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Visit which Scotland? Political Events Illuminating Two Competing Visions of re-emerging Scottish Identity since the late Twentieth-century

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Visit which Scotland?

Political Events Illuminating Two Competing Visions of Re-Emerging Scottish
Identity Since the Late Twentieth-century.

by

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements of Senior Independent Study

Supervised by

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Department of History

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Abstract

Since the late twentieth century, Scotland has undergone a series of political changes. I argue that a consequence of these changes has been increased support for a separate national Scottish identity. By analyzing competing visions of this identity through the tourism industry and Gaelic revival, this IS shows the complexities of this move towards nationalism. While many scholars have analyzed the re-emergence of Scottish identity since 1707, the relationship between Gaelic revival efforts and the tourism industry have not been connected to show the complexities of this re-emerging Scottish identity. This IS draws on a vast array of interdisciplinary sources to place this topic into its historical context. Legislative acts, Parliamentary records, news articles, website archives, and other scholars provide evidence to show how the tourism industry and Gaelic activists are interacting with political events. This comparative analysis into the re-emergence of Scottish identity demonstrates how Scotland is understanding itself as a nation and the ways in which the country is presenting its distinct identity globally.

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Introduction

Since the late twentieth century, Scotland has undergone a series of dramatic political changes, the final result of which is anything but clear. From the re-establishment of a Scottish Parliament in 1999 to the Brexit vote in 2016, these changes have radically altered Scotland's political position in Britain and the wider world. As I will argue, one consequence of these changes has been increased support for a separate national Scottish identity, but even this is no simple affair as competing visions of this identity are being illuminated through political events. The re-emergence of a distinct Scottish identity has had multiple visions and interpretations that have clashed. This IS will address two groups that have differing visions, Scottish Gaelic revival activist and the tourism industry. Scottish Gaelic activists pushing for the revival and promotion of the language sought the increase and inclusion of Gaelic speakers as a marker of national identity while the tourism agency saw an increasingly international and global identity where Gaelic was a language of the past.

Perhaps nowhere are contradictions of modern claims of Scottishness so clear than in *Outlander*. Written by Diana Gabaldon, first published in 1991, *Outlander* is a show that aired in 2014 in the US that chronicles the fictional character Claire, a WWII nurse who travels back in time to 1743 Scotland. There, she experiences life as a Scot in the eighteenth century, living through major events in Scottish history such as the Battle of Culloden and its aftermath. *Outlander* has brought into popular culture ideas of Scottish identity from a tourist perspective. This includes increased visibility of Scottish Gaelic, a native language of Scotland since the ninth century, which is used in *Outlander* alongside English. While one might believe that popular shows such as Outlander would bring visibility to Scots Gaelic, I argue the opposite actually happened. While Gaelic is present in the show, it is used in the

context that portrays seventeenth-century Scotsmen rather than twentieth century Scotsmen. The tourism industry has seized on this portrayal and even offers tours designed to take tourists through the world of *Outlander*. Interestingly, these tour sites do not include Gaelic on their website, as evidenced by *Rabbies'* site that offers several types of *Outlander* tours.[1] These tours work in direct conflict with the goals of language activists by not even making Gaelic visible on their sites but working to portray ancient Highland culture. Gaelic activists were and still are at a disadvantage as their promotion of Gaelic as a living language remains the less popular and advertised vision of Scotland, losing out to the vision of Scotland that the tourism industry is promoting in which Gaelic is a part of the past or sometimes even non-existent in current tourist offerings.

The struggle Gaelic activists face today stems from the century's old domination of the English language in Scotland, particularly the Highlands, and its survival today remains an important issue of political identity in Scotland. A marker of culture and heritage is language, and for Scotland, it has only been a recent shift in attitudes that has attempted to re-establish Scottish Gaelic as a thriving living language of Scotland. As of now, on the UNESCO site, there are 577 languages listed as critically endangered and 228 languages listed as extinct since the 1950s.[2] Scots Gaelic falls under 'Definitely endangered' because, "children no longer learn the language as [the] mother tongue in the home."[3] With this classification, it is clear that Gaelic is on the brink of extinction if nothing changes. The stake for activists is losing a vital aspect of Scottish culture and heritage because once a language is declared extinct, the entirety of that language cannot be brought back.

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[1] "Outlander Tours," *rabbies.com*, Rabbies Trail Burners, Accessed March 12, 2021.
[2] Christopher Moseley (ed.), 2010, Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd edn. Paris, UNESCO Publishing.
[3] Ibid.

The history of Scots Gaelic has its roots in Irish Gaelic. Around 400 A.D., Irish settlers, originating from Dál Riata, a territory in Eastern Ireland, settled in Western Scotland, currently known as County Argyll.[4] As other Irishmen settled along the coasts of Scotland, England, and Wales, this specific group of settlers, were called "Scotti", originating from the Roman name given to those in the Highlands.[5] As the 'Scotti' settled in what is known as the Western Highlands, the Picts had previously been established in the East since before 200 A.D., as evidenced by Roman accounts of the Picts in various sources such as the attack along Hadrian's Wall.[6] By the ninth century, Pictish was extinct and Gaelic had replaced it as the language of the Scottish Highlands.[7] With little resistance in the Western Highlands, Irish settlers easily established communities and developed a new Scots Gaelic culture, thus distinguishing themselves from Irish Gaelic.

