to Scotland is Scotland's responsibility.

However, as Scottish descendant communities and the societies in which they live change, that value falls as the years go by. As of now, a number of these communities are well placed to provide positive definitional experiences of Scottishness in a number of important target markets, to extend and facilitate networks of personal communication and to help plan, manage and support Scottish-sourced initiatives. Neglect and a failure to involve them has left them very much on their own in contexts of rapidly developing multicultural societies. For as long as they continue to be provided from Scotland with inadequate, even misleading, sources of information and little Scottish-generated contact, the contexts in which these groups function will lead to further cultural divergence from contemporary Scotland, and the potential they represent for Scotland will gradually diminish<sup>51</sup> — as has largely been the case

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<sup>50</sup> Casley, Gordon. "Heraldry and identity, from knights to corporate branding" in: Fladmark, J. M. (editor) *In search of Heritage, as pilgrim or tourist?* (Donhead, 1998). p.179-191.

<sup>51</sup> Euan Baird, Scottish expatriate chief executive of Schlumberger (a multi-billion-dollar technology company) and chairperson of Scottish Knowledge, told *The Scotsman* in 2000: "It's heartening and touching how well received Scottish people are in the U.S. But Scotland itself doesn't benefit from it ... all the different societies never talk to each other, don't exchange information, and as a result aren't nearly as effective as they should be ... it can't be handled by expats. there has to be a force from Scotland." — Cornwell, Tim. "Roots, mon" (Weekend section, *The Scotsman*, 11 March, 2000). p. 1-2.

with Cape Breton Gaelic culture which provides a robust identity without recourse to “Scottishness”.

Through misunderstandings about contemporary Scotland — for which Scotland is primarily to blame — and in response to needs to elaborate their identity in the formulation of their own post-migration histories, expatriate and descendant communities’ expressions of Scottishness may not always complement Scotland’s interests as happily as they might. Should Scots continue to largely ignore post-migration histories and even to disparage or mock apparent misunderstandings of contemporary Scotland where they occur, instead of promoting contact, exchange, information and friendship, they will deepen that distancing. Subtle shifts may be involved in the short term, but Scots may discover to their considerable cost that, unattended, the loyalties felt by a Scots American or Scots New Zealander for that matter, may well prove different from those of an American Scot.

In its heraldic and clan systems, Scotland has a seriously under-rated asset: one of the few bonding mechanisms it has to offer distant descendant communities and organisations to give them a formalised identity and strengthen their capacity to attract members, function effectively and mobilise support within their wider communities. In terms of signal value<sup>52</sup> — the intercultural capacity of an activity to establish productive associations on behalf of a particular interest, and probe target market cultures for areas of common interest or value Scotland’s heraldry system rates highly:

- a) its capacity to reinforce, enhance or extend the core value of family and kinship for a particular market interest is supplemented by a general “Scottish” value;

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<sup>52</sup> See: *Chapter 1: Introduction*. p. 23-24.

- b) it provides plentiful opportunities for interactive engagement within target markets, and encourage participative responses;
- c) it seems able to produce mutual benefits, cultural as well as commercial;
- d) it is capable of a diversity of expressions and representations according to time and context;
- e) it has, through clan societies, “internationally portable core components”;
- f) it has identifiable infrastructures with which businesslike arrangements might be entered into.

This signal value could be further strengthened by helping the Lyon Court and the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs to develop as effective, value-adding validating bodies and make themselves better known, both within Scotland and amongst Scottish-interest groups overseas. Opportunities for enhancing Scotland’s position exist in ensuring that the authorisations of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs, for example, add as much value as possible to approved goods. A Scottish identity, achieved through clanship, carries a lot with it: a personal and family identity, an extended kinship group, an origins story, a “home” territory, a badge and a tartan, a group to belong to, an international calendar of events, a language, music, poetry, arts and a literature, a national costume... in the relativistic contexts many people experience in the New World, these are attributes of enormous value, and very attractive. It returns to Scotland a forum of support and interest, as well as making contributions to tourism and exporting.

Concerns about the quality of some Scottish souvenir imports should be addressed. This concern could be translated into a form of approval for retailers: a marque and marketing system for outlets that carry only products of quality.



There is nothing intrinsic to overseas clanship or the choice of a Scottish identity that should inhibit the realignment of Scotland's trading identity in the 21st century — but there are needs for vastly more effective communication and for initiatives, such as scholarship programmes, to bring people influential in these expatriate and descendant circles to Scotland. Scotland is not contesting an empty field in these matters. New Age and "Celtic" movements abroad are actively propagating imagery and "histories" that not only exploit but seriously misrepresent nations like Scotland and Ireland. "Scottish" adherents overseas can understandably be vulnerable to this propaganda and, in their flamboyance, can become an embarrassment to more authentic advocates of Scottishness, and to Scotland's wider commercial interests. Work and investment need to go into producing a high quality participative website that draws expatriate and descendant communities and individuals into a much closer relationship with Scotland. This needs to be backed up with print — a high quality magazine perhaps — and by programs of cultural facilitation, events and exchanges.

Heraldry, moreover, remains very much a living art in Scotland and its role may well have scope for development. Said Gordon Casley:

... the growth of heraldry during this century (the 20th) has been nothing short of explosive. Heraldry extends into all spheres of life. spiritual and secular. It harks back to the past while providing a bond for the future. Yet heraldists remain far too modest in promoting themselves. their ancient craft is proving one of Scotland's modern growth industries with downstream opportunity in design, print and manufacture. the underlying trend suggests that this growth will become even more pronounced in the 21st century.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Casley, Gordon. "Heraldry and identity, from knights to corporate branding" in: Fladmark, J. M. (editor) *In search of Heritage, as pilgrim or tourist?* (Donhead, 1998). p. 179-191.

## 7. THE PIPES (CASE STUDY 3)

IN terms of international regard, the great Highland bagpipe is unique. It is widely, but not universally, seen as being distinctively, definitively and declaratively Scottish<sup>1</sup> — despite having been co-opted by British (as opposed to Scottish) commercial and diplomatic interests abroad and paraded at the front of British (as opposed to simply Scottish) imperial armies. Even when non-Scots play the pipes and despite the European, Balkan, Middle Eastern and North African historical provenance of bagpipes and, in many cases, the survival or revival of many of the other old bagpipe traditions<sup>2</sup>, the pipes still

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<sup>1</sup> Bagpipes were identified as the one image that “best sums up Scotland” by 11 per cent of respondent in a 17-nation survey of young achievers by MORI for the British Council in 2000. It was the third most frequently mentioned identifying image, after kilts and whisky.

— MORI. *Through other eyes 2 — How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council) [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Paris-based independent film maker Christian Rouaud, working on a five-part television series on piping in Europe, spoke of a new surge of piping interest in Europe:

It’s a second revival. There was a first wave in the 1970s, and there is another wave now. ...I think it’s a reaction against the ’80s when the only idea was economic efficiency and you had to be a winner — now I think people want something different and they are turning to tradition to find something (through which) to exist as people, not only a manager or worker, or future Americans, whatever.

— Rouaud, C. Interview, 26 July, 2000.

Assisting in the film project was leading Breton piper Patrick Molard:

speak of Scotland. Highland bagpipes and pipe bands (from anywhere) are immediately impressive — they are difficult to ignore — and the reception they are accorded internationally is almost invariably positive.<sup>3</sup>

In Scotland, however, bagpipes have a problem. Piping faces an upheaval: an exciting, sweeping revolution of international proportions. At the same time, piping is Scotland's least understood and possibly its least loved icon: there are

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There is a tremendous need within people, a search for identity. Especially at this time of *mondialisation* — globalisation... I think that just to play the bagpipe is a way of to protest against this uniformisation of the world's cultures.

Thus, he said, Breton business interests had, over the past six years or so, become very much more interested in sponsoring traditional music and in promoting Brittany and Breton products through its culture:

At international trade exhibitions, they will try to bring Breton artists with them to promote their products and Breton culture. They think that the solution for tomorrow is economy and culture, economy and identity ... to compete with countries with strong economic power.

At the same time, he said, piping traditions were attracting a particularly vigorous interest in Galicia and Asturias, in northern Spain...

In Brittany, it's incredible the number of bands we have at the moment. In Ireland, there are lots and lots of young pipers learning the uilleann pipes ... it's a widespread phenomenon.

— Molard, Patrick. Interview, 26 July, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Said Cathy Hurst, recently consular officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Edinburgh:

Everybody — whether they know anything about Scotland or anything about the pipes — you look at somebody playing the pipes and you can immediately figure out this is a hard thing to do, it's not like Scots took up the triangle as their national instrument. It shows the quality and hard work of this culture. I think the bagpipes are completely symbolic, like the hardest thing there is, and the fact that Scotland has it and has mastered it shows the rest of the world the commitment and dedication of the Scottish people towards their craft.

— Hurst, Cathy (principal officer, Consulate General of the United States, Edinburgh). Interview, 1 December, 1998.

Scots who cringe with embarrassment when they hear the pipes start up; piping is frequently disparaged in Scotland and was banned by Tony Blair from the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Edinburgh in 1997. Piping is exploited in tourism and export marketing, though few of those who use the pipes in such ways appear to know very much about piping. The instruments' most publicly visible associations have had less to do with the cultures and traditions (Highland, Lowland and Borders) to which they belong than with the annual Edinburgh Military Tattoo: an event which successfully combines the British military bombast of the now discontinued Royal Tournament with the jingoistic sentimentality and imperialist nostalgia of the Last Night at the Proms. The Tattoo, with its soldiers in kilts, has considerable appeal and attracts enormous international interest.<sup>4</sup>

These are associations with which many people have now vested an icon that is widely recognised overseas as well as at home, so that they permeate Scotland's definitional imagery. John Hutchison, director of the Still Moving Picture Company, a 250,000-image Edinburgh-based photo library, for example, said that most of the traditional music pictures his agency sent out were of pipers and pipe bands.<sup>5</sup> This demand lies largely outside of Scotland: Scotland's marketing iconography involving pipers, therefore, is largely

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4 When, for example, four performances of an adapted version of the Edinburgh Military Tattoo, featuring 300 pipers and drummers, were staged in New Zealand in March 2000, they were seen by a audiences of 20,000 a night (it is 9,000 a night in Edinburgh). The venue was Wellington's Westpac Trust Stadium, where a massive stage set was specially built: a replica of the facade of Edinburgh Castle. The event, highlight of the biennial New Zealand Festival, was originally scheduled for one performance but tickets sold out in hours and more performances were scheduled. Some were re-sold at prices of \$200 (New Zealand).

— Walker, Andrew. "20,000 New Zealanders salute the tattoo's first overseas show" (*The Scotsman*, 11 March 2000). p.4.

<sup>5</sup> Hutchison, John. Interview, 23 February, 1999.

defined by non-Scots. The evocations are typically military. This is imagery that looks backwards, not forwards: shifting military priorities and the reduction in the number and, since 1979, in the official standing of military pipers and bands have seen military piping play a diminishing influence in piping as a whole.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, diplomatic enhancement continues to be one of the roles of British Army pipers, and this also occurs informally. In 1998, John Loughlin, for example, was engineering manager for Brown and Root North Africa Limited, working on the Great Man Made River project in Libya. Frequently, when there was a special occasion in Benghazi, John Loughlin would be asked to don his kilt and play. Some 1,100 kilometres way in Tripoli, the Libyan capital, another former member of the same 58th Glasgow Boys Brigade band, Jim Bone, was being called upon in the same role.<sup>7</sup> Previously to working in Libya, John Loughlin was in Kuwait as Gulf manager for a consultant civil engineering company. In 1983, he and Vic

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<sup>6</sup> Lt Col. David Murray, in his programme notes for the *Music of the Pipes - Ceol Na Pioba* series at the 1999 Edinburgh International Festival, wrote that:

... in 18564, Highland regiments were allowed to employ six additional men as pipers, and this number was increased to twelve over the years until 1979, when the concession was allowed to lapse. The Pipes and Drums now have no official existence. Only the Pipe Major now survives.

— Murray, Lt Col. David. "Tunes of Glory" — programme notes (*Music of the Pipes - Ceol Na Pioba*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1999). p. 28-29.

<sup>7</sup> Said John Loughlin:

When you go overseas, people are interested in the bagpipes. It's something that appeals to most people, the expatriate communities in particular. But the local people are interested as well. There's an affinity with the great Highland bagpipe. It undoubtedly enhances the reputation of Scotland.

— Paterson, Mike "War pipes' play part as instruments of diplomacy" (*Notes No. 5, The Piping Centre, Summer 1998*). p. 7-8.

Falloon, an Irishman, established the Kuwait Caledonian Society Pipe Band, which similarly acquired diplomatic, as well as a recreational, functions.<sup>8</sup>

The Highland bagpipe has come to be looked for and expected in “Scottish” contexts overseas. Gary West (lecturer in ethnology at the University of Edinburgh, former member of the grade 1 Vale of Atholl Pipe Band, leading member of the Lowland and Border Piping Society and piper for the traditional music group Ceolbeg) said:

When (internationally touring Scottish band) Wolfstone went without a piper, their overseas gigs dried up. But most of these bands, their big audiences are not here, they’re overseas, mostly in northern Europe. In Portugal at Easter time we (Ceolbeg) played in this wonderful festival in Oporto where you’re playing in front of 2,000 people and they’re all cheering and everything. Then the next week you come back and play at Stirling Folk Club for 20 people ... well, more than 20, but that’s the way it is.<sup>9</sup>

A not uncommon Scottish view is that of an iconoclastic young woman working for Scotland the Brand at the 1999 Scotland International Trade Fair who told me with great confidence that piping was kitschy, a “generation thing” and should be dropped (“it’s not going to bring us sales, markets and

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<sup>8</sup> Said John Loughlin:

By 1989 we had quite an influence in the community because we were invited to play at practically every function that was there. We used to open the British trade exhibition in Kuwait. We used to play at the fetes to raise funds for various charities. At the British Embassy we piped Prince Charles and Princess Diana... .

— Paterson, Mike “War pipes’ play part as instruments of diplomacy” (*Notes No. 5, The Piping Centre, Summer 1998*). p. 7-8.

<sup>9</sup> West, G., cited in: Paterson, Mike. *A Scottish National Youth Pipe Band: a feasibility study (The Piping Centre, 2000)*.

jobs”).<sup>10</sup> At the same time, pipes will be used, almost as visually dramatic noisemakers. This is a common media view. In his review of the 1998 Edinburgh Tattoo, for example, journalist Tom Lappin referred to lulling patrons “into numbness with pipers ... doing what pipers do, making a fiendishly disorienting racket in an enclosed space.”<sup>11</sup> Composing a photograph of Evelyn Glennie with Pipe Major Roddy MacLeod, director of piping at The Piping Centre in Glasgow, a photographer from *The Daily Record* asked Roddy MacLeod to put his fingers in his ears while Evelyn Glennie played.<sup>12</sup> Given Evelyn Glennie’s well-known hearing loss, he presumably thought this would be funny.

Romance and spectacle are also attributed to the pipes, as is seen in the pipes’ recruitment for some public events. Alice Wood, for example, development director at Scotland The Brand, revealed something of this attitude at the time of ScotFest ‘98 in New York: “We are creating a real buzz in the marketplace,” she said. “We can visualise a parade of thousands of bagpipers marching down Fifth Avenue to celebrate ScotFest in the millennium.”<sup>13</sup> It was only unfortunate that New York is possibly the only place in the world where there is a significant danger of pipe bands being seen as Irish, not Scottish.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Anon. Assistant staffing the Scotland the Brand display at the 1999 Scotland International Trade Fair, SECC, Glasgow.

<sup>11</sup> Lappin, Tom. Review of 1998 Edinburgh Military Tattoo. (*Scotland on Sunday*, 9 August, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> Roddy MacLeod. Interview, 9 September 1997.

<sup>13</sup> Scottish Trade International. *Scottish Export Review* (Scottish Trade International. Spring 1998). p.4.

<sup>14</sup> Many New Yorkers see pipe bands as Irish, rather than Scottish. Brian Meagher is a fourth generation Irish New York piper who teaches piping at the University of New York, instructs the New York City Fire Department Pipe Band and has various other piping connections. He said: I would say the majority of New Yorkers probably see pipe bands as Irish.”

Massed pipes events have been organised in Scotland for charity — the 8,300 pipers and drummers (aged 4 to 78 years) who joined the “Millennium March” in Edinburgh in August 2000, for example, raised £500,000 for the Marie Curie Cancer Research fund.<sup>15</sup> Such events can be fun and serve a range of purposes, but promoting the musicality of the pipes is not one of them.

Quality and musicality are frequently passed over in public displays; what is seen is piping in one of its two iconic forms — the phantasmic “Lone Piper” or the military pipe band — rather than the substance of Scottish piping. Probably it is largely because of this, that the Scottish media, with only a few exceptions, have taken a negative view of piping or shown no interest. Here is Douglas Fraser attempting to explain piobaireachd to the readers of *The Scotsman* on 3 September 1994:

... you can sit there for hours and still not find the words to describe what it's all about. Perhaps they exist in Gaelic, but to the uninitiated non-Gael, the pibroch is a musical form of supreme impenetrability. It is like Schoenberg with drones. ... The pibroch is a sound sensation which sears right to the depths of the soul, and into those furthest recesses of the head which aspirin can barely touch.<sup>16</sup>

The stereotypical pastiche has been common in press photography relating to pipers and piping. When Dr Angus MacDonald won the 1998 James R. Johnston Memorial Quaich for ceòl mór (piobaireachd) at the 1998 Royal National Mod, for example, *The Scotsman* carried a green-filtered colour photograph of a lone piper on the shore with the setting sun behind. If Dr

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— Meagher, B. Interview, 13 April 1999.

<sup>15</sup> Anon. “Big Apple beckons for record breaking millennium marchers” (*Piping Times* Vol. 52, No. 12, 1999). p 23, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Fraser, Douglas. “Sound and Fury” (*The Scotsman*, 3 September, 1994), reprinted in: *The Best of The Scotsman*, ed. Ruth Wishart (Polygon, 1994). p. 109.



MacDonald was totally unrecognisable, the stereotype was blatantly obvious.

He described the experience:

It's very embarrassing.... The photograph was taken the next day (the day after winning the trophy). One of the photographers got hold of me and he wanted a photograph. Of course, he starts off: 'well, we'll use this background,' you know. Then he says: 'let's jump in the car and we'll go down here', and you get led on a bit. And, of course you don't know what he's going to take when you get there. He'll do a profile first, he'll do a head and shoulders and he'll say, 'well look, if you just stand there, we'll do this,' you know. And before you know it, you're into all this silhouette business. ... that tourist brochure type of picture there, I had no idea. He put the camera right down on the shore. He lay it on the rocks and took it from there without looking through the lens. He knew what he was doing and what he was trying to get out of it but he never told me that. One of the ways he persuaded me was to say, 'look, I'll give you some photographs. I mean you always need photographs for a bit of publicity or promotion. Of course, I haven't seen them yet. I expected it was going to be a straightforward picture of what I actually look like. That there, it's just an image in the newspapers and they used me for that image. He'd wanted me to go out to Dunvegan Castle and do this silhouette beside the castle. There was a couple of them had it all arranged for the next day so I stayed in my bed and refused to answer the phone and didn't actually do it. But what they did was they got hold of somebody else and did the silhouette and used it in some of the papers — like the *GP News*, and so on, 'GP wins prize' — and put my name against it, but it wasn't me at all. They wanted to see the usual stereotype: the silhouette and the castle and all that nonsense.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Dr Angus MacDonald. Interview, 1 February, 1999. He added:

Most of the time that you see anything in the papers, it's a bit of a laugh, it's a joke. It's the way an Englishman might look at bagpipes —not only the newspapers but quite a serious programme like that BBC antiques programme, *The Antiques Roadshow*. They came to Skye and somebody had brought an old set of

*The Scotsman's* "lone piper on the shore" silhouette photograph of Dr MacDonald turned up again on 25 March 1999 in *The Scotsman Edinburgh International Festival Preview* to illustrate a story about the festival's first series of piping recitals. Ironically, the story— headed "Mhor please" — was straplined: "Pipes have finally escaped the shortbread tins and marching bands ghetto, says Jim Gilchrist."<sup>18</sup>

Media attitudes, together with a misreading of the work of revisionist historians, ignorance of the nature of the pipe scale and piping repertoire, and a lack of opportunities for the wider public to hear piping at a high standard, have compounded a number of public misunderstandings about the instrument and about the art. Said piper John Saunders, a well-travelled mountain climber and part-time instructor for The Piping Centre:

...a part of the problem is the way the pipes are treated. I have very vivid memories of seeing one of the Royal Tournaments on television as a teenager and they had a group of very young pipers, I have a feeling they were from Singapore. They came on and stood in a group with the spotlights on them ... a big audience in Earls Court, a nationwide television audience, playing... . It was absolutely atrocious, the worst thing I've ever heard on the pipes, cringingly embarrassing. What other instrument would get treated like that? Would you see four violinists making a godawful sound in a setting like that? It just wouldn't happen. The pipes get treated

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pipes along ... everything was serious to that point and they just made a total joke about this set of bagpipes worth four or five thousand pounds. To them it was all a joke, there was no way they could take it seriously. And that's the way most of the articles in the national press are. Even if it's a prestigious piping competition, they'll find a slant or angle to take the piss out of the whole issue. The pipes just aren't taken seriously as an instrument.

<sup>18</sup> Gilchrist, Jim. "Mhor please" (*The Scotsman Edinburgh Festival Preview*, 25 March, 1999). p 8-9.

like that, as a novelty instrument and it's no better really in Scotland than anywhere else.<sup>19</sup>

Dr Angus MacDonald is also concerned about the way British television has presented Gaelic culture more widely:

To appear on television you have to have the sound bite almost, you've got to be able to wrap it up in two minutes, not be 'boring', keep it lively and entertaining. In a totally different way, you have to appeal to a whole mass of people who have no interest in traditional music, so you've got to dress them up and make them look good, you've got to make them look active ... . Not only that, but ... it's got to be acceptable to the mass audience, so you can't have a usual ten-verse Gaelic song; it's got to be cut to three verses and it's got to be in waltz time so people appreciate the beat somewhere. So what you end up with really is an English song in Gaelic — there's nothing Gaelic about it but the words. ... I was watching a video the other night, a collection of [traditional music] performances on Irish television going back to the 1960s. In the Irish case, they had people in natural settings and — even if it was inside a studio at times — they looked natural. They haven't said to them dress up with your tie and national Irish costumes. The bothach was in there just as he would be dressed in his home village and the difference was that they were there to play their music and do what was culturally correct rather than tart them up for some national show. Ireland is way ahead when it comes to that. They've recognised the value in their music and culture and it's come from the people themselves, from community organisations rather than being led by the tourist board or promoted on tins of shortbread. It's come naturally from groundswell organisations like Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eirean. It came from promoting the music within communities and it's grown out of that and is now an important part of their economy, their music

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<sup>19</sup> Saunders, John. Interview, 21 April, 1999.

industry. In Scotland, it's a joke, it's just a trashy tartan image that spills across onto the bagpipe scene.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, the reality is that, since 1842, for a great many reasons, Highland piping has flourished internationally. Writing in 1987, Roderick Cannon said:

...it is impossible to say how many pipers there are in the world today, but a few published figures show clearly enough that piping is a thriving culture. The most popular college of Piping Tutor tuition book has sold more than 140,000 copies in the past 35 years, while at the other end of the scale the Piobaireachd Society's collections of ceòl mòr sell roughly 700 copies per year. There are more than 400 civilian pipe bands affiliated to the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association [the association's membership is wholly within the United Kingdom] ... and there must be many more besides. The bagpipe manufacturing trade appears to be flourishing, with at least ten firms in business at present. there must, at least, be tens of thousands of active players, ranging from novices to master players of international repute.<sup>21</sup>

He updated that view in his programme notes for the 1999 Edinburgh International Festival's *Music of the Pipes - Ceol Na Pioba* series:

Outstanding over the past few decades is the dramatic improvement in the general standard of musicianship. There have never been more good players than now, and never so many good teachers and good instruments.<sup>22</sup>

For one thing, more than other forms of traditional music, piping has had the benefit of some long-established organisational structures, ranging from pipe bands (military and civilian, including the formerly numerous Boys Brigade

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<sup>20</sup> MacDonald, Dr Angus. Interview, 1 February, 1999.

<sup>21</sup> Cannon, Roderick. *The Highland Bagpipe and Its Music*. (John Donald, 1995). p.164.

<sup>22</sup> Cannon, Roderick. "Changing Rhythms - Ceòl Beag" — programme notes (*Music of the Pipes - Ceol Na Pioba* (Edinburgh International Festival, 1999). p.26.

bands), a well established solo and bands competitions structure, organisations such as the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association with 403 member bands in Britain and representing some 12,000 individuals, the Piobaireachd Society established in 1903, the Royal Scottish Pipers' Society with some 360 members, the smaller Scottish Pipers' Association, the Competing Pipers Association, the Lowlands and Borders Pipers Society and the John MacFadyen Trust. The College of Piping in Glasgow has provided tuition for more than 50 years, publishes a monthly piping magazine (*Piping Times*), and has a library and museum. The Piping Centre in Glasgow — the result of a £4.5 million makeover of a Grade II listed former church on McPhater Street, Cowcaddens — was opened in 1996. As well as providing tuition, running competitions and holding recitals, it houses the bagpipes collection of the National Museums of Scotland. It maintains archives and a library, established a successful outreach programme to schools in 1998, is a partner with the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama in providing a BA (Scottish Music — Piping) degree, is establishing a National Pipe Band of Scotland and an international piping research organisation in 2001, and publishes a quarterly magazine (*Notes*).

Participation in most of these organisations, however, has little point except for pipers who are directly concerned. The prevailing attitude within piping — almost certainly because piping has been more or less vulnerable for at least two and a half centuries — has been conservative, cautious and inwards-looking.<sup>23</sup> Piping has, by and large, been administered and regulated, rather

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<sup>23</sup> *The Piping Times* and *The Pipe Band*, for example, publications of The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association and the College of Piping respectively, are not alone in evincing almost exclusive editorial concerns for competitions, the conservation of received tradition and historical matters within their own particular spheres of interest: Highland piping (with the emphasis on solo competition) on the one hand, and pipe band piping and drumming on the other. *Common Stock*, the magazine of the Lowland and Border Pipers Society is similarly focused on that revival.

than promoted and extended. This has been expressed in an almost overwhelming emphasis on competition, but between competition and public performance, markedly different conventions apply. The performer faces an audience of people there to enjoy themselves; the competitor faces a panel of judges there to find fault and draw comparisons. The audience enjoys exploration, musical development, personality and expression. Judges find their job made easier if there is a measure of standardisation and few surprises; they watch for technical perfection, or imperfection.

Thus, for example, the 1999 World Pipe Band Championships took place on Glasgow Green in passing heavy showers. Of five competition rings, only the Grade 1 arena was partly provided with stand seating. Here, at times, people were standing five deep on the wet grass, trying to see past each other's umbrellas and hear over the noise of bands passing by to compete in other arenas. There were no parades of bands behind their countries' flags in the days leading up to the event; there was no evidence of energetic marketing; media coverage was slight. No television rights were sold, and it is doubtful whether acceptable production standards could have been met anyway. In response to an inquiry, the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, Glasgow, told me that information about prize monies "is not given out." The year

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Attitudes to other interests are sometimes expressed with succinct directness. The *Piping Times*' "panel of experts" responding to a BBC Radio Scotland *Pipeline* programme which featured the English piping revival, for example commented:

"Far too much on these so-called English pipes"; "limited appeal for Barnaby Brown's music"; "I turned the radio off".

— Anon. *Radio Watch* (*Piping Times*, June 2000). p. 37.

According to a 1999 graduate of the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama's BA Scottish Music programme, "lot of people see the way they learned as right and everything else is wrong. It's a generalisation, but there's still a lot of that attitude going about."

— MacDonald, Finlay. Interview, 26 July, 2000).

before, an American beginner piper, Dr James Gordon from Winchester, Virginia, attended the World Pipe Band Championships. He enjoyed the piping, but:

When I arrived by taxi from the hotel I was let out near a locked gate at which several hundred people appeared to be waiting. After about 45 minutes I asked a young chap when the gate would open and was told this was not a gate and those standing there were just watching. We had to go to the other side of Glasgow Green to get in. After entering it took more than an hour to find a programme. Just by luck I met a gentleman in a green jacket who had a few for sale. I understand that late arrivals were not able to get a programme at all. Receiving some guidance I saw that the competition areas were marked with a bulletin board for various grades, with the number of the next performing band. However almost every arena stopped putting up the numbers after the fourth or fifth band. After that you had no idea where you were unless you waited for the next announcement. When I went to the grade one arena to hear Simon Fraser I could only hear another band tuning nearby. Many people were standing with their hands cupping their ears in an effort to pick up the sound. ... I did feel very sympathetic towards the people sitting in the front three rows of the stands. as pipers finished their performance they rudely walked in front of these people and either stood or set up a chair which blocked the view of those behind ... there needs to be more done for the paying spectators.<sup>24</sup>

In 1999 — for third time in the decade — the Grade 1 title at the World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow was won by the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band from Canada. American bands took four of the top six places in Grade 2. Bands from Eire, South Africa and the United States placed in other grades. Of 216 bands competing, 19 came from the United States, 7 from

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<sup>24</sup> Gordon, James. "Fabulous experience" — letter to the editor (*The Piper Press*, No. 10, January, 1999). p. 47.

Canada, 6 from the Republic of Ireland, 2 from New Zealand, 2 from South Africa, and individual bands from Denmark, Sweden, Brazil and France.

Alongside this internationalism, it is difficult to believe the levels of prize money awarded at top piping competitions in Scotland. At the 1999 World Pipe Band Championships, for example, Grade 1 prizes (for the whole band to share) were £255 for first place, £205 for second, £135 for third, £110 for 4th, £100 for 5th, £90 for 6th<sup>25</sup>. These sums were about half those of the year before, having been reduced by the RSPBA in view of its financial difficulties.

Leading solo pipers from the United States, New Zealand, France and Canada as well as Scotland competed at the 1998 Argyllshire Gathering. Twelve pipers from Scotland, Canada and New Zealand competed in the elite Senior Piobaireachd event. They included the Pipe Major of the Scots Guards, Brian Donaldson, who for all of his skill and musicianship did not place. The winner of this *creme de la creme* performance by the world's best (Dr Angus MacDonald from Skye) was awarded £125. The event was sponsored by William Grant and Sons Ltd, prize money from that source amounting to £295 (including an optional 4th prize of £40). The Royal Celtic Society put up a special prize of £15 for the "best all-round piper". At the other end of the scale, four local prizes of £5 each were donated for March, Strathspey and Reel by merchant banker Bruno L. Schroder who has large land holdings on Islay. The programme noted that a competitor could win each local prize once.<sup>26</sup>

Solo pipers have found their main performance opportunities on the competition boards at Highland games where repertoire, musical forms (e.g. march, strathspey and reel sets, piobaireachd, jig, hornpipe) and interpretations are constrained by competition rules and judging standards. Most competitions

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<sup>25</sup> Entry form supplied to bands by the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 1999.

<sup>26</sup> The Argyllshire Gathering. *Programme* (Argyllshire Gathering, 1998).



are held under conditions that offer little in the way of accessibility and audience comfort. Dunvegan Castle on Skye, the Glaziers' Halls on the banks of the Thames in London and Grant Castle at Blair Atholl — remote (emotionally as well as geographically) from main population centres and both offering limited audience seating — have been amongst the prestige British venues for elite events.<sup>27</sup>

It is perhaps understandable, then, that piping and pipe bands have in many ways been something of a missing link in music education.<sup>28</sup> In the Scottish school system, we find limited opportunities for students to learn piping, despite its capacity to serve a number of strong educational values. As well as also helping to promote involvement with Scottish culture and an

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<sup>27</sup> The Silver Chanter Competition at Dunvegan Castle and the Glenfiddich Piping Championship at Blair Castle, although competitive, are both invitational competitions involving relatively few pipers at the pinnacle of piping achievement and both have something of the character of a recital.

<sup>28</sup> Oona Ivory, co-founder of The Piping Centre, has been a governor of the RSAMD for the past 11 years, as well as being a member of the advisory board of the National Museums of Scotland and a former chairman of Scottish Ballet. As a 12-year-old fiddler from Ayrshire, she won the open fiddle competition at the National Mod then, when still a junior student, won the senior chamber music prize and the Highgate and MacLaren Scholarships at the RSAMD. Music at King's College Cambridge and postgraduate scholarships to the Royal Academy of Music and the Paris Conservatoire followed. However, she also studied traditional fiddle with Hector MacAndrew, won the major fiddle competitions of the time and recorded with Ron Gonella. She said:

I have had the privilege of crossing the barriers between classical and traditional music, so I have been aware of perceptions, one of the other, and of the condescension that was often directed towards traditional musicians both from within the educational establishment and within public perception as a whole.... Because fiddle, clarsach and voice, for example, have near relations in classical music, classical musicians have found it easier to understand and see the relevance of those instruments. Pipers are the only ones who have stood completely outside that tradition. There has sometimes been a lack of understanding of the complexity of piping and particularly of its own very specific art music tradition.

— Ivory, O. Interview, 29 June, 2000.

encouragement to shape a broader and more confident sense of Scottish identity<sup>29</sup>, the pipes and drums constitute particular educational resources. The pipes, for example, particularly as a transposing instrument with a unique scale, extend musical experience and awareness of the nature of music. Similarly, pipe band drumming involves approaches and techniques that should be of interest to all percussionists. The Scottish Arts Council reviewed the situation of piping in its 1999 *Traditional Music in Scotland* report. In 1997-98, the report found, 18 Scottish local authorities provided bagpipe tuition; 11 had provision for clàrsach, fiddle was taught as a commitment in five local authorities and Scots fiddle was taught at individual tutors' discretion in 13 local authorities. Accordion and traditional singing in Scots or Gaelic did not figure at all, and two authorities made no provision for traditional music. One music adviser admitted that he would rather not know how big the demand for piping tuition really was because resources could not possibly meet it.<sup>30</sup> It has, in fact been the likes of pipe bands, strathspey and reel and clarsach societies — rather than tax-funded education services — that have been the organisations through which young people have been most widely enabled to learn traditional instruments. These, of necessity, typically spend a good amount of their time fund raising. Given what could almost be taken for audience aversion on piping's part<sup>31</sup>, it is not surprising that piping receives

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<sup>29</sup> The view that it is very much in the national interest to involve young people in their own culture constitutes the political rationale for the considerable state support accorded to piping in Galicia, northern Spain. This is outlined elsewhere.

<sup>30</sup> Francis, David. *Traditional Music in Scotland* (The Scottish Arts Council, 1999). p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> There is a view within the piping world, expressed by Pipe Major Roddy MacLeod in an editorial in The Piping Centre's publication, *Notes*, that piping recitalists need to improve their performance presentation skills and relate better with their audiences.

— MacLeod, Pipe Major R. "Editorial" (*Notes No. 5*, The Piping Centre, Summer 1998). p. 3.

relatively little public or private support in Scotland. Said The Piping Centre's founding director of administration, John Drysdale:

We have a serious problem with piping in that the pipes are not widely seen as an instrument of performance. But piping does have a unique appeal and we see opportunities to encourage an audience for performances. Piping should attract more than a very narrow minority — we're talking about a national musical instrument with international appeal. I'm not suggesting that efforts of the past have been to naught, but there must be ways of reminding people that this is a very important part of their heritage.<sup>32</sup>

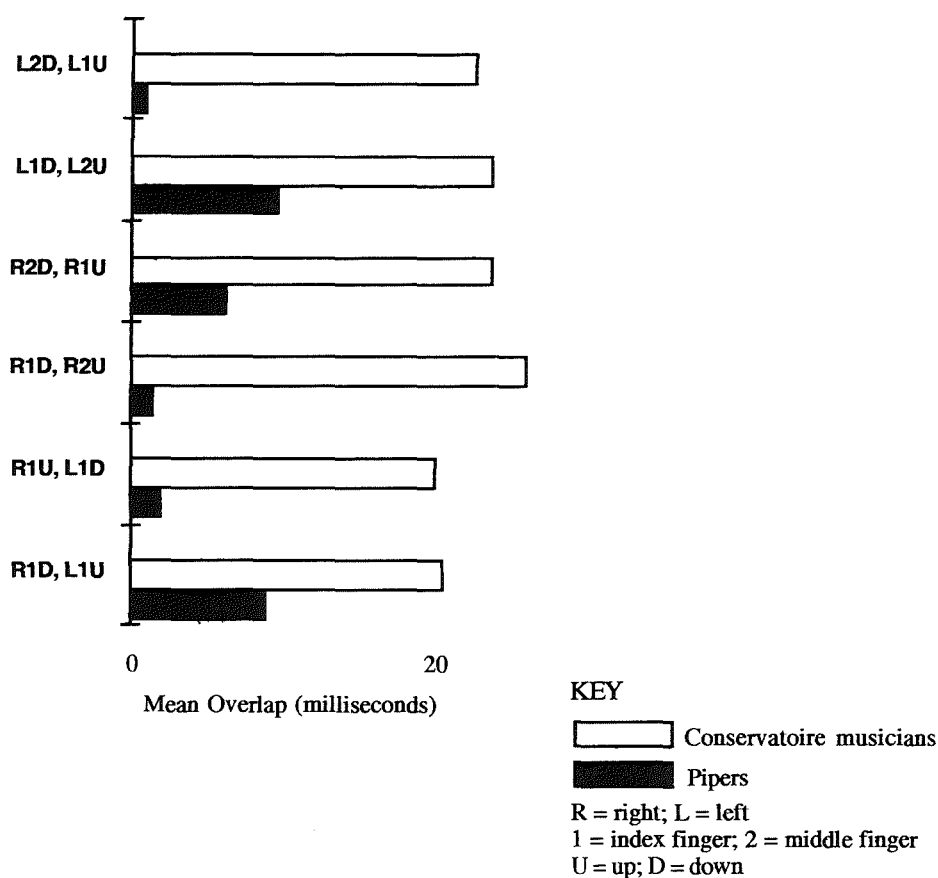
The bagpipe is a challenging instrument and pipers acquire some objectively quantifiable skills. Dr Geoffrey Walsh of Edinburgh has been studying the speed and precision of human finger movements and been impressed by the finger control of pipers as measured by his tests. He has found a sample of experienced pipers possessed markedly better finger control than a sample of 25 "highly skilled classical musicians" at the Birmingham conservatoire: "Pipers have clearly smaller errors and all these differences are significant to the  $p < 0.01$  level."<sup>33</sup> The following table is derived from data supplied by Dr Walsh. What is measured is the duration of overlap (in milliseconds) of two finger movements, as on a pipe chanter. The smaller the overlap, the more precise is the finger movement:

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<sup>32</sup> Drysdale, John. Interview, 16 November 1998. (The former Royal Air Force Group Captain was the Centre's first employee, appointed director of administration in September 1995.)

<sup>33</sup> See: Walsh, Geoffrey. "Finger Feats" — letter to the editor (*Notes No. 8*, The Piping Centre, June 1999). p.4.

DIAGRAM (2): Duration of finger movements overlap (see Key), providing a comparison of the fine finger movement control of samples of skilled Highland pipers and classical musicians.



In Scotland, because of the nature of competitions and ways piping has been taught, audiences for the very best quality piping (in terms of technical musicianship, repertoire and musicality) are almost invariably made up of other pipers. None of our top pipers are household names. Piping in Scotland — though thriving — is essentially a competitive “in-group” activity pursued by amateurs. In many contexts in Scotland, it has acquired a kind of invisibility, and many pipers have seemed content with that.

Thus, in ensemble musical performance — whether in folk, fusion, popular or classical arrangements — the pipes have been incorporated but have yet to be given the lead. Particularly through his involvement with Ossian, formed in 1976, William Jackson has made a significant contribution to the popularisation

of the harp and uilleann (Irish) pipes. By 1981, when piper Iain MacDonald joined Ossian, amplification technology had enabled the relative volumes of the other instruments to be balanced with that of the Highland pipes, and helped touring bands to meet the expectations of overseas audiences: "People see 'a band from Scotland' they think 'bagpipes'," said William Jackson. In such contexts, he said, the pipes' status has not been helped by largely undemanding audiences:

Most people don't hear a good piper playing and are certainly not aware that the pipes have their own scale — so, when you're trying to write or present music with the pipes playing a major part, the tendency has been to make the pipes fit to the other instruments, and the piper ends up in this kind of endless task of taping the holes and tuning and fixing the reed and just trying to get it right to fit in with everyone else. ... I don't think anyone has done a piece [of composition] that really gives the pipes centre stage ... .<sup>34</sup>

When, for a dispassionate view of piping, we turn to academia, we find that scholarly literature relating to piping is scant and scattered. Important piping-related papers by Hugh Cheape, for example, have appeared in the now defunct *International Piper* which was not peer reviewed and copies of which are difficult to find. Others have been published by well-intentioned, small circulation amateur publications such as *Common Stock* (the Journal of the Lowland and Borders Pipers' Society) or in more scholarly publications that few pipers are likely to be aware of: *The Galpin Society Journal* or *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.<sup>35</sup> If we look at the bibliography of Roderick Cannon's *The Highland Bagpipe and its Music* first published in 1987, we find 13 citations of 'Anon'. A number of unpublished

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<sup>34</sup> Jackson, William. Interview, 17 June 1999.

<sup>35</sup> Cheape, Hugh. Typescript of published papers, 1998.

manuscripts are referred to. The various journals referred to include: the *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1934), *The Bulletin of the Military Historical Society*, *Journal of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce*, the *Brussels Museum of Musical Instruments Bulletin*, *Celtic Monthly* (issues published between 1894 and 1913) the *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, the *Scots Magazine*, *Economic Botany* and *The Pipe Band* (published by the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association).<sup>36</sup> William Donaldson, author of *The Highland pipe and Scottish society 1750-1950* (Tuckwell, 2000), recalled “pursuing a bibliographical enquiry in the music department of a Scottish university and being informed with “enormous condescension”— that ‘we don’t do Scotch music here’.”<sup>37</sup> He also pointed out to me that only one public library in Scotland has a complete run (apart from Volume 1) of the frequently cited *Piping Times*: the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. The *Piping Times* — an undoubtedly important source — has essentially been an amateur publication, subject for many years to the personal editorial discretion only of the late Dr Seamus MacNeill. In September 1999, the then editor, Dugald MacNeill, acknowledged that “one of our tasks not yet completed is to construct an index to make the *Piping Times* more easily searched and useful.”<sup>38</sup>

Roderick Cannon, presenting the 1999 John McFadyen Memorial Lecture, in which he emphasised the need for academic research into pipe music, identified Robert Lorimer’s 1964 paper ‘*Studies in pibroch*’ in *Scottish Studies* as the first in-depth study on any aspect of the music ever to be published in a

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<sup>36</sup> Cannon, Roderick D. *The Highland Bagpipe and Its Music* (John Donald, 1997 reprint, original. edit. 1987).

<sup>37</sup> Donaldson, W. Interview, 13 August, 1999.

<sup>38</sup> MacNeill, Dugald. “Editorial” (*Piping Times*, Vol. 51, No. 12, September 1999). p. 13.

professional academic journal.<sup>39</sup> Said Barnaby Brown, a piper and music graduate from Cambridge:

We are playing 17th and 18th century music on Victorian instruments in a 20th century style. It so happens that 18th century instruments do survive and bits and pieces of 17th century instruments also, and indications in art although they're very problematic, and a wealth of manuscripts that would be the envy of any other country in the world. Why these have not already produced 50 PhDs I do not know.<sup>40</sup>

Piping's sidelining in Scottish education, its divorce from Scottish musical mainstreams, its alienation from the media and from the Scottish public at large, are in stark contrast to the vigour that exists within piping circles, piping's iconic potency and international appeal, its musicality.

THE SITUATION is about to change: piping in Scotland is on the brink of a revolution driven by an onslaught of internally and externally-generated influences. Few of the developments identified below are widely documented or much discussed in the piping literature, which has generally presented a different, more settled and stable picture of piping.<sup>41</sup> This is because most of the real and potential influences have yet to radiate across the piping interests that exist within Scotland. Their combined impact, however, will strengthen for many years to come. They present new opportunities, which may be seen by some as threats, and new needs. The extent to which opportunities are taken up, and the ways, cannot be predicted; outcomes depend on attitudes within

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<sup>39</sup> Cannon, Roderick. "Behind the Lines: Scholars, Writers, Pipers", part 3. (*Piping Times*, Vol. 51, No. 12. September, 1999). p. 41-49.

<sup>40</sup> Brown, Barnaby. Interview, 30 March, 1999.

<sup>41</sup> c.f. Cannon, Roderick. *The Highland bagpipe and its music* (John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1987).

piping, attitudes in Scotland generally, and the allocation or withholding of resources. Together, however, the changes afoot cannot but radically reshape the musical experience of today's young pipers.

1. The traditional music revival from the 1950s to the present<sup>42</sup> at first bore little direct relevance to piping but, in recent years, its impacts have undoubtedly been felt:

a) The development of amplification technology and its adoption by traditional music bands in Scotland enabled the Highland pipes to be integrated into traditional music group line-ups. Pipes were first incorporated into traditional and contemporary-traditional line-ups from the 1970s by internationally touring bands such as Ossian, Alba, Battlefield Band, Tannahill Weavers, Ceolbeg, etc. The atmosphere and opportunities which this sort of exposure created helped to bring forward a few "star" pipers, e.g. Gordon Duncan, Iain MacDonald, Fred Morrison, Rory Campbell, Martyn Bennett and others. While these pipers received their grounding in the oral and competitions environment, the measure of public recognition they have attained came only after they moved into other contexts.

b) Pipe tunes have been widely adopted and arranged by other musicians, especially fiddlers. This has opened the repertoire to wider audiences and popularised music that might otherwise have remained largely unknown outside piping circles. The associations this music has with piping may not always be understood by audiences, but exposure is likely to be helping to orient people towards the aesthetic conventions of piping.

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<sup>42</sup> Munro, Ailie. *The democratic muse, folk music revival in Scotland*, revised edition (Scottish Cultural Press, 1996).



- c) The revival has helped to bring piping, or some elements of it, back towards the traditional music fold whence it originated. This process is continuing.
- d) The revival has intensified a sometimes heated discussion within piping and drumming circles about styles and the validity of different styles, leading to greater stylistic breadth. Performance, as opposed to competition, is a strengthening priority.<sup>43</sup>
- e) The revival has diversified performance opportunities for pipers, on the concert stage and elsewhere.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Said Pipe Major Bill Livingstone, a leading solo piper as well as pipe major of the of the Canadian 78th Fraser Highlanders Pipe Band (which, as well as winning the World Pipe Band Championships several times, also performs as a popular show band):

I believe that the goal of the Frasers is to bring good, pure pipers to a broad audience, and I think it can be made appealing to a broad audience. You have to work hard at that, you have to dress the show up with a whole lot of things that are outside of piping, and that's why we've incorporated the dance company: it adds a wonderful new dimension to the thing. ...You can elevate the accessibility of the music to a level where people who don't know much about piping are really entranced by what they see and hear: you've made it visually interesting for them and you haven't subjected them to the same monotonous repertoire that pipers just tend to do amongst themselves.

— Livingstone, Pipe Major W. Interview, 28 October, 2000.

<sup>44</sup> In addition to the higher profile professional bands which include pipers, there is evidence that some young pipers are enjoying playing in informal ensembles. Piping instructor James Burnet (Cargilfield School, Edinburgh), for example, wrote of his students that:

... over the last few years ... their horizons have broadened to include the new repertoire and playing in informal groups to a degree that was unknown a few years ago.

— Paterson, Mike. *A Scottish National Youth Pipe Band: a feasibility study* (The Piping Centre, 2000).

2. The “Celtic” music boom, though Irish-led, has undoubtedly benefited Scottish and other traditional musics, including some which are “Celtic” by inclination rather than on the basis of language or culture (e.g. Galician, Asturian or Hungarian traditions which have seen proponents of their piping survivals or revivals establish links with the “Celtic” commercial theme). New patterns of relationship and influence, nonexistent in the early 1990s, are in place and give every indication of growing and further diversifying.
3. The proliferation of international festivals and the growth in their popularity has been striking. Events such as Le Festival Interceltique de Lorient en Bretagne (France), Celtic Connections in Glasgow, numerous events associated with Tartan Day in the United States and Canada, the St Patrick's Day Parade in New York, the Festival Internazionale della Zampogna (bagpipes) in Scapoli, Italy, the annual Galician gaita (bagpipes) competitions, games and concerts in Scandinavia, Germany and elsewhere, are often related to tourism as well as to local musical and cultural interests. they have created performance opportunities outside the traditional Highland games circuits (which are particularly vigorous in North America as well as in Scotland, but exist widely around the world), and have a wider-based popularity.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Since 1978, Pipe Major Iain MacDonald has been regularly taking his Neilston and District Pipe Band overseas, usually with British Council support. The first such trip saw 24 band members and two Highland dancers attend a bagpipe festival in Strakonice in Bohemia, southern Czechoslovakia:

The British Council and the British Embassy were happy to be associated with that. We were one of the first pipe bands to have been there since the war (World War II) ...It was a snowball effect that groups who heard the band and saw the dancers ... arranged for us to go in the following years. In the years immediately after 1978 we went to Israel, the Basque provinces in northern Spain, Scandinavia, Sweden Denmark, Germany — really all of central Europe. And in the past 10 years, I suppose, we've played more in the Far East. We've had several trips to Japan, one to Thailand, one to China and we've done a fair amount in Eastern Europe as well. If

4. The improvement of recording technology has made it easier and cheaper than ever before for artists to produce recordings of their work, and share repertoire as well as styles and interpretations. Those opportunities appear to be growing, with many traditional musicians producing their own compact discs for sale at performances.

5. Fèisan nan Gàidheal, formed in 1988, and its 31 member groups are bringing considerable numbers of young Highlanders (3,500 in 1998-9) into a closer awareness of their culture and its performing arts, and providing an impetus that moves beyond the National Mod. Alongside this, are concerns to maintain Gaelic and Scots languages which help to provide more positive contexts for traditional music.

6. The growth of information and multimedia technology and musical notation software, separately and together, have rapidly extended opportunities for the wide dispersal of new composition, widened spheres of dialogue and influence, and opened a wide door to distance education. In many ways, these are still fledgling fields of technology and new opportunities seem certain to emerge in the years to come. There are numerous piping-interest websites, but the scope here has yet to be developed.<sup>46</sup>

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they're British Council or British Embassy associated events they tend to be cultural weeks or months whereby they bring groups from the U.K. to take part — not only musicians, but artists, chefs and so on — as part of an overall picture of U.K. life. The tried and established festivals like Strakonice and the Galician festivals are ongoing and tend to be primarily indigenous festivals with guest groups from abroad.

— MacDonal, Pipe Major Iain. Interview, 8 December 1998.

<sup>46</sup> Writing from a European perspective for *Notes*, The Piping Centre, Marcel Martens of Hamburg, Germany, wrote:

The future for European Continental pipers looks good, helped by modern communications media. Instead of slaving away without the benefit of a teacher —

7. Instruments are more reliable. Widely acknowledged improvements made over the past 20 years to reeds, bags and instruments generally have helped players of good ability to attain more consistently high standards of performance.<sup>47</sup>

8. The 20-year-old Scottish small and bellows pipes revival is helping to diversify styles and repertoire as, for example, through the activities of Lowland and Border Piping Society. The rediscovery of the 1733 William Dixon manuscript, and the publication of a transcription of it in 1995 by Matt Seattle not only proved the integrity of a traditional repertoire but also made it available to performers. As instruments that are more ensemble-friendly than the Highland pipes, the bellows pipes have given Highland pipers an alternative but not unfamiliar instrument that enables them to participate more

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formerly the Continental piper's typical experience — pipers can now use the internet and e-mailing for advice, and to receive competent and qualified instruction. But new communications technology and the internet have enormous potential. Most youngsters now have a computer, and surf through cyberspace hungry for information. It is these youngsters who are overjoyed when they hit upon a piping website and discover a wealth of piping information, tips, and advice. They are the future of the piping scene. In addition to the internet, there are now very good pipe-music notation software programs which allow these youngsters to write new music, giving pipe music a refreshing new lease of life. While traditional Scottish pipe music is good, it appears inevitable that we see a wealth of new and exciting good music being composed in the future.

— Martens, M. "Continental Europe sees piping gain ground" (*Notes No. 12*, The Piping Centre, Spring 2000). p17-18.

<sup>47</sup> Broadcaster and piper Iain MacInnes, for example, has made this point:

The quality of performance is fantastically good, the quality of the instruments is as never before ... You have to give credit to the people who have developed synthetic drone reeds and various synthetic bags. These developments have allowed average to good players to produce a consistently excellent sound.

— Paterson, Mike. "It only gets better..." (*Notes No. 12*, The Piping Centre, Spring 2000). p. 15.

fully in the Scottish and wider “Celtic” musical revival, helping to form new, wider links and broaden experience and outlooks. Lowland and Border traditions extend piping traditions throughout Scotland (and across the border), and show Scottish piping to consist of a number of traditions and inflections of those traditions: Great Highland solo piping, Highland small pipes, military piping, civilian pipe band piping, Border town piping, Lowland piping, piping for various Scottish dance traditions, etc.

9. International interest in bagpipes is considerable<sup>48</sup>, growing and takes a variety of forms:

a) The European piping revival promises to restore bagpiping to its medieval range, with revivals actively being pursued in Italy, France, Galicia, Asturias, England, Brittany, Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Slovakia and elsewhere. North African traditions also survive. Particularly vigorous has been an officially promoted bands movement in Galicia.<sup>49</sup> This is establishing new forums for Scottish and Irish piping

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<sup>48</sup> More than 30 countries (including Japan, Hong Kong, Brazil, France, Germany and Italy, as well as the countries of the Scottish diaspora) have been represented by students attending The Piping Centre since 1997; three postgraduate students are conducting piping related research at the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh: all are overseas students.

<sup>49</sup> *Notes*, published by the Piping Centre, reported in Autumn 1999:

Enthusiastically supported by Galicia’s regional and local governments and by the Ministry of Culture, piping has become popular, despite the fact that 25 years ago, the gaiteros (pipers) were widely seen as disreputable rustics who enlivened community events in the poor rural villages. ...Now, using high tension drums and with their pipes pitched to Bb — the same as the Scottish Highland pipes instead of the more traditional D — modern bandas de gaita of up to 60 colourfully costumed young musicians are the pride of their towns, districts, region and country.

It has all happened very quickly. More than half of the 115 bandas that took part in the June 1999 finals of the Campionato Liga Galeges de Bandas de Gaitas (Galician

traditions in new contexts, and promises to generate new understandings and widening creative possibilities as the various traditions mature and develop.<sup>50</sup>

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pipe band association championships) at Monterosso were less than six years old. The two oldest bands traced their history back to 1979.

The Real Banda de la Escola Provincial de Gaitas de la Deputación de Ourense (Royal Band of the Ourense Provincial School of Piping) has played in Europe, in Mexico, Uruguay, the United States, Germany, Argentina, Japan and South Korea. The diplomatic value of such appearances is recognised in state funded air fares, grants for instruments and costumes and other support.

...Musician and composer Xosé Lois Foxo, director of the Real Banda and the provincial Escola de Gaitas (piping school) in Ourense, said that the school began with 60 pupils and now (in 1999) had 15,000. It employed 60 instructors paid by the government. 'In the province we have about 80 pipe bands and all get money from the Deputacion (provincial government). I can't say exactly how much it costs each year, but it is very significant support. People in school pay only 1,000 pesetas (about £4) a year for piping tuition. ...It's very important to have these young people working in something cultural. The streets are no good for the young people, drugs, a lot of problems, television is not interesting. I think it's one of the best ideas of our government to have money for young people for music, for tradition...'

Conservatives say the bandas are damaging traditions that go back to at least the 13th century. But the more traditional forms of Galician music appear to be flourishing too, and a number of groups are moving into the sorts of fusion forms that are to be found in traditional Irish and Scottish music.

— Paterson, M. "Galicia's gaitas are cutting a dash" (*Notes No. 10*, The Piping Centre, Autumn 1999). p. 11-12

<sup>50</sup> There are many other cultures with reed-pipe traditions with whom contact could be further developed. Pipes from some of these other traditions have, since the 1970s, featured on the postage stamps of a number of countries, including Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany (the former East and West Germanies), Greece, Ireland, Italy, Libya, Malta, Poland, Romania and the former Soviet Union (Latvian, Georgian and Moldavian pipes).

- b) Cultural vigour in descendant and expatriate communities overseas (such as those in Canada, United States, Australia, New Zealand) persists. This continues to raise Highland piping standards, expand the repertoire and exercise creativity.
- c) Persistence in post colonial nations (including Hong Kong, South Asia and the Middle East) is also evident. The bases are laid here for the emergence of new, distinctive piping cultures as these countries move beyond colonial contexts, taking piping with them.
- d) Wider interest in Highland piping, particularly in pipe bands, appears to be growing. e.g. Germany, Scandinavia, etc.<sup>51</sup>, Brazil<sup>52</sup> Scottish-

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— See, for example, a collection of stamps featuring pipes and piping displayed at:  
<http://www.hotpipes.com/stsmain.html> (April, 2000).

<sup>51</sup> Piping goes back just over 50 years in Scandinavia. Mats Hermansson credits its introduction to Mogens Zieler, an artist who had learned the pipes in India and founded the Pipers' Club of Copenhagen in 1946. Zieler's club continued to meet until the late 1960s. By then, sculptor Robert Allan Miller had started another group. Out of this, two pipe bands were formed: the Piping Society of Denmark, established by Palle H. A. Ankarstjerne Schjerning and Jørgen Svensson, later became The White Hackle Pipe Band; the Gladsaxe Pipe Band, started by Miller, became the Heather Pipes and Drums. When The White Hackle Pipe Band disbanded in 1980, many of its members joined The Copenhagen Caledonian Pipe Band, started at about the same time by Peter Ulrik Scheel. In 1994, side drummer Sven Harboe and several others formed The Scandinavian School of Piping and Drumming which holds summer schools in Denmark, and in 1995 Marie Nordström started The Tenor Drummers of Scandinavia to promote tenor and bass drumming. The first Swedish band was formed in 1968 by Lieutenant Per Colliander, Stockholm's Thistle Pipe Band. The first Finnish pipe band, The MacGregor Highlanders in Helsinki, was started by John Hardie in 1994. And in Norway several enthusiasts have been struggling to start a band in Oslo. Age-Johnny Jørgensen, one of the initiators, has had a keen interest in piping for more than 20 years. In 1991, it was estimated that there were about 300 pipers and 100 drummers in Denmark. In Sweden, perhaps 200 people are involved. In 1998, there were about 15 bands in Denmark and seven in Sweden. Scandinavian piping has always looked to Scotland as the model, said Mats Hermansson:

sourced piping communities in such countries are resulting in a wide internationalisation of piping.

e) There is evidence that the Highland bagpipe in particular is beginning to be more or less strongly indigenised into other cultures in several parts of the world, in South Asia<sup>53</sup> and Brazil<sup>54</sup>, and potentially in Hong

Scotland is the home country ... of everybody who has chosen to belong to the Scottish piping and drumming culture.

Scottish instructors are used whenever opportunities arose and standards have steadily risen.

— Hermansson, Mats D. *Piobaireachd — a short survey and a concluding discussion of why it is termed the classical music of the Great Highland Bagpipe* (AB-level essay for University of Gothenburg, Department of Musicology, 1995).

Piping in Germany similarly derives wholly from Scotland in recent decades and, again, is seen as Scottish. Pipe bands exist as rulers' status symbols in the Middle East and attract followings in Asia and Africa.

<sup>52</sup> The Grade 4 Scottish Link Pipe Band from São Paulo, Brazil, for example, was begun by Brazilians — people with their own flourishing musical traditions. Nine of the band's 12 pipers and six of its seven drummers, with Drum Major Ronaldo Artnic and Pipe Major Christiano Bicudo, made the trip to Scotland in 1997 to attend the World Pipe Band Championships. Apart from its Pipe Major, none of the band members had more than two years on the instrument. So the band decided to come to Scotland to gain experience. Said Christiano Bicudo:

We're all 100 per cent Brazilians. We're simply fascinated by the sound of the pipes. The response when we play in Brazil is always good. Brazilians are very eclectic musically and the Scottish bagpipe is not only an exotic instrument but also it's musical. ... The World Pipe Band Championships couldn't have been a better experience for us. If you're in Scotland, you have the opportunity of listening to good bands playing. It was amazing and new for us to see all those bands in Scotland.

— Bicudo, Christiano. Interview, 6 August 1997).

<sup>53</sup> Dr Mark Trewin, who holds a joint appointment with the University of Edinburgh's Music Department and School of Scottish Studies, has been working in South Asia where one of his interests has been how pipe bands have been adopted and adapted.

It raises some interesting issues that are relevant for pipe bands in Scotland. ... Not a lot of attention has been paid to performers, what they are doing and what actually happens when piping is performed in various contexts. ... One thing that really



Kong.<sup>55</sup> It need not stop at this. The bagpipe traditions of North Africa have yet to be drawn into the widening exchange of ideas, for example,

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struck me in the case of Pakistan (which summarises in a way what happens when things get transplanted) is that, as far as the Army pipers themselves were concerned, most were unaware that the bagpipe was a Scottish instrument. Their perception of what they were doing was completely different.

— Trewin, M. Interview, 4 July, 2000.

<sup>54</sup> Pipe Major Christiano Bicudo of the Scottish Link Pipe Band of São Paulo is writing arrangements for his band of baião music: a style from the north east of Brazil. Of a three-part arrangement he was working on in July 2000, he said:

We are trying to work on the harmonies. If any piper plays that in Brazil, Brazilians will immediately recognise the first part of the tune because it matches with a very famous baião tune and the third part, with the harmony, that's very strong in Brazil. ... It shows a degree of similarity between two completely different musical universes. You can play baião because it matches the bagpipe scale and sometimes you get rhythms in baião which are very similar to reels and hornpipes. It's just the kind of thing Brazilians would appreciate.

— Bicudo, C. Interview, 26 June, 2000.

Also see: [http://www.geocities.com/Nashville/Opry/2425/english\\_1.htm](http://www.geocities.com/Nashville/Opry/2425/english_1.htm)

<sup>55</sup> The future of piping in Hong Kong depends very much on how local pipers in Hong interpret bagpipe music, said Ho Wai Chung Anthony (Tony Ho), who in 1992-4 instructed both the Royal Hong Kong Police Pipes and Drums and the Auxiliary Police Pipes and Drums, and is now completing a postgraduate dissertation for the University of Hong Kong's Department of Music on the pipes' role and identity before and after the 1997 handover of Hong Kong by the British colonial administration to the Peoples Republic of China. There wa an interest, he said, in opening wider connections through concerts and recitals in Hong Kong by Scottish performers. It had helped that groups such as the Whistlebinkies and, from Ireland, The Chieftains had played Chinese tunes on Asian tours...

...but the colonial identity is difficult to remove ... the cultural and folk side of pipe music hasn't really reached to Hong Kong yet. Pipes need more cultural exposure there, and the bridge between the colonial side and the culture side is the beginning. The scales are different, and there are many sorts of pentatonic scale — even the Japanese pentatonic scale is very different. But what we are talking about is shades

and we might well see opportunities arise to open cross-cultural contacts and conduct musical explorations involving reed pipe traditions in other parts of the world, including mainland China, for example. All that is required is the will and the resources.

10. Scholarly research and publication relating to Scottish piping are at last burgeoning.<sup>56</sup>

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of semitone and microtonal differences; it is the bigger picture of pentatonicism that can make them happy to get together.

Tony Ho also sees senses in which Chinese music and the pipes are compatibly associated with the natural environment:

A piper can play the same tune in different places and it sounds different. ...The sound of the pipes is not only itself. Unlike other western instruments, which are conventionally played in a concert hall and have a 'right' sound, the pipes, well ... what is the 'right' sound? I'm sure this is a very open question. On the Chinese side, especially in Daoism, the sound of the gu qin (a five or seven-string silk-strung zither), for example, is very closely associated with nature and the environment in which it's played: the sound of the sea, the trees, of the sky, the wind. I'm not trying to liken these two instruments to each other, but there are resonances between these extramusical points of view: to look at the beauty of the instruments and the associations they have beyond musical theory, beyond the limits prescribed by the western musical system.

— Ho, Wai Chung Anthony. Interview, 27 August 1999.

<sup>56</sup> This observation is a relative one. Writing in 1995, Roderick Cannon stated:

Until the 1970s no musicologist had made any detailed study of pipe music, nor had any scholars begun the important task of evaluating the associated traditions. Studies of this kind are now appearing, however, particularly in the journal *Scottish Studies*. It is sad to report that so far few pipers admit the value of such work, and there have even been some expressions of hostility. But in the long run it is difficult to doubt that increased knowledge will be accepted as beneficial to piping tradition.

— Cannon, R. *The Highland bagpipe and its music* (John Donald, 1995). p. 173.

a) Important and complementary to, if not always in accord with the received oral tradition, is a growing body of scholarly research and the publication of a number of important books.<sup>57</sup> This is producing healthy creative tensions in some parts of the international piping community and, in particular, is energising debate over issues of musical interpretation and piping history. This is helping to make piping “ideas rich” although considerable needs exist for ongoing research. There, for example, is little published scholarly work on the development of pipe bands and pipe band drumming but it may be hoped that this will emerge in the current climate of growing interest.<sup>58</sup>

b) Scholarly work will increasingly help to resource teaching, contributing to a deeper popular understanding and appreciation of Scotland’s piping traditions. At present, for example, three postgraduate

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<sup>57</sup> These include:

Buisman, F., Cannon, R., and Wright, A. (eds). *The MacArthur-MacGregor Manuscript of Pibroch*, (*Music in Scotland Series*, Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen in association with the John MacFadyen Trust, in preparation); Cheape, H. *The book of the bagpipe* (Appletree, Belfast, 1999); Donaldson, W. *The Highland pipe and Scottish society 1750-1950* (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2000); Gibson, J. *Traditional Gaelic bagpiping, 1745-1945* (NMS, Edinburgh, and McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal and Kingston, Canada, 1999); McDonald, Patrick. *A collection of Highland vocal airs never hitherto published. To which are added a few of the most lively country dances or reels of the north Highland and Western Isles: and some specimens of bagpipe music*, new edition (Taigh na Teud, 2000, orig. pub. 1784); Mackenzie, B. *Piping traditions of the north of Scotland* (John Donald, Edinburgh, 1998); Seattle, Matt (presented by). *The master piper – nine notes that shook the world, a Border bagpipe repertoire prick’d down by William Dixon AD 1733* (Taigh na Teud, 1995).

<sup>58</sup> Canadian Ruth Wolf, for example, is studying aspects of pipe band culture towards a PhD at Edinburgh University’s School of Scottish Studies. Other piping related postgraduate research at the School of Scottish Studies includes a study by Canadian piper Fraser Clark of Ontario piping traditions and a study by Alaskan American Josh Dixon on piping in South Uist. Dr Gary West is embarking on a study of the Lowland and Border piping revival and Dr Mark Trewin has recently conducted research into piping in South Asia.

students (two Canadians and an Alaskan American) at the University of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies are undertaking research into Scottish piping subjects. Simon McKerrell is working on a PhD through the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama and The University of St Andrew's on the concept of mode in Scottish traditional bagpipe music.

11. Academic development is providing increasing opportunities for young people to have passing or significant personal involvements with piping in the context of traditional music. Moreover, competence on a second instrument is often a requirement:

- a) Implementation of the Scottish Arts Council's *Traditional Music in Scotland* report (1999) is well under way and promises to considerably widen awareness of traditional music in Scotland's schools.
- b) Piping instructors in schools are experiencing considerable demand in most areas and the availability of piping instruction appears to be widening rather than contracting;<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Piping tuition has been available to interested students at a varying number of Scottish state schools since 1976. Most older instructors locate their background within the oral tradition, the competitions and pipe bands contexts and the structures of what might be called the traditional piping establishment. Increasingly, however, as the availability of opportunities widens (as, for example, with the implementation of the Scottish Arts Council's 1999 report by David Francis, *Traditional Music in Scotland – education, information, advocacy*), and where retiring instructors are replaced, posts are increasingly likely to be filled by graduates of, for example, the Royal Scottish Academy's BA (Scottish Music) and (as certificated teachers of music) from the new Piping Centre-RSAMD BA (Scottish Music – Piping) degrees. Not only will graduates have proficiency on a second instrument, but also they will have been exposed to the wider contexts of piping, musicology and the traditional music scene. The longer term implications of this for piping are considerable.

c) The National Schools Piping Project, operated by the Piping Centre, has been consolidating its work as a successful outreach to young pipers nationally;<sup>60</sup>

d) The National Centre of Excellence for Traditional Music at Plockton High School had its first intake of students in 2000.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The first course was held 10-12 November, 1998, with seven 13-16 year-old pipers from Breadalbane Academy and Perth Grammar School — all members of the Macnaughtons Vale of Atholl juvenile pipe band — and their instructor, Pipe Major Gordon Rogers. Said Gordon Rogers:

Before now we've never really had a central point of reference for pipers. ...It's okay for us to be working in the schools and have our own little area where we aim towards doing certain things, but piping's a worldwide thing and, just to say, 'well we're teaching in Perthshire,' and never meet anyone outside of Perthshire, it's just a wee but insular. ...I've never ever before been in a situation where kids practised from 9 o'clock in the morning until quarter to 11 last night, they were in the rehearsal rooms. Brilliant!

— Paterson, Mike. "Centre's Piping for Schools project under way" (*Notes No. 7*, Winter 1999). p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> With support from the Scottish Executive's Excellence Fund Scotland's first National Centre of Excellence for Traditional Music was established at Plockton High School, near Loch Carron, in 2000. Its first director, Dougie Pincock, appointed from 2 May 2000, is a broadly experienced piper and traditional musician. His approach reflects that breadth, and is likely to be influential:

This is a big step: the first time that traditional music has been raised to this level of acceptance in the mainstream formal education sector. ...Where you find narrow approaches to traditional music, such as interest in only one instrument, a lot of that is a lack of awareness. When you put it in front of people they normally come alight with it. It's an opportunity to improve their own instrument, but in the course of doing that they'll be involved in the wider context of traditional music. ...From the piper's point of view, there's so much to be gained and so much to be enjoyed when you look beyond your own confines, but you also have a tremendous amount to offer. People in the traditional music world are always keen to welcome pipers in because they know there's this huge breadth of repertoire, there's generally speaking more formal tuition in piping than any other traditional instrument, and standards are high.

— Pincock, D. Interview, 20 April, 2000.

e) The Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama's BA (Scottish Music) degree produced its first graduates in 1999.

f) The Piping Centre-RSAMD BA Scottish Music (Piping) degree programme will begin in 2001. The introduction of this qualification will, for the first time, also provide a route for pipers to qualify as fully certificated teachers of music, and promises to significantly raise the status and standing of traditional music in the educational system of Scotland. As these teachers move into the education system, awareness will inevitably widen.

g) In October 2000 Perth College (with University of the Highlands and Islands project support) is introducing HNC, HND and BA in Music Performance options involving Scottish traditional music instruments, including pipes.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The text of a press release supplied 7 July 2000 read:

Old and new are being combined at Perth College with the launch of courses in traditional music and the building of a new £3.83 million music and media centre. Specialist options on the foundation to degree level music performance courses will be available in pipes, fiddle, clarsach and accordion when the centre opens next session. As well as featuring a fully equipped theatre, recording studio and practice facilities, the centre will provide more places for music and media students and become an important resource for performing arts facilities in the area. Perth College has been market leader in the teaching of popular music for the last fifteen years, and since joining the University of the Highlands and Islands project (UHIP), has expanded its range of music performance courses to include: Foundation Studies; HNC in Music Performance; HND in Music Performance; and the BA in Music Performance. These unique programmes cover principal instrument, ensemble studies, studio recording, music production, music business studies, stage presentation and song writing. They combine the best of traditional tuition with the opportunity to work alongside fellow musicians in popular music at Perth College and elsewhere in the University of the Highlands and Islands. Project costs for the new centre are being offset by a substantial contribution from the Millennium

12. A shift in military priorities is one of the factors that, along with the vigour of civilian pipe bands has led to a diminution of the relative influence of military piping and drumming. Major Gavin Stoddart, director of Army Bagpipe Music, was reported in *The New Reed*, publication of the National schools Piping Project:

The emphasis has changed, purely for career management, onto the military role. ...When I joined, piping and drumming came first and the military side took the back seat. ...My memory goes back to a time when it was great to sit all day playing pipes and drums. We don't get a chance to do that now. Every piper and drummer has to have a career structure ... and has to do serious career courses. We now have more highly qualified pipers and drummers who're probably among the most qualified soldiers in the Battalion; they do two or three roles — the ordinary infantry soldier would do just one.<sup>63</sup>

There has also been a considerable contraction in the area of Boys Brigade bands since the 1960s.

13. The “civilianising” of pipe bands is a continuing trend. Reflected in many of the objectives being addressed by the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association in its adoption of the *Millennium Report* which is intended to give the association a more businesslike and outwards-looking character, this trend has also been evident in the development of the pipe band concert as a stage

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Commission, which is backing the UHIp with an overall grant of more than £33 million.

— Perth College. Press release. July 2000).

<sup>63</sup> Paterson, Mike. “Pipers soldier on” (*A New Reed No. 5*, The National Schools Piping Project, Spring 2000). p. 3-4.

performance<sup>64</sup>, changes in pipe band uniforms and the introduction in recent years of new repertoire and styles, including the competition pipe band medley.

14. The gender balance in piping and drumming has improved over the past 15-20 years, although there is still considerable progress to be made.<sup>65</sup> Changes within society, rather than within the piping sector in particular, have probably been the principal factor behind the increased numbers of girls and women who have become involved in solo piping, band piping and drumming.

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<sup>64</sup> The current trend towards pipe bands concerts almost certainly originates from concerts that were held from the early 1980s in Ballymena, Northern Ireland, each year in the lead-up to the World Pipe Band Championships in Glasgow. These concerts have since ceased, but concerts in a distinctively modern idiom have become increasingly popular. On February 20, 1998, for example, the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band became the first pipe band to headline a concert at Carnegie Hall, New York:

A thundering wall of sound, mixing precise rhythms and intricate melodies, brought a near sell-out Carnegie Hall crowd to a roar of its own in enthusiastic appreciation...

— *The Vancouver Sun*, February 24, 1998, cited by Simon Fraser University at the university website: [http://virtual-u.sfu.ca/mediapr/sfnews/1998/July\\_2/carnegie.html](http://virtual-u.sfu.ca/mediapr/sfnews/1998/July_2/carnegie.html)

On 9 August 2000, The 78th Fraser Highlanders (Canada), Field Marshall Montgomery (Northern Ireland), Vale of Atholl (Scotland) and Shotts and Dykehead (Scotland) Pipe Bands performed at the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall in the 7th annual pipe band concert to be organised by the Glasgow Skye Association Pipe Band:

Its developing; it's a natural progression for the pipe band world. you've got the competitive stuff that everyone's aiming for and that's got its own pressures, but to be able to come away from that, let loose on a stage and do your own thing for two hours is quite something. And I think the bands love it.

— Jim Cooper, secretary-treasurer Glasgow Skye Association Pipe Band. Interview, 6 June, 2000.

<sup>65</sup> For example, of The Piping Centre's list of pipers who regularly request information about tuition programmes or have a connection with the Centre's piping school, 17.4 per cent were female (at July, 2000). Of those who attended summer schools at The Piping Centre between 1997 and 2000, 17.6 per cent were female.



15. Employment opportunities for pipers and drummers are still few and there are still no full time pipers or pipe band drummers who earn their income solely from performance on their chosen instrument, but there has been a marked increase in the number of top level pipers who support themselves partly or wholly in ways directly related to piping, and performance can contribute significantly to the earnings of a person who is a reasonably versatile traditional musician.<sup>66</sup> Pipe-making, repairs and reed-making are now also supplemented by increasing teaching opportunities.

16. A lack of cohesion within the wide Scottish piping community makes it difficult for piping as a whole to benefit optimally from the developments that have come to bear on piping over the past few decades. But there is an

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<sup>66</sup> Finlay MacDonald, for example, is a young professional musician who makes a living largely from performance:

I don't think you need a (regular) job. Musicians tend to expect work to come to them. My attitude is, if it's not busy, get up and do something about it; get out and find work. I paid my way through college by playing for weddings, funerals, bar mitzvahs and, okay, it's not musically what I want to do, but it's paying the money for it. I'm a year out of the Academy (RSAMD) and it's been good. I've been busy, and when I've not been away touring or playing, I'll write music, I do my books, I'll write away sending demo cds — there's a lot to do. Festivals abroad with the folk band has been where most of my work has been; you can always teach as well. I've played with orchestras, house bands for radio, I still do weddings, flute and whistle accompaniment for singers, session work, ceilidh work ...I've had a lot of work from the musicians union, people phone up. There's an endless list if you do the work in the first place. I'm lucky in a way — I've got flute, uilleann pipes and whistle and the folk band to get work with. I don't know how it would be for a piper who was only a piper ...There's money to be made. it's not like a degree in law where after a couple of a years you can count on 30 grand a year — that's not the life of musician but it's not what I want. I've seen the world.

— MacDonald, F. Interview, 26 July, 2000.

awareness of this difficulty, which is being addressed by initiatives such as the formation in 2001 of a Scottish National Youth Pipe Band.<sup>67</sup>

17. The experience and perceptions young people have of the wider music industry, and the increasing likelihood of their being taught in non traditional contexts, is encouraging them to hold expectations that have not figured strongly or widely in the piping community in the past, but which are likely to strengthen and become more general. A growing number of young pipers and drummers are motivated by ambitions of playing in public and in sessions with other musicians.<sup>68</sup> These expectations will generate demands for wider performance opportunities and a greater scope for professionalism within piping.

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<sup>67</sup> Paterson, Mike. *A Scottish National Youth Pipe Band: a feasibility study* (The Piping Centre, 2000).

<sup>68</sup> Anon. "Get Reel, why ceilidhs are all the rave" (*Education*, a supplement to *The Scotsman*, 3 May 2000). p. 8-9. This identifies a growth of interest in Scottish traditional music and dance amongst school-age Scots.

Also, an ongoing marketing survey conducted by The Piping Centre (though, so far, too limited to be conclusive) raises interesting questions. Of 33 respondents 20 were under the age of 20 and had learned pipes for an average of four and a half years. Only six were members of competing bands, and seven belonged to non-competing bands, but almost all (18) said they would like to join a concert band and (19) tour overseas. Of the 33 respondents (average age 21), 27 were interested in forms of traditional music other than piping. The "favourite music" of the younger respondents ranged from hip-hop and pop to modern punk and Dance Basement. Most respondents played a second instrument; several were singers. Of all 33 respondents, only nine included competition success among their goals; the rest identified more personal aspirations: "competence", "get as good as possible", "play in a folk session", "travel abroad", "play at a Scotland match", "play at ceilidhs and weddings", "make a career with pipes and piano", "be able to play any type of tune", etc. It is to be hoped that this survey work continues.

— Paterson, Mike. *A Scottish National Youth Pipe Band: a feasibility study* (The Piping Centre, 2000).

18. Audience development has languished in piping<sup>69</sup>, and presentation skills are typically poor where performance opportunities, especially for Highland pipers, have tended to be limited to competitions. This has been fairly widely recognised<sup>70</sup> and attempts to alter this situation can be expected.

19. Piping and drumming repertoire has undergone some remarkable shifts in recent years, and an even wider variety of repertoire and styles are likely to be explored in the years ahead, and, some at least, will be accepted, particularly by younger pipers and new audiences. Musicality is a key issue and, as pipers seek to reach new and wider audiences, this is likely to be increasingly defined in many of piping's contexts by non-pipers. There may be increasing pressure to shift the pipes' scale to a more modal form and more 'popular' repertoire. There are many good reasons to resist this, instead attempting to educate audiences and Scotland's young people to the essential aesthetic conventions of

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<sup>69</sup> According to Roderick Cannon (1995):

What is noticeably lacking in the piping world is any visible audience of non-players. ... This situation has been much discussed and generally deplored but efforts to change it have not had much success.

— Cannon, Roderick. *The Highland bagpipe and its music* (John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1995). p.167.

<sup>70</sup> Robert Wallace has observed:

Recognition and success midst our own small, cosy band of converts somehow only serves to underline the gulf that exists between ourselves and the world outside, and their failure to give us a rightful place ... we have to convince the music establishment, government and people of our worth.

— Wallace, R. "Editorial" (*Piping Times*, January 2000). p. 3.

See, also: Aitken, A., Duncan, I., Elliot, D., Henderson, S., MacInnes, J., Parkes, G., and Wilson, J. *The Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association Millennium Review* (RSPBA, 1999). p 25. Paragraph 10.6.1 of this report advises that:

... it will be important ... to develop pipe band concerts, and to be involved in concerts offering different forms of music and entertainment, and other major events.

the pipes. The pipes' value lies in their uniqueness and distinctiveness, and the unique aesthetic they represent.

A story by Gareth McLean in *The Scotsman Weekend* magazine described the closing moments of the 1998 Tattoo:

When the Lone Piper finally appears on the castle's battlements, the audience is under an unbreakable spell. Cheesy and camp, frightfully traditional and old fashioned, tartan and heather it may be, but there's no doubt, it's a crowd-pleaser. They clap, sway and bite their lips poignantly in all the right places. And when the massed pipes and drums burst into a rousing Scotland the Brave, the crowd joins in, cheering, whooping, singing. At least when they know the words. Which isn't very often. But that's not the point.<sup>71</sup>

What we are looking across when we hear statements such as these is the growing gulf that divides the fantastical "lone piper" from the "solo piper" of reality. This lone piper-solo piper divide is a serious obstacle because, as the solo piper gains power and credibility, and is connected with a rich, vigorous and developing tradition that connects with traditions across Europe and beyond, the "lone piper" is an increasingly isolated stereotype that has become poor descriptor of what is happening in piping, of diminishing relevance to global piping interest and unhelpful to audience development initiatives. In 20 years' time, it will almost certainly be untenable.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

PIPING is vigorous, youthful, and thriving internationally; attempts are being made within piping to rediscover a popular audience; the best pipers strive for and attain extremely high standards of excellence; pipers are innovating and

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<sup>71</sup> *The Scotsman Weekend* magazine, 22 August, 1998.

meeting with other musical forms, from classical music to rock and Celtic fusion forms; piping has several organising bodies capable of working commercially; pipers attract attention around the world; there are many cultures that have reed-pipe traditions of their own with whom contacts and connections can be further developed. The Highland pipes, played alone or in a band, attract attention in a way that no other instrument can — and they almost invariably say “Scotland”. Meanings widely associated with the pipes (invariably the great Highland bagpipe) as icon are in serious, growing conflict with the reality.

In terms of “signal value”<sup>72</sup>, piping scores highly:

- a) the pipes’ variety of forms and rich repertoire give this family of instruments a strong capacity to reinforce, enhance or extend the core values of a wide range of market interests while still being widely recognised as “Scottish”;
- b) pipes already provide opportunities to open, extend or enhance ongoing interactive engagement with target customers on behalf of a market interest (and have been used this way for many years), and to continue encouraging participative responses. But opportunities are widening.
- c) piping’s accelerating development should increase opportunities to form mutually beneficial partnerships involving the best expressions of piping;
- d) piping is undoubtedly capable of a diversity of expressions and representations according to time and context;
- e) Piping has no shortage of realised and potential internationally portable core components;

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<sup>72</sup> See Chapter 1: Introduction. p. 23-24.

f) Piping does have identifiable infrastructures to help identify appropriate expertise and with which businesslike arrangements can be entered into, and an established qualifications system to help identify expertise.

Neglect and a lack of knowledge are the principle reasons why piping is not already working very much harder and more effectively on behalf of Scotland. Piping has considerable, largely unexplored positive potential to enhance Scotland's international image. This is probably specially true in those parts of Europe where indigenous piping revivals provide public encouragement for people to diversify the iconic attributes that have attached to this family of instruments.

Audience development is a clear, particular need in relation to piping. It is likely to be a slow process in Scotland because popular stereotypes of piping are so entrenched and so distant from the reality, but internationally — especially in Europe — audiences already exist. Stereotypes must be eased aside in favour of truer representations of Scotland's reed pipe traditions and their relationships with those of other cultures.<sup>73</sup> Pipers need encouragement to

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<sup>73</sup> Writing in 1996 for *The Piping World*, Gary West observed:

There has been much debate in recent decades concerning the so-called kitsching" of Scottish culture: the portrayal of Scotland as being one big kailyard, full of whisky-swirling, kilt-wearing, bagpipe-playing, haggis eating, heather marching bravehearts. All nonsense, of course, but we are all aware of these sorts of images which are often used to further the cause of tourism and, at times, its sparring partner, the heritage industry.

Unfortunately, piping in nearly all its forms within Scotland is often seen by many as a contributor to this brand of Scottishness: as an icon belonging to the kitsch end of the Scottish cultural spectrum. The importance and value of the music of piping is often forgotten, if indeed it is ever recognised in the first place. It is rather the visual image of a piper or the pipe band that is remembered as opposed to the skill and ability of the players.

look outwards with keener curiosity and respect. Thus, for example, although the Army School of Bagpipe Music has for a number of years provided judges for the annual Duke of Edinburgh Pakistan Army Pipe Band Competition, no approach yet appears to have been made to South Asian communities within Scotland to gauge interest in initiating some activity to present South Asian piping in Scottish contexts. The potential here is not only for piping. There are obvious human rights and race relations implications. There may also be commercial and international relations implications, given that Bollywood, the second largest movie-making community in the world<sup>74</sup>, has been showing increasing interest in Scotland as a location and as a market. It may be that no interest exists, but it may also be the case that, without encouragement, few pipers would view such an initiative as having much to offer.

At least five identifiable communities of interest need to become involved in facilitating development: pipers themselves, commercial interests, academics, educational authorities and the public (as represented in particular by the media and Scotland's arts bodies). In the case of piping, it is all too clear that, where discourse has existed between these communities, it has been largely dysfunctional. If piping has a value, it is clearly in the interests of each of these communities to radically improve both the level and the quality of discourse.

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— West, G. "Culture or kitsch?" (*The Piping World, August-September, 1996*, reprinted in: *New Zealand Pipeband, Summer 1998*, Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands Association Inc., 1998). p. 5-6.

<sup>74</sup> Bombay's film industry has burgeoned and several Bollywood films have been shot in Scotland, including *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, a hit film which included song and dance scenes at Glencoe and Eilean Donan Castle locations. In July, 2000, a leading Bollywood director, Rajiv Rai, began filming *Pyar Ishq Aur Mohabbat (Love, Love and Love)* in Glasgow. Two other Indian productions began shooting in Scotland the same week.

— Cowing, Emma. "Indian Summer" (*S2 Thursday*, supplement to *The Scotsman*, 20 July, 2000). p.8-9.

## 8. MANAGING SCOTTISHNESS

THE SOURCES that inform and underlie attitude formation towards Scotland have yet to be studied, but there are good reasons to believe they present a challenging field of useful research. A superficial attempt to identify sources of attitudes towards Britain was made by the British Council in its *Through other eyes* surveys of 1999 and 2000. MORI researchers commissioned by the British Council asked young professionals and postgraduate students in 13 countries: "Can you please tell me ... which two or three sources of information are most important when forming an opinion specifically about the United Kingdom?"

TABLE (2): Sources of information (overall averaged percentages) about the United Kingdom mentioned by respondents to the 1999 and 2000 MORI polls: *Through other eyes 1&2 — How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council.* Thirteen countries were surveyed in 1999, 17 in 2000.

	Year	
	1999	2000
<b>LOCAL SOURCES</b>		
Word-of-mouth (family/friends)	5	14
People who have visited the UK	27	16
Word-of-mouth (work colleagues)	8	—
Acquaintances from the UK	14	7
Local Media		
National TV news	19	31
Local press	26	37
Local radio	4	5
(Totals:	102	110)
<b>BRITISH SOURCES</b>		
Visiting the UK	12	16
British press	16	16
BBC World Television	20	23
BBC World Service	11	13
Embassies/consulates	6	—
Tourist authorities	7	mentioned
Other official U.K. sources	2	—
(Totals:	74	68)



**INTERNATIONAL SOURCES**

Internet	4	21
Other international TV	14	8
Other international press	15	11
Other international radio	5	<i>mentioned</i>
<i>(Totals:</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>40)</i>

**OTHER**

Books	27	25
Films	13	12
Academic sources	<i>mentioned</i>	8
<i>(Totals:</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>45)</i>

The approach — popping a single question — may have been simplistic and the information obtained may be superficial, but the initiative does suggest that local sources (at least in the 13 countries surveyed) may be decisive. The question was asked only in relation to the United Kingdom. Given that the things respondents seemed aware of in relation to Britain (Tony Blair, the Spice Girls, monarchy, football, etc) appeared to differ qualitatively from those that they identified with Scotland (kilts, whisky, bagpipes, etc) different sources of information may well have been involved, and the findings can not be applied to Scotland. A general observation, however, is that, in both years, there were considerable variations in data, country to country. For example:

Books featured prominently in China (in the top two or three mentions for a massive 60 per cent), Turkey (40 per cent) and Germany (36 per cent), but were considered to be less important than other sources in Brazil, Saudi Arabia and South Africa. ...The local press was significant (receiving more than 40 per cent of mentions) in China, Egypt, France and Turkey, but its influence was regarded as negligible in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. ...Films received quite a high rating in China (30 per cent), Poland (20 per cent) and Malaysia (18 per cent), but elsewhere averaged only 13 per cent of mentions. ...The British press was an important source of information in France and India; the other international press important in Malaysia and Mexico. The influence of local television coverage was considered to be especially important in China (42 per cent) — an important finding, given how poorly the UK is regarded in that country. ...Curiously, the Internet was hardly

mentioned as a source of information, apart from in Brazil and Turkey where 18 per cent and 10 per cent of people respectively regarded it as important. Official British organisations also had a low level of recognition, though this is not surprising given that these bodies provide information mainly to local press, television and radio, and not directly to the general public.<sup>1</sup>

The particular dynamics are clearly culture-specific and support a view that the best approach to attitude formation internationally is, in fact, an intercultural one whereby information flows can become understood and people can be influenced face to face. While we may try to tell the world that we project “integrity, tenacity, inventiveness and spirit”<sup>2</sup>, the communication has to be through channels that are open, and considerable “grass roots” activity in target markets is probably involved.

MORE than many countries, Scotland is, a land of icons. They provide high levels of recognition, and they are old-established. What is more, they seem strongly resistant to Scotland’s inclinations to reshape or control them. Rather,

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<sup>1</sup> MORI. *Through other eyes: How the world sees the United Kingdom – The findings of research into the attitudes of young professionals in thirteen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council October 1999* (British Council, October 1999).

and:

MORI. *Through other eyes 2: How the world sees the United Kingdom The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council October 2000* (The British Council, October 2000).

— British Council. [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Griggs, Russel. “Scotland the product” in Hassan, G. and Warhurst, Chris (ed.) *A different future: a moderniser’s guide to Scotland* (Centre for Scottish Public Policy & The Big Issue in Scotland, 1999). p. 145.

they almost seem inflicted upon us. Our response has largely been to exploit them for what they are worth while they last, for icons can die.

Writing in the early 1860s of his experiences in Edinburgh, for example, the Rev. Edward Bradley was greatly taken with “the most charming” souvenir dolls dressed as Newhaven fisherwomen, and the art prints representing them. In describing the fishwives, he referred to the then newly published *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman* by 73-year-old Philip Barrington Ainslie — ‘Philo Scotus’ — and the works of Robert Fergusson, but declared he was much influenced by “having re-read Mr. Reade’s novel”, *Christie Johnstone*:

...and in its pages had made myself acquainted with the language, habits, and appearance of “the Newhaven fishwives,” as depicted by the novelist. ... The description of these majestic young queens ... whose beauty of face and cleanliness of costume is almost exceeded by their wit and vivacity, naturally made me anxious to discover if the Christie Johnstone and Jean Carnie of 1850 had left any counterparts ... <sup>3</sup>

The delightful noble savage of Scotland’s “lower orders”, Christie Johnstone was the creation of a prolific Oxfordshire playwright and novelist Charles Reade. Very much a man of his times, he was a sometimes controversial reformist romantic, a Victorian scholar, gentleman and eccentric. He published 27 novels and 20 plays, wrote numerous short stories, pamphlets and journalistic articles, and held a succession of posts with Magdalen College, Oxford. A number of his plays and books were very popular, and he made a comfortable income from his writing.<sup>4</sup> He had produced a play script, *Christie*

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<sup>3</sup> Bradley, Rev. Edward (writing as Bede, Cuthbert) *A Tour in Tartan-Land* (Richard Bentley, 1863). p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Hammet, Michael. Introduction and notes to *Plays by Charles Reade* (Cambridge University Press, 1986). p. 1-40.

*Johnstone* by 1850, but the 1853 novel, published by Richard Bentley in London, was a sudden popular sensation, with a first American edition in 1855, and editions still being produced on both sides of the Atlantic into the early part of the following century.<sup>5</sup> In 1922, Norman MacDonald directed a 56-minute film version for Broadwest Films.<sup>6</sup>

Reade's idealisation of the lasses of Newhaven in a book ridden with class-bound sentimentality undoubtedly contributed to Scotland's tourism income and helped to make a living for doll-makers, dressers and sellers in Edinburgh. It also launched the Rev. Edward Bradley on a search for what he would later refer to as "perambulating fish-shops". Bradley was an Oxbridge graduate whose sensitivities suffered such constant assaults in Scotland as being denied onion sauce with his roast duck at the Trossachs Hotel and being exposed to the "unmitigated evil" of a bagpiper's music. His response to the reality of the fishwives of Leith is predictable: "Half-a-minute's actual experience had disillusioned me of all my Christie Johnstones..."<sup>7</sup> but he then went to some enjoyable lengths trying to find reasons to endorse Reade's image — he devoted more than 12 pages of his travel account to the subject — and came in the end to admire, for example, the fishwives' "costume". In doing so, he enhanced the icon and encouraged popular period interest.

What ultimately happened to the icon that Reade erected, Bradley pursued, and which was exploited by Edinburgh souvenir sellers? The advent of fish shops, chippies, health and trade regulations, and radical changes to the whole nature of the fishing industry — even the passing of fishwives — cannot alone

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<sup>5</sup> For example, Chatto and Windus, London, brought out editions in 1905 and 1905, and J.M. Dent and Sons (London) in 1912 and 1929.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce, David. *Scotland the Movie* (Polygon, 1996). p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Bradley, Rev. Edward (writing as Bede, Cuthbert) *A Tour in Tartan-Land* (Richard Bentley, 1863). p. 310.

explain the icon's demise. Were icons so easily extinguished we would not have such a heavily iconised past, nor would we have a Loch Ness monster. What passed was the romantic middle and upper class world inhabited by the likes of Reade and Bradley. This was the world that produced Reade's readers and which primed their attitudes, perceptions and desire to experience Christie Johnstone and her ilk in particular ways. These were people, who identified with Reade's world view, or thought it worth emulating. It was on these people that the icon of Christie Johnstone depended, and with whom it died.

OTHER icons have survived, some vigorously and, given the expense and difficulty of creating new ones, Scotland must take care not to endanger them unnecessarily. However, iconography is a dangerous craft. An icon has a life of its own and, as the Caterpillar told Alice: "One side will make you grow taller, and the other side will make you grow shorter."<sup>8</sup> Robert Burns, for example, artfully playing the myth-maker, shaped himself into an icon that nicely met the intellectual and artistic measure of his times — though his poetry continues to pay the price.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting that he set about constructing the "heaven-taught ploughman" identity which propelled his rise to fame well before he was published: the first words this well-read and educated young

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8 Carroll, Lewis. *Alice's Adventure in Wonderland with David Hall's previously unpublished illustrations for Walt Disney Productions* (Methuen, 1986). p. 53.

9 See, for example: Bold, Valentina. "Inmate of the Hamlet: Burns as peasant poet" in: Simpson, Kenneth (ed.) *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns a bicentenary celebration* (Tuckwell Press, 1997). p. 43-52. Daiches, David. "Robert Burns: the tightrope walker" in: Simpson, Kenneth (ed.) *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns a bicentenary celebration* (Tuckwell Press, 1997). p. 18-31. Morgan, Edwin. "A poet's response to Burns" in: Simpson, K. (ed.) *Burns Now* (Canongate Academic, 1994). p 1-12. Simpson, Kenneth. "Robert Burns: 'heaven-taught' ploughman?" in: Simpson, K. (ed.) *Burns Now* (Canongate Academic, 1994). p. 70-91.

man wrote in his *Commonplace Book* served this end. It is interesting, too, that he presented himself here in the third person:

As he was but little indebted to scholastic education, and bred at a plough-tail, his performances must be strongly tinctured with his unpolished, rustic way of life; but as I believe, they are really his own, it may be some entertainment to a curious observer of human nature to see how a ploughman thinks, and feels, under the pressure of Love, Ambition, Anxiety, Grief, with the like cares and passions, which, however diversified by the Modes, and Manners of life, operate pretty much alike I believe, in all the Species.<sup>10</sup>

Robert Anderson once asked Burns how this image could sit alongside the poet's clearly learned mind. In a letter to James Currie in 1799, Anderson recalled:

It was ... a part of the machinery, as he called it, of his poetical character to pass for an illiterate ploughman who wrote from pure inspiration. When I pointed out some evident traces of poetical imitation in his verses, privately, he readily acknowledged his obligations ... but in company he would not suffer his pretensions to pure inspiration to be challenged, and it was seldom done where it might be supposed to affect the success of the subscription for his *Poems*.<sup>11</sup>

Burns' masquerade as an untutored rustic was one that many Scots, both during his life and in the ensuing century, were happy for him to play. Thus a man deeply and widely read, a voracious devourer of ideas, and a complex individual, was reduced to a stereotype. Says Scottish actor John Cairney who played and marketed Robert Burns for 30 years of a highly successful solo theatrical and television career:

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10 Burns, Robert (introd. Daiches, David). *Robert Burns' Commonplace Book 1783-1785* (London, 1965). p. 1.

11 See: Crawford, Thomas. *Burns: A study of the poems and songs — 2nd edition* (1978). p. 198-9.

Burns knew as a boy, as he was growing up, that he was different in some respects. He knew that he stood out, that he was kenspeckled, that he was marked in some way. ...His was a PR exercise to win the interest of the Edinburgh public so he became a deliberate peasant and was hoisted on that particular petard because he was held to be that thereafter, even when he was a successful author and, possibly, in his time, the most famous man in the country. ...The journeys that he took were deliberately taken to not only sell books but to sell himself. The invitations to aristocratic dinner tables were snapped up and, because he was as brilliant a talker as he was a writer, he was made welcome. But he had so indelibly set himself up as the peasant — whereas he was the son of a tenant farmer which was a rung up from a poor cottar at least — that he never got rid of that. There's no doubt that he was his own best PR at the early stages ... . He made his own icon in his own time.<sup>12</sup>

John Cairney understood and managed the potency of Burns' iconic persona successfully and with skill during a long career as a performer. He did so by allowing Burns to be the master. Others have tried to make the icon serve their ends, and failed — as John Cairney experienced to his cost on the 200th anniversary of his character's death. His tour of Scotland was one of many events to fall victim to the collapse of the 1996 Burns International Festival. It should, one might think, have been easy. The work of no other poet, living or dead, is annually celebrated by hundreds of thousands of people around the world, or supports such a wide network of fan clubs. Few other poets' words have so suffused a nation's music, are so often recited by amateurs or, at the same time, on the lips of a professional, have so readily filled theatres. But the organisation set up in Burns' homeland to orchestrate a festival to commemorate the 200th anniversary of his death lost sight of these facts. With what was subsequently called a “cumbersome, top-heavy board” and a small

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<sup>12</sup> Cairney, J. Interview, 24 October, 1989.

staff it set out nearly two years before the event to headline wildly heterogeneous attractions including Dame Kiri Te Kanawa and a ploughing contest, a fireworks display, a country music festival and Gaelic rockers Runrig. Glossy publicity materials were produced but firm information was scant. The main declared object of the Burns International Festival had been to promote tourism, particularly in Ayrshire. Festival organisers appeared to doubt their chances of doing that with a programme that had Burns' work as its clear central focus.

On 25 January, Robert Burns' birthday, a day observed by Burns Clubs everywhere, there was to have been a global television hook-up and live broadcast of Burns festivities around the world. It fell through. At the same time, organisers failed to progress arrangements for other main billings, already publicised, so that the beginning of Burns' bicentennial year was marked more by announcements of cancellations than programme additions. Sponsors backed off.<sup>13</sup> When Stranraer author Patrick Hogg, working on a biography of Burns, announced in January that he believed he had discovered 40 or more previously unrecorded poems by Burns — nationalistic verses published anonymously or under pen-names in radical newspapers — a Conservative Dumfries and Galloway Regional Councillor reacted by demanding an immediate withdrawal of the £5,000 grant his council had made towards Hogg's research. A few days later, then British Prime Minister John Major was (selectively) quoting Burns in the House of Commons in defence of

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<sup>13</sup> Paterson, Mike. "Best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-gley" (*The New Zealand Herald, Wednesday Arts*, 27 March, 1996). Section 3, p. 10.

(This information is drawn from my own records and correspondence at this time: I was called upon to organise a Scottish tour for Dr John Cairney after the Burns Festival organisation was unable to confirm the itinerary it had proposed for him. Glasgow-born Dr Cairney is an international actor who played Robert Burns solo for many years, on stage and television.)



the Union. Then, within days of the poet's work being toasted at dinners and suppers around the world, the Burns International Festival organisation itself collapsed. The company behind it was wound up and everything salvageable was given over to an informal grouping of local authorities and enterprise companies.

In the event, James Watt College catering students in Greenock won an entry in the next edition of the *Guinness Book of Records* by serving up a record 2,883 "Burns suppers" of haggis, tatties and neeps. Then there was the Dundee publican who offered a "nip of your choice" with every £2 admission to a Burns Night at his pub. He made the mistake of leaving a bottle of Remy Martin Louis XIII cognac on view and letting in five litigious law students who spotted the £25-a-nip cognac and, instead of quoting the Bard, started reciting the *Trades Description Act*. Montrose author Alistair Campsie re-presented his one-man play that alleged Burns, having already been made the target of a smear campaign for his libertarian views, was murdered by monarchists. A visual arts project saw posters carrying photographs of other people named "Robert Burns" pasted up in public places. Brochures and maps directed visiting Burns enthusiasts around Alloway and Ayrshire. Linn Records, Glasgow, in association with the Burns Federation, embarked on five-year project to record all of Burns' songs, using leading contemporary Scottish folk singers and instrumentalists. Several art shows with a Burns theme were held. What took place was the result of largely uncoordinated initiatives by individuals or small groups. On the 200th anniversary of Burns's death, at the hour of his death, only six people stood gathered outside the house in Dumfries where he had lain: two couples from Armadale in West Lothian (David and Maria Dow and Kenny and Irene Ferguson), John Cairney and the author.

At the heart of the problems that brought the event down appear to have been the many complexities that beset Scots' feelings about Burns. While Burns is cherished as an icon, appreciation of the poetry is mixed, and muddled by claims about all of the other things Burns is purported to have been.<sup>14</sup> What is more, many Scots are justifiably embarrassed by the way Burns is often commemorated. At such times it is not difficult to imagine Burns penning:

Here maun I sit and think;  
Sick o the warld and warld's folk,  
And sick, damn'd sick o drink!<sup>15</sup>

Little of what took place in the south west of Scotland in 1997 had much to do with the magic that resides in Burns' words and excites the affection so many people have for the poet. Nor, worst of all in the minds of its promoters, did it turn out to be a goldmine of tourism income.

Pride in the poet became an envelope for commercial opportunism. Burns was himself, in a sense, to blame. The icon he created, that time and admirers inflated, would not play the organisers' game. The Burns Festival offered too little to the Burns enthusiasts whose interest might be roused by the poetry, the songs or the icon, but Burns enthusiasts alone looked unlikely to produce the kind of income the southwest was hoping for. The wider audience was not attracted to the icon. The icon helped to deny Burns the sort of bicentennial commemoration that many of those who enjoy his poetry might have felt he

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<sup>14</sup> See, for example:

Finlay, Richard J. "The Burns cult and Scottish identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" in: Simpson, Kenneth (ed.) *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns a bicentenary celebration* (Tuckwell Press, 1997). p. 69-78.

McGuirk, Carol. "Burns and nostalgia" in: Simpson, K. (ed.) *Burns Now* (Canongate Academic, 1994). p 31-69.

<sup>15</sup> Burns, Robert. *To William Stewart*. in *Complete Poems & Songs of Robert Burns* (Harper Collins, 1995). p. 279-280.

deserved, while the icon proved an insufficient marketing tool for what was, in essence, an ill-focused and poorly contrived tourism promotion.

The lesson here is that iconisation, in investing a person or object with particular meanings, can make its subject less, not more, accessible. Potent meanings exclude to the extent that they define what it is that they will include. The icon generates expectations which an event or product associated with it must satisfy, while wider access is curtailed. Diminished breadth of value is the result., and there are values to which an icon will be an opposing force. The attributes associated with the Burns icon, for example, are hardly in helpful assonance with the essential appeal of New Zealand opera star Dame Kiri Te Kanawa or Runrig.

WHISKY is a product that has itself become an icon as the result of popular, literary and commercial myth-making. It is inclined to stand for maleness, maturity, discerning taste and, to a large degree, wealth.

Much of the advertising has, for a considerable time, identified whisky making with the romantic side of Highland mythology. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, imagery associated with whisky by its advertisers was usually elitist as well as being almost exclusively masculine. Dewars, for example, prepared a set of portraits of satisfied whisky drinkers: *The Laird*, *The Connoisseur*, *The Squire* and *The Dandy*. Robertson's J. R. D. Whisky posters featured a hunt scene. A Claymore poster of 1907 pictured an alchemist. Other images included gentlemen's clubs, monasteries, butlers, polo players, golfers, horse racing and plenty of kilted, banneted Highlanders. Some exceptions included a 1908 Buchanan's Black and White poster featuring dark and blonde beauties in clinging classical garb who are crowning an oversized whisky bottle with laurels, and another, from 1898, on which a

temptress is seated on a cloud with a plaid around her waist, a glengarry by her side, a drinking horn raised in one hand and a sheaf of barley stems in the other. In neither case is one likely to assume that the women are about to consume the whisky themselves so much as confer it on the men they most admire — early examples of sex in advertising.<sup>16</sup> Aspects of this long cultivated image of whisky are now seen as an impediment. Ian Fraser wrote in the *Sunday Herald* in March 1999:

In terms of image, the brand has failed to fully remove itself from the ghetto of Balmorality and dewy mists. Such imagery appeals to older, established drinkers but can be a turn-off to the younger generation who represent the spirit's future. Despite — or maybe because of the best efforts of marketers, the drink's image is unclear. Is it a luxury tippie for gentlemen connoisseurs? Or a mixer to be swigged by the night-clubbing fraternity?<sup>17</sup>

The industry may have become keen to attract younger drinkers to whisky but, as Ian Fraser's language perhaps unconsciously reveals (in his use of *gentlemen* and *fraternity*, for example), it has yet to seriously consider marketing its product to women. Again, iconic strength shows its powers of exclusion. An approach to a women's market by the Scottish whisky industry would undoubtedly have to address prejudicial attitudes overseas as well as in Scotland. But it will be a bold distributor who makes the first move: the icon stands in almost direct opposition to the marketing requirement.

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<sup>16</sup> Murray, Jim. *The Art of Whisky: a deluxe blend of historic posters from the Public Record Office* (PRO Publications, Surrey, 1998).

<sup>17</sup> Fraser also writes: "The key challenge facing branded suppliers in the U.K. and northern Europe is to rejuvenate whisky's image. Some have enjoyed successes in Spain, Greece and Portugal — essentially greenfield sites where whisky can be seen to be more attractive to younger drinkers. The same turnaround is harder to achieve in more mature (sic) whisky markets."

— Fraser, Ian. "Hammer blows hit whisky distillers" (*Sunday Herald*, 21 March, 1999). p.17.

IT IS a community of like-minded observers that sustains an icon, not the model on which is it based. Thus, to change an icon, or the meanings it carries, we have to change the observers. To set up new icons, we need to look to our target markets, at home and abroad. They will demand a narrative that meets their proclivities and interests. If we look to the present, literary translations provide a illustration of this. Paul Barnaby, then co-ordinator of the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation based at the National Library of Scotland, told *The Herald* that more than 21,000 books, poems and plays by Scottish authors had been translated into more than 100 languages:

There are many countries, particularly Germany and Russia, that have a strong bond with Scotland, and the image of Scotland tends to be bound in with writers like Stevenson and Scott. The image of Scotland which emerged in the nineteenth century is still very popular in countries such as Russia and Japan.<sup>18</sup>

The most frequently translated Scottish writer in the 1990s, by a clear margin, was Robert Louis Stevenson. If the works of Sir Walter Scott had become less popular in western Europe, they remained popular in Poland and Russia. Robert Burns was relatively popular in Russia and Hungary. The popularity of Scottish writing was growing throughout Europe and in Latin America, South Korea and Japan. Germany showed a particularly strong interest. The ten most widely translated books by Scottish authors were Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, *Dr Jeckyll and Mr Hyde*, *The Black Arrow*, *Kidnapped* and *The Master of Ballantrae*, Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and *Quentin Durward*, J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, A. J. Cronin's *The Citadel* and Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*. The most frequently translated 20th century authors

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<sup>18</sup> Simpson, Cameron. "World is an open book for Scottish authors" (*The Herald*, 4 November, 1999). p. 3.

included A.J. Cronin, Alistair MacLean, Dame Muriel Spark, Iain Banks, Eric Linklater, William Boyd and Sir Compton Mackenzie. Ian Rankin's *Inspector Rebus* novels have found keen readerships in Japan, Scandinavia, Bulgaria, Russia, Latvia, Portugal and Greece.<sup>19</sup>

The relationship that exists between Scotland and its translated literature is a complicated one, and clearly lies beyond management from within Scotland. Patterns of interest vary markedly from one linguistic culture to another. The following table indicates the number of translations into six selected languages of books by or about eight Scottish authors — Robert Louis Stevenson, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, James Barrie, Hugh MacDiarmid, Iain Banks, Compton McKenzie and Irvine Welsh — as recorded in the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation's online database:

TABLE (3): Translations into six other languages (and all foreign language totals) of works by or about Robert Louis Stevenson, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, Sir James Barrie, Hugh MacDiarmid, Iain Banks, Sir Compton McKenzie and Irvine Welsh, as recorded in the online database of the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (at the National Library of Scotland), to 2 June, 2000.

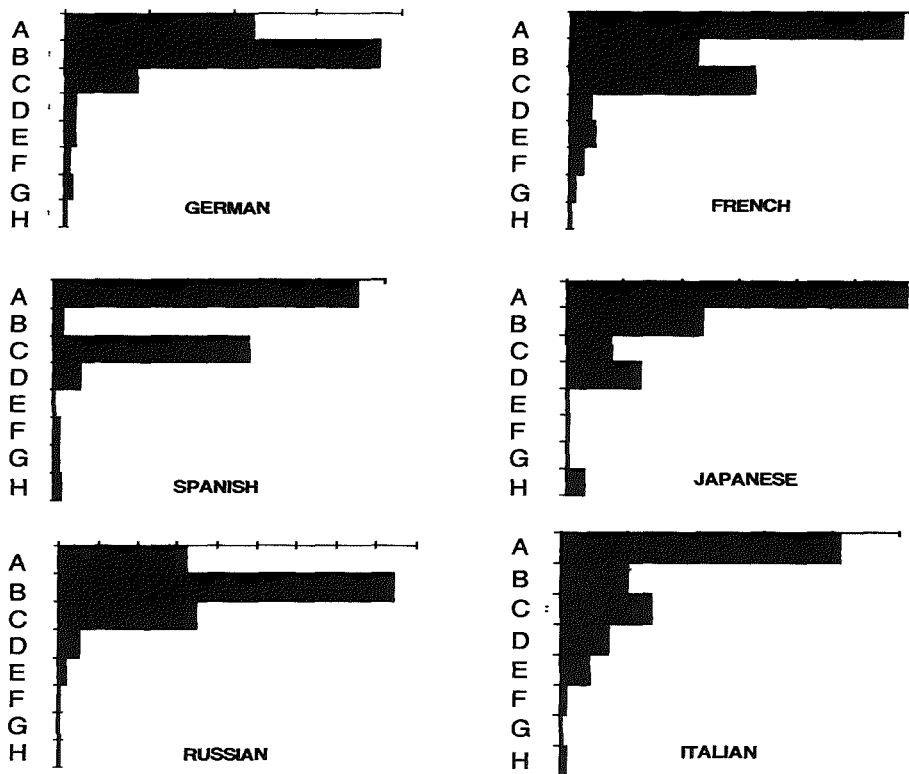
	Steven- son	Burns	Scott	Barrie	Mac- Diarmid	Banks	Mac- kenzie	Welsh
German	449	749	173	28	26	16	19	6
French	384	147	213	24	27	16	6	3
Italian	412	99	132	71	45	9	5	9
Russian	160	422	173	28	8	1	2	2
Spanish	457	13	293	40	3	9	7	4
Japan- ese	118	47	16	26	1	1	1	6
TOTAL	3272	2988	1640	394	240	85	72	72

These patterns of interest are more clearly evident when this information is graphically represented:

DIAGRAM (3): Relative numbers of translations into selected other languages of works by or about A, Robert Louis Stevenson; B, Robert Burns; C, Sir Walter Scott; D, Sir

<sup>19</sup> Donnelly, Brian. "Rankin has case for packing Rebus off East cracked" (*The Herald*, 26 May, 2000). p. 3.

**James Barrie; E, Hugh MacDiarmid; F, Iain Banks; G, Sir Compton McKenzie; H, Irvine Welsh**, as recorded in the online database of the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (at the National Library of Scotland), to 2 June, 2000.



These distinctive patterns point to some interesting, broad, linguistically-based cultural differences but tell us little about the ways and extent to which these authors have contributed to the development of stereotypes about Scotland within these communities. As former diplomat Paul H. Scott has pointed out, for example, a work by a Scottish author may have a larger or lesser effect on attitudes toward Scotland. Of R. L. Stevenson, he wrote:

He has certainly given wide currency to the Scottish idea of the divided self. He has also explored the Scottish psyche in his Scottish novels and in essays, letters and poetry in Scots. Outside Scotland, I do not think that these are read as much as *Treasure Island*, *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* and the South Sea stories, and for

this reason I do not think he has greatly affected the external image of Scotland.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, there is no reason to assume that people outside of Scotland, who are popularly aware of such works, necessarily know anything about the Scottish origins of the author of *The Wind in the Willows*, or that the creator of *Peter Pan* was the Scottish author of *Auld Licht Idylls*. Nor may they appreciate the varying degrees of Scottishness of such popular literary characters as Richard Hannay, Dangerous Dan McGrew, Sherlock Holmes, Long John Silver, Harry Flashman (in later life), Private Angelo or Miss Jean Brodie. And, even if they do, it does not follow that they necessarily adjust the way they feel about Scotland.

This market is a very different one from that of Scotland and it is one on which the activities of Scottish-based publishers have little impact. Most of Scotland's book publishers are small to relatively small business, only a few with annual turnovers exceeding £1 million. When their sales generate significant cash flows, authors typically migrate to larger London-based publishers. Scottish publishing lacks the means to break into or develop large international markets. Curtis Brown literary agent Giles Gordon, commenting in relation to the merger of Edinburgh publisher Canongate with the American-based Grove Atlantic in October 2000, was reported in *The Scotsman*:

Scottish publishing's in a terrible state but there's nothing new there. It's no surprise that almost every Scottish writer of any interest, with the possible exception of Alasdair Gray ... publishes all of their work from London. At the bottom line, Scottish

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<sup>20</sup> Scott, Paul H. "The Image of Scotland in Literature" in: Fladmark, J.M. (ed.) *Cultural Tourism, papers presented at The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1994* (Donhead, 1994). p. 363-373.



publishing is still hugely under-capitalised and drastically lacking in expertise.<sup>21</sup>

Author A. L. Kennedy said:

If you are trying to earn a living out of writing, you need books to be distributed, and the Scottish publishers don't distribute the books. Your books don't get into bookshops, and you can't get paid an adequate advance. That was true 10 years ago, it's still true now. It's the way publishing works and the way that large chain bookshops work. You have to be in large bookshops these days and, if you want to do that, you have to be a much-published author.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, Ayrshire author Jenny Colgan, who now lives in London, said there were no commercial Scottish publishers:

They tend to be literary or academic. I don't have a choice in the matter. ...I think. for commercial fiction, you have to leave Scotland. All the agencies are in London. I sent away to an agent, and they made the decision for me. As long as there are interesting independent brains in publishing, it doesn't matter if they're in Scotland or England, provided they keep doing what they're good at.<sup>23</sup>

Members of the Scottish Publishers' Association co-ordinate many of their marketing initiatives co-operatively. Said Alison Rae, the association's marketing officer:

We have about 75 coming up for 80 members and we'll always get good representation — maybe something between 20 and 50 per

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<sup>21</sup> Warren, Matt. "Going by the books" (*The Scotsman*, S2 supplement, 24 October, 2000). p. 2-3.

<sup>22</sup> Warren, Matt. "Going by the books" (*The Scotsman*, S2 supplement, 24 October, 2000). p. 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Warren, Matt. "Going by the books" (*The Scotsman*, S2 supplement, 24 October, 2000). p. 2-3..

cent — in almost all our promotions. It is a good figure really, and that can vary from an advert in *Scots Magazine* to our stand at the Frankfurt Book Fair.<sup>24</sup>

But some promotions are simply beyond the association's budget, scope and negotiating strength. The Scottish Publishers Association, a member of the Scotland the Brand co-ordinating group, took part in the 1998 Scotfest, which had the involvement in the United States of the prestigious Barnes and Noble bookselling chain:

We ... sent over a couple of story-tellers who were hugely successful, and they did take some titles from that. But the publishers were required to give 60 or maybe even 65 per cent discount and on a sale or return basis — and we had to pay airfreight because it was all so very rushed. I have to say we made a loss on that. Also the focus was on James Kelman, Irvine Welsh and *Trainspotting* — it's quite predictable — and they weren't interested in titles outwith that arena, so we weren't involved this year (1999). That Scotfest promotion is backed by whisky companies and is targeted at late 20-30-somethings so it's very much *Trainspotting* territory and not clan history and Scottish verse and things like that which is the market that we're in. We try. There again, I know a guy in the marketing department of Barnes and Noble, New York, who was born in Edinburgh and that's more useful because we send him our two-monthly leaflets, he keeps an eye on the website where all the new titles go on as well, and that little personal thing is probably more useful.<sup>25</sup>

The Scottish Publishers Association is the major shareholder in Scottish Book Source, established in 1995, which provides international distribution services to association members at preferential rates.<sup>26</sup> The association also holds an

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<sup>24</sup> Rae, Alison. Interview, Edinburgh, 24 February, 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Rae, Alison. Interview, Edinburgh, 24 February, 1999.

<sup>26</sup> Scottish Publishers Association. *Directory of Publishing in Scotland, 1998* (Scottish Publishers Association, Edinburgh, 1998).

annual conference which brings Scottish publishers and booksellers together. This, said Alison Rae, was “a unique thing about the Scottish industry — our link with book sellers”. Through the Scottish Book Marketing Group, Scottish booksellers and Scottish publishers working together on promotions: “So there is a co-operative spirit, although they are quite individual and function separately they do talk to each other and help each other.”<sup>27</sup> Exports are principally to the United States and the association works with a Pennsylvania-based distributor, Dufour Editions, which also carries a strong Irish-interest list. The books mostly end up in Scottish-interest “tartan” shops around the United States and an annual catalogue is published with that market in mind.

The resulting situation is that Scottish publishing, vigorous within its own small world, has a negligible impact on the way that other people understand or think about Scotland. That impact is managed by London publishers and the publishers in other countries who produce translations of popular works in their own languages.

SCOTTISH traditional music has a vigour in a number of European and North American markets, but the impact of the Scottish recording industry is far smaller than it might be. Again, distribution is the problem. Says composer and harpist William Jackson, in relation to traditional music recordings:

There's so many small labels. In Ossian we started our own label in 1977 and my wife and I started our own label last year (1998) and we've got six or seven CDs now. ... A lot of distributors are more concerned with how many titles you have: never mind the quality, feel the width. ... Distribution's difficult, and being accepted as being saleable. You need good CD designs and it's difficult to know when you've got a good CD design. Half the

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<sup>27</sup> Rae, Alison. Interview, 24 February, 1999.

battle is to get someone to pick your CD up in a shop ... it's very competitive. It used to be in the '60s and 70s, to have made a record meant that you were quite established... . It was a big deal, people thought you were famous then. Now everybody's making CDs... . It's good in a way but in another way it kind of lowers the standard a little bit. The general public doesn't really know the difference between good piping or bad piping, good harp playing or bad harp playing, or whatever ... if it's packaged a certain way, you know, Celtic whatever, they'll buy it and think that's it, that's as good as it gets....<sup>28</sup>

SCOTTISH photography is a quiet but pervasive and wide-reaching source of images of Scotland, although its impact has yet to be measured. But demands outwith Scotland largely determine the images which are commonly used.

CINEMA is a significant international influence from time to time, and there is persuasive evidence that Mel Gibson's *Braveheart* and Peter Broughan and Liam Neeson's *Rob Roy*, American productions both released in 1995, together produced a boost for tourism to Stirling and the Trossachs.<sup>29</sup> But the economic impacts of such movies may be quite short-lived. Recorded visits to Stirling Castle fell from 422,615 to 398,828 between 1997 and 1998, and a more dramatic fall-off in visitor number to the National Wallace Monument — from 197,836 recorded visitors in 1997 to 154,593 in 1998 — was thought by some to have been due to the waning of the "*Braveheart* effect".<sup>30</sup> So too was a

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<sup>28</sup> Jackson, William. Interview, 17 June 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Seaton, A. V., and Hay, Brian. "The marketing of Scotland as a tourist destination, 1985-96" in: MacLellan, Rory, and Smith, Ronnie (eds): *Tourism in Scotland* (International Thomson Business Press, 1998), p. 230.

<sup>30</sup> As, for example, in Watson, Craig: "Turnstiles [sic] slow down" (*The Herald*, 28 April 1999). p. 5.

1999-2000 decline in identifications of *Braveheart* as an image of Scotland in a wide-ranging international British Council/MORI survey (from 5 per cent of mentions across 13 countries to 2 percent across 17 countries).<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, the marked increase in reported visits to the Loch Ness Monster Exhibition Centre at Drumnadrochit, from 180,000 to 280,000<sup>32</sup>, 1997-98, appears not to have been widely attributed to the 1996 release of another American film *Loch Ness* starring American actor Ted Danson, directed by John Henderson and produced by Tim Bevan.

*Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* were both celebrated and denigrated (*Braveheart* more than *Rob Roy*), as “tartan” movies. The association with tartan is interesting. Particularly in the case of *Braveheart*, there were no good historical reasons for the fabric to feature at all: the costume design was a heavy blend of fantasy and anachronism. So, why kilts? Was Mel Gibson’s adorning Wallace with tartan comparable in some way with Disney’s putting Mickey and Minnie Mouse in tartan? Why not more authentic chain mail and polished armour? The decision is likely to have been purely commercial: historicity would have contradicted the marketing requirement. It made commercial sense to go with the icons<sup>33</sup>, so previously existing attitudes towards kilts — or assumptions

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<sup>31</sup> MORI. *Through other eyes 2 — How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council). [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000). p. 50.

<sup>32</sup> Watson, Craig: “Turnstyles [sic] slow down” (*The Herald*, 28 April 1999). p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> 21 per cent of respondents in the 2000 British Council/MORI survey across 17 countries cited “kilts” as the image that “best sums up Scotland” for them.

— MORI. *Through other eyes 2 — How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council). [http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000). p. 81.

about those attitudes — went into the mix for this movie. These previously existing attitudes were located so much not in Scotland as in the film's international market, and that is what mattered. Films that cost £70 million (*Braveheart's* budget) have to make a lot of money. In *Braveheart's* case, the icons popularly complemented each other and the money rolled in.

It is interesting that Scottish movies, by and large, have used less tartan than they might and, considered together, have presented an extraordinary mix of images over the years. Some of the most widely known and internationally visible would include: Ealing's 1949 *Whisky Galore!* (English), MGM's 1954 *Brigadoon* (American), Rank's 1959 *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (British), Walt Disney's 1961 *Greyfriars Bobby* (American), 20th Century Fox's 1969 *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (American), Enigma's 1981 *Chariots of Fire* (British), Figment Films/Channel Four's 1996 *Trainspotting* (British). On television, Scottishness has been represented abroad in recent times by series like *Dr Finlay's Casebook*, *Taggart*, *Hamish MacBeth* and various Billy Connolly shows. Abroad, a film like *Chariots of Fire* may have been identified with Britishness rather than Scotland, and Sean Connery's nationality will have imparted a little Scottishness to people's view of James Bond only where people have been aware of it. Then there have been wild cards, like the surprise English hit *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994) directed by Mike Newell, with the English actor Hugh Grant, American actress Andie MacDowell and a bizarre Highland wedding.

Frank McLynn has pointed out<sup>34</sup> that many of the most successful movies about Scotland — from *Brigadoon* to *Loch Ness*, and including *Local Hero*, *The Maggie* and *Lost Horizon* — share an archetypal theme of a stranger

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<sup>34</sup> McLynn, Frank. "Clansmen are always kilted, pipes forever skirling, eagles continually wheel and soar" — Herald Essay (*The Herald*, 30 January, 1999). p. 17.

coming to Scotland and discovering higher ideals and values. Another archetypal theme McLynn identifies is a conflict between Jacobite and Calvinist values, or between hedonism and duty, as in *Whisky Galore* and *Tunes of Glory*. He comments:

It seems to me there is much to celebrate in the image of Scotland in the movies, particularly in those films that deal with archetypal themes ... I do not see what is so insulting about having Scotland regarded as a repository of true values or a Shangri-La. It is significant that there are no films in which a Highlander goes to, say, Detroit and finds abiding values there.<sup>35</sup>

James Lee, writing as the chairman of Scottish Screen in 1998, saw “no more effective way to create a global image of the new Scotland than through the production of international feature films rooted and created here, projecting the new Scotland to the world.”<sup>36</sup> On the basis of existing evidence, this seems a serious overstatement: what is clear is the extraordinary impact that a few non-Scottish films have had, relative to the slight impression made by genuinely Scottish films. The problem is that decisions about the sorts of images projected by feature films made in or about Scotland, or depicting Scottishness may be marginally influenced by Scottish marketing effort, but cannot be controlled. International markets will determine priorities for successful movies, and high-impact movies about Scotland do not even have to be made in Scotland.

Frank McLynn saw a limited future for films of the starkly realistic urban genre:

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<sup>35</sup> McLynn, Frank. “Clansmen are always kilted, pipes forever skirling, eagles continually wheel and soar” — Herald Essay (*The Herald*, 30 January, 1999). p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> Lee, James. “Projecting the New Scotland to the World” in: Fraser, Maurice (ed.) *Essential Scotland* (Agenda Publishing in association with Scotland the Brand, 1998). p. 118-120.

Given the horrendous economics of film-making, no mainstream producer, well aware that films like *The Full Monty* are mysterious one-offs which cannot be replicated, is likely to go down that road, and directors who persist with such projects are likely to end up ghettoised in the art-house cinemas.<sup>37</sup>

However, Scottish Screen said in April 2000 that the most frequent requests from production companies looking for information about shooting in Scotland were for a castle by water, a Victorian kitchen, a formal garden, a 1930s ballroom, and isolated cottage among the hills — and “a really grim urban landscape”, North Lanarkshire having provided one of the most successful film locations. John Archer, chief executive of Scottish Screen commented:

The link between successful international films shot in Scotland and tourism is well known. The *Braveheart* factor has become a sort of shorthand for film related tourism and a document such as this lodged in every location office of the large international studios is the perfect way to keep Scotland at the forefront of their minds.<sup>38</sup>

There is, in fact, no evidence that should encourage North Lanarkshire to look forward to a soaring influx of tourists as a result of film maker-generated interest, but there is direct income and employment. Successful in box office terms was *Shallow Grave*, set in Edinburgh (though most interior shots were done in a Glasgow warehouse) and released in 1994.<sup>39</sup> The film *Trainspotting*, which used Leith locations, was a sensation when it was released in 1996. But Douglas Ritchie, director of marketing for the Edinburgh and Lothians Tourist Board, said in 2000 that, while tourist numbers in Edinburgh had risen steadily

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<sup>37</sup> McLynn, Frank. “Clansmen are always kilted, pipes forever skirling, eagles continually wheel and soar” — Herald Essay (*The Herald*, 30 January, 1999). p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> Templeton, Sarah-Kate. “Scotland the grim woos directors” (*Sunday Herald*, 9 April, 2000). p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Bruce, David. *Scotland the Movie* (Polygon, 1996). p. 220.



through the 1990s, visitors most commonly gave as their reasons for being there the city's history, its standing as Scotland's capital and its festivals. Film and literature did not figure. He said:

There has been nothing statistically to suggest that *Trainspotting* had an effect on tourism in Edinburgh one way or the other. Our priority target is under-35 year-old U.K. and European professionals and we are giving things a more contemporary spin so would probably see things like *Trainspotting* helping. But there is nothing to support a view that it has.<sup>40</sup>

Overlooking the fact that Irish, rather than Scottish, locations may have helped to lure so many *Braveheart* audiences to Scotland, there are reasons to question whether a movie's success and Scottish location are themselves sufficient to ensure ensuing tourist interest. In the past, success and Scottish settings have not always coincided with clear advantages for Scottish tourism. The high impact Hollywood film *Brigadoon* (1954), for example, was not shot in Scotland; the low impact but highly successful *Chariots of Fire* largely was. Plockton's tourism, however, benefited from the first series of BBC Scotland's *Hamish MacBeth* in 1995.<sup>41</sup> The indirect benefits of a Scottish film industry are clearly subject to factors that have yet to be satisfactorily understood, but a *Braveheart* effect cannot be taken for granted. Past experience, however, suggests a few possible requirements. The first particular need (after capital and distribution, of course) appears to be to forge very overt links between a strong or archetypal narrative — one that is timely and widely appealing — and aspects of Scottishness that have high and immediate levels of recognition (i.e. the icons).

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<sup>40</sup> Ritchie, Douglas. Interview, 19 April, 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Bruce, David. *Scotland the Movie* (Polygon, 1996). p. 69.

In any target export market, of course, different people will have seen different films and television productions, according to the distribution pattern of individual products but also according to their personal tastes and inclinations. Particular audiences are targeted, but the constitution of actual audiences is ultimately a matter of self-selection, as a long history of surprise cinematic hits and flops indicates.

More generally important, however, is the fact that stereotypes already held in relation to Scotland impose filters through which audiences mediate images and messages originating from or about Scotland. Scholarly and popular conceptions of what constitutes “Scottishness” are clearly divergent. In popular contexts, at least, it appears necessary for representations of Scottishness to conform in particular overt ways to existing stereotypes before a film or literary work is associated strongly with Scotland. A particular work merely interacts with what individual audience members, in their hearts, are already willing to believe; it “rings true” or it is dismissed.

The message may, like beauty, reside largely in the mind of the beholder. Moreover, where attitude change does take place, the ways in which this leads to behavioural changes may not, in the light of present levels of understanding, be at all simple or predictable. There is considerable scope here for further research that — because cultural differences are likely to militate against generalisations from other situations — is particular to Scotland and Scotland’s relationships with its target markets.

IN July 1999, my wife and I were sitting in a small, friendly bar in Sober, Galicia, a rather obscure wine-growing area which saw few tourists but had, on that very day, opened its first tourist information centre. Word quickly got around that we had come from Scotland and, although no-one spoke English,

the local folk became increasingly determined to do all in their power to make us feel welcome. A television in the corner was tuned to a regional programme, until someone persuaded the proprietor to try to find an English-language channel for our benefit. He flicked through the channels until a host show came on which we confirmed was in English. The locals cheered, ushered us forward and turned to watch the screen. To our horror — and the Galicians' amazement — an elephant filled the screen, and the show's guest proceeded to push his head into the elephant's rectum. We were looked at a little oddly, and decided to leave before the hospitality extended to finding us an elephant.

Our experience made it clear that we are not always in control of the way others see us.

Strategic thinking about Scottish identity is predicated by organisations like Scotland the Brand and the Scottish Tourist Board on an assumption that Scotland's identity can be directly managed in a focused way from within Scotland in order to promote exports and tourism. As things stand, however, there is little to support such an assumption. Identity appears to be conferred rather more potently than it is constructed; we are who other people say we are and, of what we say, they believe what they are predisposed to believe. The sources which inform the attitudes of others are diverse and inconsistent, but depend more on what we are seen to do, than on what we say we are like: too many forces are at play, there is too much diversity across target markets and the sectors of Scottish interest which seek to address them. Too much investment and too much centralised control would be needed to produce consistent, significant identity shifts.

It is also arguable whether a managed shift, were a shift to take place, would produce the expected results. Responses to cross-cultural experiences can be highly idiosyncratic. Statistical data do not tell full stories. Eighteen-year-old

Teruhiko Nishizawa, for example, arrived in Glasgow from Osaka, Japan, in February 1999 with plans to stay for an extended period. "I wanted to come here for the bagpipes and to learn English, he said.<sup>42</sup> He enrolled full-time with The Piping Centre to learn piping, and Glasgow Caledonian University for the English, in that order. His previous experiences of Scottishness were very much to do with his Bhuddist religion and the bagpipes. He had spent six months as an exchange student at Hobart College, Tasmania, Australia, and it was at a Highland games in Tasmania that he first witnessed a live performance by pipe bands. Back in Japan, he met the Tokyo Pipe Band, took three lessons and resolved to come to Scotland. His motivation was an interest in apparent resonances in the ways that nature is understood in Zen Buddhism and early Celtic religion, something he had read about in a book published in Japan: "Most of Japanese people know about bagpipes a little, mostly from television. ... the Discovery Channel."<sup>43</sup> Another piper who came from Japan to study in Glasgow was 29-year-old Hinako Suzuki who spent January, 1999, as a full-time student at The Piping Centre. She had played the pipes at that point for about a year: "When I went to the Highland Games in Japan, I met the Tokyo Pipe Band. That's my first time to listen to the live playing. I was surprised at the big, beautiful sound so I decided to play it."<sup>44</sup> The decisive common factor for both of these Japanese students was personal experiences of the Tokyo Pipe Band. In the case of Teruhiko Nishizawa, Celtic religion as described by a Japanese author and experiences in Hobart, Australia, were further contributing elements in arriving at his expensive and personally challenging decision. He also mentioned Sky Television's *Discovery Channel*. Not one of the factors

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<sup>42</sup> Nishizawa, Teruhiko. Interview, 2 March, 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Nishizawa, Teruhiko. Interview, 2 March, 1999.

<sup>44</sup> Suzuki, Hinako. Letter to The Piping Centre, Glasgow, February 1999.

relating to either person's decision to come to Scotland for extended periods originated directly from within Scotland.

Hinako Suzuki and Teruhiko Nishizawa and the Tokyo Pipe Band may be highly atypical but they are not alone in suggesting that, in the "real worlds" of the people who inhabit Scotland's target markets, the sources of people's defining experiences of Scottishness may not be particularly susceptible to managed change from within Scotland. And there may well be a range of other opportunities to experience expressions of Scottishness — some of them quite localised, like the section of the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg which is devoted to the life and works of Robert Burns. Said Pipe Major Iain MacDonald who regularly pipes for Burns suppers in St Petersburg: "It's amazing. They hold Burns in such high esteem in Russia. We go out at the end of January and do a Burns supper in St Petersburg, then take the overnight train to Moscow and do the same again."<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, Michael Vance (Associate Professor, Department of History, St Mary's University, Halifax, Canada), said that experience of activities initiated within Nova Scotia very probably defined "Scottishness" for most Nova Scotians and many visitors to Nova Scotia.<sup>46</sup>

These are local situations affecting relatively small numbers of people, but, as parts of an extensive range of determinants of perceived Scottishness, they may be very significant sources of influence — and they are created furth of Scotland. The diplomatic power of the pipes, for example, has long been used by the British Government and others. In his far from exhaustive *The World Directory of Scottish Associations*, Michael Brander identified Scottish organisations not only in Britain and the better-known expatriate communities

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<sup>45</sup> MacDonald, Pipe Major Iain. Interview, 8 December, 1998.

<sup>46</sup> Vance, Michael: Interview, 23 November, 1998.

of the diaspora — Canada, the United States, Australia, South Africa, etc — but also in Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei, Chile, Denmark, Fiji, France, Germany, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, the Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, the Ukraine, the United Arab Emirates, the West Indies and Zimbabwe.<sup>47</sup> Not only are people in all of these countries pursuing their own Scottish interests, many of them will be displaying their interpretations of them to their communities. These people are not all expatriates and Scottish descendants. They are in many cases wholly indigenous. To their communities, they will represent Scottishness alongside any other representations of Scottishness to which they have access. Said an expatriate Scot in Ontario, Canada: “When I left Glasgow, I discovered Robert Burns in another country.”<sup>48</sup>

These other representations may include whatever literature is available in local translations, music, movies ... even what they can find on the Internet. And, if the flagrant misrepresentations of *Braveheart* or *Brigadoon* make historically-minded Scots tremble with anger or dismay, there are Internet sites — mostly American — to knock their socks off.

When the wider range of influences is considered, the idea that Scotland has a capacity to manage its identity in direct, reliable ways is rendered untenable. It is a situation in which commonsense suggests there are needs for fieldwork in target export markets to establish what sources of Scottish imagery are being

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<sup>47</sup> Brander, Michael. *The World Directory of Scottish Associations* (Neil Wilson Publishing, 1996).

<sup>48</sup> Unidentified voice in: Davie, Emma (writer & director) and Higson, Frances and D’Entremont (prod.). *Flight — Searching for Scotland* (Antonine Films Ltd and Imagex Ltd., 1998, broadcast on Channel 2, BBC Television, 2 March, 1999).

attended to and how they are articulating Scottishness. To present people with statements and images that are at odds with those they have already experienced and come to trust is to invite dismissal, even antagonism, and risks being counter-productive. In the case of some North American markets, modernising messages, presented carelessly, may even be understood as an attack on the identities that individuals have spent some time and investment constructing — and this is not the best way to open dialogue.

INTERESTING a person in a culture other than their own seems intuitively different from interesting someone in a particular product. There may be a great deal of marketing good sense in eschewing corporate and product-style image building, and seeking rather to be in a number of right places at a succession of right times, rather than one: the oddly familiar, the familiarly odd — this and that, that and this.

In his book *Butterfly Economics*<sup>49</sup>, economist Paul Omerod constructs an argument that, where people or organisations are able to be directly influenced by what others do, conventional economics come unstuck, and the economy functions more like a living organism which can best be understood in terms of the interactions of its component parts. For one thing, it means that there is no one-to-one relationship between the size and nature of an external cause and the expression of its subsequent effect. His model is, in fact, endogenous. Given that cultural behaviour, and therefore cultural product marketing, is essentially about people influencing each other and seeking to be influenced, if there is substance in any of Omerod's arguments — and they are contentious — then it should be discernible in these kinds of areas.

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<sup>49</sup> Omerod, Paul. *Butterfly Economics: A New General Theory of Social and Economic Behaviour* (Faber and Faber, 1998).

The illustration he harks back to repeatedly is that of a biologist's experiment involving ants. Simply stated, if two equal sized piles of sugar are put at equal distances from an ants' nest, and equally maintained throughout the experiment, the ants do not do the "rational" thing which would be to visit each pile equally often. Ants communicate about food sources and influence each other's behaviour. For a time, most of the ants go in one direction — then there will be a behavioural swing and most will go to the other pile for a time. One of the things that drives the extremity of the swings is how often individual ants change their "minds": the less frequent the changes, the bigger the swings.

If we were to assume, for example, that ant-like Americans democratically change their minds about their ancestors only infrequently, then Omerod might lead us to expect extreme swings over very lengthy periods towards one set of Scottish attributes — then away. This would presumably imply a need to get good medium-term returns on any capital invested in servicing a particular choice, and encourage us to find ways of being in other places when the swing comes.

It also needs to be remembered that markets change. Our trading partner profile is bound to shift, decade by decade; global patterns of trade will not find stasis while, for example, China is still in a process of modernisation, climate change continues, the resources of Africa are not efficiently harvested, managed and marketed, science and technological development continues to accelerate, while some key resource industries (e.g. fishing) are over-capitalised and others are undercapitalised, transport systems are subject to technology-led change and fuel costs are bound to fluctuate... and so on. What sells today may not sell tomorrow. What has a small value today may have a high value tomorrow. If history provides a precedent to be trusted, then it is



safe to assume that Scotland's identity will be slower to change than the world's patterns of supply and demand.

All of this points to needs to do our utmost to extend, deepen, and diversify the ways in which Scotland is seen. Regardless of the strength of Omerod's position, and despite the informal nature of Vance's observations, there are good reasons to believe that, while our product statements can be as narrow and precise as we like, the way we represent ourselves culturally to the world can productively be as rich and extensive as we can make it.

IF WE look around Scotland with an eye to finding some less frequently used but distinctively Scottish imagery to help identify a product's "Scottishness", we quickly discover a wide range of obvious choices, most of them embodied in Scotland's considerable cultural diversity. Choosing which to use, however, and understanding its potency is difficult. It entails looking deeply into the culture to avoid risks irrelevance on the one hand and negative outcomes on the other: if a picture is worth a thousand words, a signifier is worth ten thousand, and they must be the right words for the purpose.

Examining culture in an information age is fraught with the ease with which one can lose track of the importance and complexity of ideas. Culture is not binary; it is not so much a case of 'this NOT that' as 'this BUT ALSO that'. A culture is not well understood from a collection of information; a culture is the collector of information. When we generate from a culture an assemblage of marketable products or services, however, we come under considerable pressure to concoct 'this NOT that' statements in the language of business plans. Such statements in relation to products, services and brands may be helpful where the identifier is working in a facilitative way, to increase the likelihood of a decision to purchase on a country-of-origin basis. However, if

an identifier is also working in an instrumental way — reinforcing or helping a customer to construct or revise a self identity, there is much to lose from narrowly conceived assertions. Marketing initiatives should not overlook the allure of ambiguity and oddity. To do so may be to draw a veil over some significant realities with implications for culture and commerce (although commerce can properly be thought of as an aspect of culture, as much as any other socially-based activity).

Unambiguous factual description is not an efficient way to satisfactorily capture the essence of a culture.<sup>50</sup> We need only look at some of the simplest images that seem to have widely identified Scotland around the world in the past. They present themselves Janus-like to the world, as dual-faced announcers of paradox: there is the thistle, a national flower that is also widely known as a prickly weed; there is the kilted Scot, a *macho* image of a man in what looks to many Western cultures like a woman's skirt (Scottish soldiers having been termed "Ladies from Hell" by First World War enemies); there are the bagpipes, musical instruments that many people find unmusical; there is tartan which singularly distinctive but comes in many hues. The blue and white saltire and the red rampant lion on a yellow field are both well known but could

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<sup>50</sup> This can be demonstrated with a mind game: that of trying to draft an cultural description of something from our own culture as simple as, say, a 'table'. In purely mechanistic terms, we can describe a generalised table, providing a set of variable measurements that would capture most of the things that might be called a 'table'. But to describe the same object in cultural terms is to embark on an endless journey: you are faced with explaining all of the cultural connotations of the idea of a 'table', historical and contemporary, from ideas and emotions attaching to activities as complex as offering hospitality to decision making, to the significance of commerce and community, there are communion tables and picnic tables, gaming tables, timetables and plane-tables, and then you would just be making a start in the face of rising choruses of criticism. Replace 'table' with an icon like 'Robert Burns' or 'whisky' — and in exploring its range of significances, uses and values, we will tax the processing capacity of the sort of computing power harnessed in other contexts to discovering the origins of the universe.

hardly look more different. Many Westerners think of haggis as almost totally inedible food, and it is debated whether salt or sugar should be put on porridge.

This sort of “Janus factor” crops up also where the formal and informally attributed national emblems of other countries have caught the imagination: the flightless, odd-shaped kiwi bird and the All Blacks that obviously aren’t all black; shoes made of wood; short trousers made of leather; Swiss Guards that aren’t in Switzerland; the oddball wallaby, platypus, kangaroo and koala; a wine that bubbles; the red maple leaf that escapes being understood as perpetual autumn; the stars and stripes... . In the whole of Belgium, apart from the European Parliament and chocolate, the best remembered image is probably that of the Manneken-Pis. In each case, there is something of the oddly familiar, the familiarly odd — this AND that, that AND this. How tower-like is the Eiffel Tower? Why is the tower at Pisa so well known, or the “streets” of Venice that are really canals? Fine wines and malt whiskies are attractive for the complexity and varieties of their flavour. Oddity and paradox seem to attract most people’s attention more than the straightforward fulfilment of expectations; neatly balanced ambiguity is in many contexts as attractive, and certainly as memorable, as uncompromising clarity. This appears to fly in the face of branding wisdom, which emphasises the predictability of product or service, but it really does not. The allure is the conundrum, the stimulus, the irresolution — and it is a very potent source of differentiation.

In presenting the richness of Scotland’s diversity and irresolution, we need to take cognisance of a number of factors, in particular:

- Old World-New World differences in cultural attitudes and understanding;
- The extent to which people within and furth of Scotland are being influenced in favour of, or against, the varied expressions of Scotland’s cultures;

- The vigour of cultural expressions and traditions that interact with prospective customers of all products identifying themselves as “Scottish” — and, of course, of the communities that support them;
- The extent to which Scotland can influence the diversified experiences of Scottishness that already exist and the ways in which Scotland can interact with sources of experiences of Scottishness that are located overseas;
- Attitudes within Scotland towards Scottish tradition, culture and commerce, along with issues of attitude formation.

These concerns have wider relevance than export and tourism marketing, of course, but needs clearly exist for commerce and whatever may be deemed “culture” to be integrated more coherently. Commerce and culture are not natural, necessary enemies; the one begets the other, they can — and should — be mutually enriching.

From within, a culture appears simple: it’s what we do every day. At this level, all of the products of cultural activity can be considered commodities or potential commodities. All have a potential or realised value that can be expressed in whatever terms one wishes to apply: a spiritual value, a social value, an intellectual value, the realisation of some concept of excellence, a monetary value. The appropriate value is determined by the nature of the discourse. When a publisher produces a book, for example, it will have literary, intellectual and spiritual values. It will also have a monetary value: basically and in simple terms this can be thought of as the price printed on the dust jacket or cover multiplied by the number of copies sold. The establishment of one value has implications for the establishment of other values but they can be discussed separately: the intellectual value of a piece of writing may well help to get it published. But it is sales that will determine the monetary value, and the print run will depend on a commercial assessment of the market. A

book's monetary value is essential to its being published — it is the means by which the other values can be realised and achieved.

Similarly, a painter or sculptor needs to see a finished work sell now and then; an actor or film-maker needs a paying audience; an academic needs students. There is an economy of formalised 'culture'. And there is culture in the anthropological sense which embraces the whole of human activity within a given society or grouping. In all sorts of ways, and without being monetarist about it, the 'commodification' of culture is the way a culture finds its existence, the way it functions: culture can be seen, in fact if not exclusively, as interaction and transaction.

Whole disciplines are clearly seen fitting into this picture. In the so-called "arts and humanities" (which, of course, do not conform to defining boundaries as simply as the labels might imply), historical and social research, for example, informs artists and popularisers who, in turn, shift people's thinking about their society and themselves and, consequently, the way they present their society. The monetary values here can be found expressed across a sweeping range of activities from entertainment industries, export and tourism marketing, to product development and design.

But, because culture is what we 'do' many of the products of the 'arts and humanities' are inclined to drift into what is thought of as the public domain where anybody can fasten onto a single aspect and turn it to commercial gain — finder's keeper's — as if it was an interesting stone on the shore. Integration is lost and something that was already a manufactured commodity (in the sense of being made by human hands and minds) becomes a detached object. Detached, it can be manipulated in ways that harm its survival. There are no affixed labels that say: "to retain freshness roll down bag and lock pack

flaps after use.”<sup>51</sup> We get much more practical help in prolonging the freshness of our corn flakes than in preserving the freshness of a fiddle tune, painting, historical insight or poem. It is easy for corn flakes. Corn flakes inhabit a largely information-based commercial reality. However, while the cultural, nutritional, aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual values of corn flakes may be discernible, cornflakes are not their source. Their source lies in the culture that consumes cornflakes. Even cornflakes are a cultural product. Most of our manufactured products are, in the sense that a culture creates and defines their market and defines their essential characteristics. The part played by culture can sometimes be general, or it may be linked with a particular conduit back into the culture. Where such conduits exist, it is possible to start identifying and estimating monetary values. To choose an easy example, King Robert I (thanks to Barbour and generations of scholarly historians and popularisers) has an ongoing realised monetary value that is expressed through such things as the receipts at the Bannockburn centre and other places associated with him, and the earnings of books about him that are currently on the market. There are also receipts — impossible to quantify precisely — in relation to wider tourism spending relating to the extent that the Bruce’s accomplishments contribute to tourist interest in Scotland. Robert Burns’ realised monetary value would have to include, as well as income from the Burns sites in the south west and published collections of his works, a royalties equivalent where recordings of his songs are being sold by various performing artists.

The need to see that culture embraces commerce, and commerce embraces culture, is rooted in the need to bring the various values of Scotland’s wide cultural attributes into clearer focus. Without some greater appreciation of this relationship, the “commercialisation of culture” has tended to mean

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<sup>51</sup> Tesco Corn Flakes package, October 1998.

disintegration rather than integration, where products and their cultural sources are swiftly separated. A manufacturing company that treated its raw material resources with comparable indifference, and which knew so little about its raw materials, would certainly fail.

If we allow a temporary redefinition of terms, the problem is, of course, that “culture” (thought of as the expression of social experience) is too readily seen as something other than “community” (the context and processes of social experience), and other than “commerce” (a means to provide for the material maintenance of individuals and groups within society). But a community without culture and commerce is no community at all, culture thrives where community and commerce thrive. Commerce depends on — and is even defined by — community and culture. The three elements are mutually interdependent. It is in integrating the ways that expressions of social experience are understood, that their value becomes clear and more open to appreciation (and sustainable exploitation) as a resource that has a full repertoire of values.

In August 1997, the *Herald* published an article by Carlos Alba that was prompted by a perception of the poor health of popular historical awareness in Scotland. The headline was “Fears over hijacked heritage”. Alba wrote that historian Tom Devine feared Scotland was becoming a ‘cultural theme park’ and its past reduced to the history of *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*. Devine saw Hollywood rewriting history to make it more appealing to U.S. audiences and the tourism industry promoting “a narrow view of Scotland's past”.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Alba, Carlos. “Fears over hijacked heritage” (*The Herald*, 14 August 1997). p. 17.

Posted on the Highland Research Network 'postings' webpage<sup>53</sup> shortly after the *Herald* article was a reply from John Ellis at Boston College in the United States, interesting for its trans-Atlantic point of view:

By defining historical myth as something separate from and even detrimental to 'real' Scottish history the scholars seem to imply that the only interest a serious historian should take in such popular images is to debunk them. Such a view grossly minimizes the historical significance of how nations and peoples have been imagined by themselves and others, and how these images have been contested and changed over time. ... I would argue for a more complex relationship between the historian, history and historical myth than the simple dichotomy which the idea of 'highjacked heritage' (sic) seems to imply. Certainly, the historian should point out the flaws, fabrications and fantasy inherent in popular views of history, but this should be done with a sensitivity towards and understanding of the historical importance, power and utility which such images have had in the past and continue to have in the present.<sup>54</sup>

Time and time again, the New Worlder seems to be saying, "lighten up"; the Old Worlder's response is, just as predictably: "it isn't quite that simple". But, in the New World, an identity crisis usually means a burning need to find an identity (or choose one); identity is a personal and emotional issue. As David Lowenthal observed:

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<sup>53</sup> The Highland Research Network is a moderated discussion list relating to research on the Scottish Highlands and Islands. The list moderator is Fraser Macdonald of the School of Geography at the University of Oxford. Its membership was at that time about one quarter American, with a fifth from England, Ireland and Wales and small Australian, Canadian and Continental European representation. The remaining half or so were Scottish-based. The project is hosted by Linacre College, Oxford, at: <http://www.linacre.ox.ac.uk/highland>

<sup>54</sup> Ellis, John. Highland Research Network. <http://www.linacre.ox.ac.uk/highland> (18 August, 1997).



Americans especially yearn for the intensity of minority roots — the more ethnic the more desirable. ‘I would like to be a member of a group ... where there is some meat to the culture, ... like on an American Indian reservation, or a gypsy encampment, or an Italian neighbourhood,’ says a Philadelphian ... ; of her own ethnic roots, she would opt for ‘whichever one is richest’.<sup>55</sup>

In the Old World, on the other hand, an identity crisis more usually means the intellectual and political reinterpretation of an old identity in response to a rapidly changing world. First and foremost, Scotland’s identity crisis has been a political and intellectual debate arising largely from its new constitutional position. It is, for example, for this sort of reason that Duncan’s of Scotland, Lanarkshire, found little American interest in their “Independence” chocolate bars. Jeremy Salvesson, the company’s chief executive, told *The Scotsman* that most retailers in the United States were not aware of “Scotland’s march towards independence”. Instead, Americans went for the novelty of a chocolate bar flavoured with toffee and banana.<sup>56</sup>

WITHIN Scotland, there is a challenge to sometimes try to see ourselves as others see us. Said Cathy Hurst of the Consulate General of the U.S. in Edinburgh:

I’ve never heard anybody anywhere in the world — except in Scotland — describe the tartan and the bagpiper and the shortbread tin and all those things in any kind of negative sense. It’s only in Scotland people think that’s twee. I think that any country would do anything they could to have the image of quality that Scotland has. I mean all these things ... the castles, the wool, music, arts,

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<sup>55</sup> Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge University, 1998) p. 82.

<sup>56</sup> Aiken, Jonathan. “Why Scottish ice cubes could soon be hot in America” (*The Scotsman*, 28 January 1999). p. 14.

the Edinburgh Festival, even little Greyfriars Bobby, all of these things and beings convey a sense of quality, of loyalty, of craftsmanship, durability, a history thing and also a kind of emotional attachment. I mean the idea, the Scots are seen as a very patriotic people and any other country would give their right arm to have something so recognisable and identifiable in terms of quality. If you're selling your product abroad, sell the product because it's got tartan on it or because it's got a picture of a castle on it, what do you care as long as you've sold your product. I personally think people would rather buy a bottle of mineral water with a picture of a castle than they would a housing estate. If people are so gung ho to make that everyone thinks that Scotland is so incredibly modern, if modern, if there's nothing special about modernness then why sell it. If there's something unbelievably interestingly unique about your modernness then, yes, by all means sell it. But to be modern for the sake of being modern ... I mean there's a lot of European countries that a pushing headlong into trying to look the same and everybody else, it's a mistake<sup>57</sup>

Within Scotland, John Hutchison, director of the Edinburgh-based photo library, Still Moving Picture Company, said he had no patience with modernisers wanting to compromise old icons:

I think that's completely the wrong way of looking at the country. You can't image New York without the Statue of Liberty, you can't imagine Sydney without the Harbour Bridge and the Opera House. It is the one-second flash that says, this is New York, this is Sydney. The kilt is a one-second flash that says 'this is Scotland'. If you've only got one second to establish the national identity of Scotland, there is no point in showing a picture of East Kilbride. It may be a more accurate reflection to people in Scotland of what Scotland is, in that more people go through east Kilbride than wear a kilt every day. But, in terms of international recognition, you get no points for a picture of East Kilbride. It's the same with one-second music: you need one second of pipe

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<sup>57</sup> Cathy Hurst. Interview, 1 December, 1998.

music. It's naive to think that you can put across an image of Scotland without having some elements of tartan and bagpipes. That doesn't mean to say you ladle it on with a shovel, it doesn't mean you have to do it in a nasty kitschy sort of way.

There are good ways and there are bad ways of portraying tartan, haggis, kilts and whatever, and our job is to put across an image that is recognisable to the customer, but also which is not embarrassing and is not negative to the country. It is a balance.<sup>58</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

SCOTLAND has some potent iconic identifiers, fraught with meanings ascribed to them by the constituencies they have attracted, typically over a period of several centuries. These meanings accompany the high recognitions they command and an icon's utility needs to be evaluated with these meanings in mind. Towards making such an evaluation, the concept of "signal value" appears to be helpful.

Scotland may be rich in icons but is characterised by diversity. In presenting diversity, a consistent concern must be quality. But diversity carries with it a wealth of opportunities for culture-based branding. A conceptual difficulty may reside in reconciling cultural expressions with what are essentially business interests. Culture has too frequently identified in rudimentary ways, reduced to iconographic stereotypes. Relationships between business and "culture" have often been conceived and expressed in sponsorship of the "arts" by businesses: a modern expression of the centuries-old patronage by the wealthy of art that in some way is deemed worthy. As a result, sponsorship is most forthcoming for what are accepted as being either "high culture" — or very broadly popular (as in the case of Tennents' T-in-the-Park concerts). This approach has not

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<sup>58</sup> Hutchison, John. Interview, 23 February, 1999.

necessarily promoted cross-cultural communication or facilitated differentiation for Scotland, either of which might be expected to widen feedback loops.

Rather, relationships are required in which the commercial value of culture is recognised and the creative capacity of business respected: partnerships based on mutual respect. Arts & Business, established in 1976, is an organisation that seeks to help British businesses into “more constructive and creative relationships with the arts” and helps the arts to benefit from the professional skills and financial support of the corporate sector. On 15 October 1997, it launched a new initiative — the Creative Forum for Culture and the Economy — at a performance and dinner hosted by its patron, Prince Charles, Prince of Wales and Duke of Rothesay, at Buckingham Palace. Prince Charles gave his dinner guests a frosty view of business attitudes towards the arts.

The original idea for the Creative Forum came from a discussion that I had with Colin Tweedy, Arts & Business's director general, about the future relationship between business and the Arts and what Arts & Business's role should be, as it celebrated its twenty-first anniversary and looked towards the Millennium. In reply to a question from me about the health of Arts sponsorship in this country, Colin Tweedy surprised me by saying that it was becoming increasingly difficult not only to keep existing businesses involved in the Arts, but also to interest the new, often younger generation of business leaders. The recession had not only decimated many companies, layers of management and workforces had also lost their jobs. Companies that had survived virtually laughed in Colin's face when he dared mention the Arts. Many could point to the Lottery and say 'well you don't need our money now'. Others would say 'we've done the Arts and anyway they are elitist, irrelevant and of no interest to our employees'. Another

excuse was 'our shareholders don't want us to waste our money'.<sup>59</sup>

Recipients of sponsorship through Arts & Business have tended to represent "high culture": the Scottish examples cited at the Arts & Business website include Tesco's support for the Scottish National Orchestra and The Royal Bank of Scotland's sponsorships of the Edinburgh International Festival, Friends of Royal Scottish Academy, the Glasgow Museums, the Highland Festival, the National Galleries of Scotland. A slightly different situation is MJ Business Services' support for the Celtic Film and Television Festival. (Morag McDonach is an independent business and financial consultant.)<sup>60</sup>

There is, however, a deeper, richer way of approaching commercial-cultural relationships that indeed is very nearly recognised by Arts & Business:

... ever increasing numbers of brands entering mature markets give consumers more choice but make it harder to differentiate one brand from another. ... Many marketers are convinced that the way forward is to build a relationship with their current and potential customers based on shared values and emotions. It is not a great leap to take to appreciate that the arts can have a role in this increasingly sophisticated market. ... The arts, after all, are the way in which we communicate most powerfully our emotions, beliefs, and values — precisely the attributes marketers are seeking for their brands. <sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Windsor, HRH Prince Charles, Prince of Wales and Duke of Rothesay *Speech (abridged) at launch of The Creative Forum for Culture & the Economy*, Buckingham Palace, 15 October 1997. (Arts & Business) <http://www.aandb.org.uk/html/cf/forum> (19 September, 2000).

<sup>60</sup> Arts and Business. <http://www.absa.org.uk/absa/cgi-bin/study.cgi?what=list&which=sorted&how=bus> (19 September, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> Arts & Business. <http://www.aandb.org.uk/html/cf/relationship.html> (19 September, 2000).

IF WE conceive of things a little differently — replacing the idea of “arts” as something “worthy” with the idea of “culture” as the “programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another”<sup>62</sup> — we arrive at a yet richer, more utilitarian and more positively differentiating resource than the “arts” (understood as agents of improvement or edification — Hofstede’s “culture one”)<sup>63</sup>. We are also able to infiltrate some real people back into the stereotypes of Scotland. This would be to widen, rather than to narrow the focus, and sacrifice the consolations we might hope for in a degree of conformity and consistency that has never yet been Scotland’s lot. Narrowing the focus or rearranging the boundaries may be tempting<sup>64</sup>, but more is likely to be lost than gained.

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<sup>62</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre, as cited and translated by Hofstede, Geert. in *Cultures and organisations — intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> Hofstede defines ‘culture one’ as: “The training or refining of the mind; civilisation.”

— Hofstede, Geert. *Cultures and organisations — intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival* (Harper Collins, 1994). p. 260. Also p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> The authors of Scotland’s national cultural strategy document, for example, somewhat unhelpfully placed their own, unscholarly and muddled definition of “culture” that includes natural landscape, sport, religion (but not worship), leisure and “ideas”, but appears to exclude such fruits of human creativity as food preparation, technology and invention, family and political structures (e.g. clanship), etc, and which does not quite let go of the idea that “culture” should somehow be improving:

This strategy ... takes a broad view of Scotland’s culture. It includes ideas, customs and traditions, beliefs, habits of thinking, religions, languages, identities, mythologies and histories, and the expression of these in myriad forms such as poetry and prose, visual arts, music, song, theatre, comedy, dance, architecture, design, costume, film, photography and a range of crafts. It is represented in the natural and historical landscape; archaeology; buildings; museum, gallery and library collections; archives and records; and shared memories and experiences. It includes aspects of lifestyle, such as sport and leisure. We can participate in Scotland’s culture almost anywhere: in museums, theatres, schools, colleges,

PEOPLE in our target markets are always going to make up their own minds about Scotland. We can put more in front of them, but they will choose what parts of it they will bother attending to. That is not to say that Scotland has no inputs, no control. But it does establish some procedural guidelines. The first and clearest need is to identify and assess the actual sources of definitional experiences of Scottishness in target markets. We do not need to establish any kind of singular, coherent Scottish conformity in order to have a vibrant identity. Indications (from other chapters) are that some old icons may reveal dimensions that have yet to be explored for marketing purposes. Wherever possible, we should seek to work positively through these sources.

A 1990 study found that consumers' evaluations of products were most strongly influenced by country-of-origin information when that information was provided separately from and earlier than the product attribute descriptions.<sup>65</sup> Given the level of popular international interest in Scotland, the

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streets, galleries, libraries, churches, cinemas, sports grounds, workplaces, local halls, pubs, and in our homes. Not only have new technologies dramatically widened global access to Scotland's culture, but they have also widened our understanding of what that culture is.

Further on, the same document finds difficulty with its own definition, stating, for example that

Scottish culture and heritage show our creativity in many diverse fields, including science and its technological applications...

and referring for example to:

Arts, sport and culture...

as separate entities.

— Scottish Executive. *Creating our future, Minding our past: Scotland's national cultural strategy* (Scottish Executive, August, 2000).

<sup>65</sup> Hong, Sung-Tai and Wyer, Robert S. jr., "Determinants of Product Evaluation: Effects of Time Interval between Knowledge of a Product's Country of Origin and Information About its Specific

market for associated products and the ways in which the market is currently served, an information gap has existed for some time. Modern information technology makes it easier to begin filling this gap, and Scotland's need for a very greatly improved internet presence is considerable. Also, there has undoubtedly been an opportunity, for some time, for a quality international Scottish magazine covering current affairs in Scotland, geographic and tourism interest stories, business and trade, research, natural history and heritage, but no such initiative has arisen. All that's needed are investors with imagination and an editor with vision.

Enriching the awareness and broadening the views of Scotland that already exist overseas will require the enlistment of cultural sources and cultural practitioners in those target markets and well as at home. There are numerous opportunities for productive international partnerships to be established..

Commercial and cultural resolutions are possible by developing strategies that integrate commercial needs for strong Scottish identification with culture-based initiatives that enrich, shift and develop the views that are already held. Again and again, the need seems to be to identify the values at play and chart routes for healthy integration, within Scotland and between Scotland and her target markets. To achieve this, Scotland will need a new interface. It will need to develop and facilitate new infrastructures of communication and research, and opportunities for negotiation between cultural and commercial interests.

The aims of communication, research and negotiations would need to include:

- marrying essential product values with cultural values, in Scotland and in the target market.



- identifying the most effective ways to communicate these values.
- forming partnerships involving the exporter and the cultural practitioners in Scotland who are best placed to communicate the key values.
- drafting a strategy to implement that communication.
- identifying opportunities to reinvigorate existing icons and generate new iconographies, with clear benefits to the sources and or proprietors of the icons that are used and adopted

An early step would appear to be to identify activities in Scotland that Scots do uniquely and well, and do what is possible to promote the security of these activities. It would benefit Scottish interests widely to then market these activities into target markets on the bases of their uniqueness and high value. Thus it might be found, for example, that boosting the marketing capability of one or two poorly resourced sectors, such the recording and publishing industries, would produce benefits for wider export interests. (Scotland has no effectively co-ordinated marketing strategy or sufficiently resourced system to market recordings and books internationally, despite the potential earnings from these sources.)

The subsequent step would be to identify opportunities to add value to less unique products by identifying them with the high quality unique products/activities, and develop appropriate relationships between the two interests. It would undoubtedly be helpful to explore opportunities to involve Scottish cultural practitioners located in target markets (particularly in the New World) who provide definitional experiences of "Scottishness" locally, assisting them to develop their activities in ways that express and facilitate the relationships that are being developed.

## 9. CONCLUSIONS

AT the end of the 20th century, many influential Scots were feeling considerable pressure to articulate a new sense of identity, one that would establish a Scotland of the mind as a coherent entity: clear, distinct and unique. Much of this pressure originated as a result of moves towards and then realisation of a devolved status within the United Kingdom. Thwarting consensus, however, was the fact that, as Gavin Sprott told *The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention* in 1999: “if you are talking about ‘ethnic’ character, the reality is that Scotland is a land of regions.”<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Russel Griggs was telling the same conference that a set of values could be identified which, together, would establish a “collective image” and a value-adding branding for Scotland — tenacity, integrity, inventiveness and spirit — and we “should do nothing to harm them or reduce their positive impact”<sup>2</sup>, as if these values would potentially differentiate Scotland from all of those countries that boasted contrary values.

All along, of course, Scotland has long had various international “identities” of its own and nothing said in Scotland is about to change them. While these externally generated identities have some attributes in common, they also

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<sup>1</sup> Sprott, Gavin. “Jock Tamson’s bairns” in: Fladmark, J. M. (ed.) *Heritage and museums, shaping national identity: papers presented at The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1999* (Donhead, 2000). p. 103-114.

<sup>2</sup> Griggs, Russel. “Scotland in a new light, towards a collective national image” in: Fladmark, J. M. (ed.) *Heritage and museums, shaping national identity: papers presented at The Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1999* (Donhead, 2000). p. 229-242.

display important differences that set them apart, one from the other. These international identities are constructs that have been formed over time, and continue to be mediated, even shaped, by forces over which Scots have very little direct control or influence. They exist in the minds of others upon whom Scots and Scotland have somehow impinged and derive from perspectives shaped by others' cultures and experiences. In this context, it is doubtful whether there is any need whatsoever for Scots to vex each other with attempts to define Scottishness: other people will make their own minds up on the basis of their own interpretation of information and experiences that come from sources that they have chosen. Indications are that local networks may well prove potent shapers of attitudes.<sup>3</sup> These networks in turn undoubtedly have their sources of information, experience and attitude formation which may also elude management from within Scotland: films, television, performing arts, mentions in world news, books in translation (frequently works from the past by such authors as Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns), the activities of expatriate and descendant communities and the elaboration of a few widely identified icons or images, all received and processed through various cultural filters. It may well be the case that many of Scotland's attempts to shape its international identity in fact do little more than remind people of their own experiences and stereotypes of "Scottishness". Scotland's identity, in international contexts, is conferred, and we perhaps most clearly say "Scotland" when we emphasise Scotland's particularities and diversity.

None of this is to say that Scotland is powerless to influence the way it is appreciated in a target market. It is, rather, to point out that influences will be

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<sup>3</sup> MORI. *Through other eyes 2 – How the world sees the United Kingdom: The findings of a second round of research into attitudes of young professionals and postgraduate students in seventeen countries carried out by MORI on behalf of the British Council* (British Council).

[http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec\\_society](http://www.britcoun.org/work/survey/sec_society) (8 October 2000). p. 62.

indirect, and more effective where they are presented as appealing premises rather than conclusions, as enticing experiences rather than statements, and where they are directed towards people who are most likely to influence other people. Possessing desirable traits is not enough; Scottish products and experiences must themselves be desired. Scotland must communicate in particularities: we need to map and work through the networks of attitude formation, engaging with particular values in our target markets. If, for example, books are found to be an important source of experiences of Scottishness in a particular target market, and the people who read them influence the attitudes of friends and acquaintances, then serious attempts should be made to interest people in that particular market in a broader range of Scottish books. Connections need to be made, through narrative and association, with other products and other arts. This will call for research, patience and investment. If local media are an influence, then local media need to be given opportunities to “discover” Scottish activities to broadcast or write about. Arts and cultural touring, the celebration of historical links, the local application of Scottish ideas and technology and the application in Scotland of ideas and technology from the target market... these are the sorts of initiative that stand to win newspaper space and radio and television time. Again, research, patience and investment will be required. Tourism jaunts for overseas travel journalists may well be helpful, but the visit is usually brief and the focus, narrow. A visit may produce several illustrated stories over a brief period — and clipping service returns facilitate accountability reporting. But better real returns may accrue from supplementing this activity with awards of short-term study scholarships to people who are activists in Scottish expatriate and descendant communities overseas, and helping to ensure that such groups are better informed and networked. It could well be productive, for example, to help provide Scottish-topic summer school teachers, to publish a magazine that

meets the interests of Scottish expatriates and descendants while extending their knowledge of modern Scotland, to provide a high quality Scottish-interest website with contacts for involvement (by way of education, social activity, event attendance, clan membership, family research and recipes, as well as providing information about current affairs, regional issues and diversity, competitions, etc), and not only for shopping and tourism. Tourism is a widening concept, not unrelated to the recruitment of overseas students to Scottish universities and other specialist visiting. Every opportunity to broaden the concept of what "tourism" is, or can be, should be explored and this will require that people be allowed back into the posters, brochures and photography books. Scotland may need to actively market images involving diversities of people; it is important because, without people, even our cities are landscape. And it is people who constitute a nation, a culture, an identity.

The reintroduction of real, living, contemporary people to representations of Scotland is an imperative that requires the admission of culture and the display of regional diversity.<sup>4</sup> This stands, more than anything, to enable people in target markets to imagine that Scots may also possess a diversity of skills, including biotechnology, banking, medicine, computing and high technology engineering. There is no need for one quality to exclude others: the future can excite us because we know our past and are aware of our diversity. It is not asking people to suspend their critical faculties to claim that the richness of our

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<sup>4</sup> An (English) example of the efficacy of regional identity was the 1980, £700,000 television campaign of Bernard Matthews' turkey business. The advertisements featured Matthews himself in tan tweeds speaking in a distinctive Norfolk accent: "bootiful, really, really bootiful." He told *Scotland on Sunday* in 2001: "We took a big risk... but we went from selling £20,000-£30,000 of our turkey roasts each week to selling £2 million worth. We had created a £100m brand overnight ... 'bootiful' - it made me a fortune."

— Matthews, Bernard. "Soaring rise of a turkey millionaire" (*Business on Sunday Forum* in *Scotland on Sunday*, 18 February, 2001). p. 9.

landscape, history and current diversity is what fires our creativity and imaginations, and gives us the confidence to rise to challenges.

THERE are important implications here for export marketing initiatives, and exciting opportunities for product-specific branding based on Scottishness. For these opportunities to be taken up, much closer liaison is needed between Scotland's cultural, scholarly and commercial sectors. Together, these sectors have the potential to work in mutually beneficial ways to facilitate the establishment of low-medium cost, company-specific brands to add value to products in particular target markets while enhancing Scotland's wider identity.

An objective here should be to widen definitional experiences of Scottishness, freshen understandings, open new channels of interest and provide new opportunities for positive stereotype formation or shift. In this, "culture of origin" is a far more helpful concept than "country of origin". The culture that is presented needs to be living, vivid and differentiating. It needs to be presented with pride, confidence and to a high standard; signal values are important.<sup>5</sup>

Branding should call on such expressions of culture to construct a coherent statement of product values: sounds, images, crafts and artefacts should be integrated into a branding package. The resource that is required for this to

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<sup>5</sup> Critical elements of "signal value" were identified (in *Chapter 1: Introduction*) as: having the capacity to reinforce, enhance or extend the core values of a particular market interest and add value; providing opportunities to open, extend or enhance ongoing interactive engagement with target customers ... and encourage participative responses; being capable of a diversity of expressions and representations according to time and context; having some realised or potential internationally portable core components (e.g. performance elements, touring exhibits, overseas branch activities and/or involvements); having identifiable infrastructures to help identify appropriate expertise. and with which businesslike arrangements can be entered into.

See: *Chapter 1: Introduction*.

become possible is a bank of suitable material: performing and visual artists, craftspeople, copyright holders and others will need to enter into contractual agreements for the use in particular contexts of particular works for particular periods, with an assurance that their works will not be abused or misused. As well as payment for the use of art works, contractual terms could include performance opportunities, marketing assistance, exhibitions of work, etc., in the target market: artists and exporters would need to approach target markets as partners, not as client and patron, and branding exercises would need to be mutually advantageous. In an ideal partnership, the exporter would benefit from the creative association, the artist would benefit from the business association, and Scotland would benefit from the resulting identity enhancement.

The identification and formation of appropriate partnerships would require:

- a. the development of a database of cultural practitioners and copyright holders who were willing to consider such partnerships;
- b. a capacity to undertake research in the target market to ensure that the appropriate values were effectively communicated.

A focal point and co-ordinating function would need to be provided. There is an academic function here, and a need for academic resources, especially in the areas of social and cultural research, and international networks of interest.

SUCH needs point to the desirability of:

1. Establishing a dedicated unit to provide a three-way interface — cultural practitioners and copyright holders, commercial/exporter interests, scholarly resources. It should have as its roles:

- a. encouraging each of the groups to enter into marketing relationships in mutually beneficial ways;
- b. providing a meeting place for partnership formation;
- c. drafting research briefs and ensuring the quality of research undertaken;
- d. building an information resource, including a database of cultural resources, target market characteristics and other research outcomes.
- e. commissioning social research of general relevance to Scotland's international trade, and making this generally available.
- f. undertaking, resourcing or encouraging IT and publishing initiatives to improve information provision to target markets;
- g. forming links, through exchanges, scholarships, the provision of resource people, etc, with groups and individuals who are identified as having significant roles in the provision of definitional experiences of Scottishness in target markets overseas.

The primary service provision would be to smaller and medium-sized businesses wanting to enter a market or markets overseas with a unique, strongly differentiating but clearly Scottish brand identity. None of the benefits of "Scottishness" would be lost, but branding would be specific, contemporary and in line with the particular product values the client wished to communicate. Cultural practitioners and regions would also benefit, from direct income and by exposure to new audiences. Participating universities would benefit from research contracts in the areas of the arts and humanities. Scotland would benefit as branding impact compounded branding impact in a particular target market. Diversity would only enlarge ideas held about Scotland. Business clients would have access to powerful branding tools at reasonable cost. Such



an initiative could function in a way similar to a photo library. Clients would be given research help to construct an appropriate individual brand identity from a range of Scottish cultural offerings, for which usage fees would be paid to the cultural practitioner or copyright holder. Clients would receive a unique Scottish-based branding, congenial to the culture of the target market target. They would benefit from the added value accompanying "Scottishness" while being able to express product-specific core values and achieve differentiation from competitors. The result would be a low cost but effective branding. As the strategy proceeded, Scotland would build up a valuable resource base of information about target markets, and benefit from its raised profile in those markets. Significant general benefits would accrue. A strategy along these lines, involving new networks of consultation in Scotland and overseas, might not take the piper off the shortbread tin — it may be that there is no need to — but it could ensure that the images had clarity, relevance and the power of authenticity. It would also transfer recognition and income to the sources of cultural inputs: the individuals and the regions.

2. There is an accompanying need to take fresh, positive definitional experiences of Scottishness right into the midst of target markets, wherever possible. Alongside the formation of this cultural branding initiative, in a large postmodern European city (and subsequently elsewhere), should be located a large retail/wholesale/service business that presents Scotland's products (modern traditional, crafted and manufactured) according to region, and in their own contexts. Quality would be a paramount essential value. The business should include a performance venue, lecture theatre and studio cinema, and a restaurant. A programme of activities and services, including workshops and tuition, would be developed, and regular events scheduled to attract local news coverage and provide a constantly fresh experience. Visual and performing arts, manufactured and crafted goods and activities would all be Scottish. As

well as functioning as a shop, education and entertainment centre, travel booking office and information centre, this business would help to identify local agents for Scottish producers and devolve distributorships to local business. It could also help to monitor agents' performance and provide incentives and awards for hard working local agents. This centre would sell goods and foodstuffs, and the restaurant would offer catering services. The object would be to maximise local experiences of Scottishness in all of its best aspects, and bring producers and consumers into closer relationships. A part of this would be to maintain a locally-based interactive website in the local language, and a media relations office. An aspect of such a development would be its capacity to expose artists working in remoter parts of Scotland to more affluent, cosmopolitan markets. The knowledge that price ceilings could be expected to rise would encourage such artists to be more ambitious and pursue higher standards in their creations: something that would be satisfying for them, as well as making a contribution towards Scotland's export earnings and adding value to other products. Informal discussions with a number of small craftspeople, artists and small-scale manufacturers at events such as Scottish International Trade Fairs suggest that, where turnovers are limited, establishing markets and developing an export base are difficult challenges; few avenues of immediate assistance are available and website successes are exceptions rather than the rule. Receiving orders and marketing help from such a store would greatly facilitate their growth and development.

It is envisaged that these paired initiatives (1. & 2.) could provide models for a strategy that could well be adopted and adapted by any culture or national cluster of cultures with a neutral or positive existing image in its target markets to boost exports.

3. Accompanying such an approach, is a need for healthy cultural maintenance policies in Scotland as an aspect of export marketing investment and economic development. The launch of a National Cultural Strategy in 2000 established the basis and a number of precedents for this.<sup>6</sup> Such public policies might lead to the identification of needs to step up funding for social research along with the history and traditional arts curricula in schools, promoting greater environmental awareness, a greater public commitment to supporting traditional arts, helping to establish effective marketing mechanisms for unique Scottish products such as literature, recorded music, foods, textiles, performing and visual arts, etc., and encouraging specialists in the arts, humanities and 'cultural' domains — areas often seen as having marginal commercial significance — to become engaged with the wider commercial application of their work.

4. There are areas of activity — especially in publishing, music and musical instruments, and Scottish-interest product lines including selected foods, CDs and CD-ROMs, Highland wear, crafts, etc — that would benefit from the establishment of a one-stop export warehouse for overseas buyers from mainly Scottish-interest niche market retailers. This could be a role taken up by a retailing and marketing initiative.

ONE very important variable to remember is the quality of the product. Say Sak Onkvist and John Shaw:

Because consumers continuously merge product information with country image, quality control is necessary. The industry association and the government should establish quality standards and provide such incentives as tax benefits and subsidies to

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<sup>6</sup> Scottish Executive. *Creating our future... minding our past* (Scottish Executive, 2000).

exporters who meet the standards, while penalising those who do not by imposing export taxes or withholding export licences.<sup>7</sup>

Not only that: new product development is essential and perhaps one of the best ways to modernise and enhance Scotland's international image. Here, Scotland must encourage much more forthcoming sources of venture capital for new and emerging Scottish export products. Where public money is concerned, fewer incentives to multinational companies seeking cheap skilled labour and quality infrastructures, and greater support for innovation by Scottish companies would appear desirable. Scottish companies may be smaller for the most part, but smaller companies do not necessarily employ fewer people per pound invested, produce smaller returns on capital, or use fewer Scottish inputs.

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<sup>7</sup> Onkvist, Sak, and Shaw, John H. *International Marketing — Analysis and Strategy (Second Edition)* (Prentice-Hall, 1993), p. 334.

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**P 2. Reports (commissioned, regular and statutory)**

**P 3. Internet**

**P 4. Television**

**P 5. Other.**

**P 6. Interviews**

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