After a Scottish identity and culture was created in the Highlands since the ninth century, English language gradually moved into the Lowlands of Scotland from the south, accompanied by growing cultural pressures. By the Union of Crown in 1603, in which King James VI of Scotland also became King James I of England after Queen Elizabeth I's death, the English language dominated the Lowlands of Scotland, keeping Gaelic to the Highlands and Islands where English culture was not as integrated into society. Economically and socially, the Scots had more to gain from learning English than staying monolingual in Scots Gaelic due to English hegemony when King James VI/I became king of England. Despite English efforts to eliminate Scottish culture since the seventeenth century, Gaelic managed to survive. Teaching English in schools had already been implemented in many schools as early

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[4] Dean R Snow, "Scotland's Irish Origins," Archaeology 54, no. 4 (2001): 46.
[5] Ibid., 46.
[6] Ibid., 46.
[7] Ibid., 46.

as 1609 when the Statutes of Iona were passed under James VI/I. The statute, "introduced a number of measures designed to curb the 'barbaritie and incivilitie' of the Highlands… The clan system, Gaelic culture, and the Gaelic language were all being purposely eroded by a government that saw them as alien and subversive."[8] The statutes, however, did not eliminate Gaelic, as it was still the primary language of many Scottish Highlanders across classes, rather the statutes began the slow process of introducing English into the communities in the Highlands.

Especially in the Lowlands of Scotland, trade with merchants was conducted in English as that became the dominant language. As James VI/I worked to establish himself as the "King of Great Britain", England became his place of residence, the seat of government, and ultimately the hegemonic culture.[9] For Scotland, King James VI/I's move to England helped solidify England as the hegemonic culture over Scotland. As will be explored in chapter one of this IS, the power imbalance created with the James VI/I's relocation will be a motivation behind devolution for Scottish politicians.

After over a century of English domination and Scottish resistance, the Acts of Union in 1707 was created and Great Britain became a political and social entity. The factors that led to the Act of Union also affected Scots Gaelic greatly. English became the dominant language across Scotland, and children were being taught English over Gaelic in schools to further exert power over Scotland. Anti-Gaelic efforts accelerated after 1746 with the Scottish defeat at the Battle of Culloden. The Battle of Culloden took place in the Scottish

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[8] Anne Frater, "Clann and Clan: Children of the Gaelic Nobility, C.1500–c.1800," In *Children and Youth in Premodern Scotland*, edited by Nugent Janay and Ewan Elizabeth, 101-2.
[9] Andrew D. Nicholls, "King James VI/I and the Challenge of Anglo-Scottish Co-Operation," In Fleeting Empire: Early Stuart Britain and the Merchant Adventurers to Canada, 36-52. Montreal; Kingston; London; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010: 39.

Highlands near Inverness in 1746. When the Hanoverian rule began, the Stuarts were

deposed, leaving Prince Charles Edward Stuart to argue that his claim to the throne was

stronger than that of his Hanoverian cousins who were not Catholic.[10] Popularly known as

Bonnie Prince Charlie, he sought support in Scotland from Jacobites who got their name

from Bonnie Prince Charlie's father James Francis Edward Stuart, which in Latin is

Jacobus.[11] Scotland is the homeland of the Stuarts and where Bonnie Prince Charlie found

his support to raise an army to win the British throne. Prince Charles Edward Stuart is one of

the most significant figures at the Battle of Culloden for his role in instigating and uniting

Scottish Jacobite Highlanders to take up arms against the monarch.

At the Battle of Culloden, Prince Charles Edward Stuart alongside the Scottish

highlanders was defeated by Hanoverian King George II.[12] The battle marked a stark moment

of change both politically and socioeconomically for Highlanders.[13] Charles reached the

Outer Hebrides in July of 1745 and marched South, but realized in April of 1746 that his

army of 5,000 could not defeat the Hanoverian army of 9,000.[14] Charles fled to France in

September of 1746 after the battle,[15] leaving behind the Jacobite Highlanders to face the

English wrath. The Highlanders faced policies instituted by the British to curtail any further

Jacobite rebellion.[16] Introduced in 1747, the Act of Proscription, sought to erase Highlander

culture from Great Britain, thereby eliminating any threat to Hanoverian rule from the

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[10] "Charles Edward Stuart."
[11] Ibid.
[12] John R. Gold, and Margaret M. Gold, ""The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders": Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden," History and Memory 19, no. 1 (2007): 5.
[13] Ibid., 6.
[14] Ibid., 11.
[15] Ibid., 12.
[16] Ibid., 12.

Jacobites and the Stuarts.[17] This suppression of the Gaels began the clearing of the

Highlands. Those 'suspected' of being a Jacobite and therefore a rebel, lost their lands, and

were sometimes sent to different parts of the Empire. The English were interested in merging

the Highlands with the islands to bring the territory into the folds of the British Empire and

therefore use the land and resources.[18] Therefore, the excuse of ousting rebels from their land

became an easy explanation for the Clearances.

      After the Battle of Culloden, Scottish culture and therefore Scots Gaelic began to be

associated with barbarism, savagery, low class, and unruly resistance by Scots themselves.[19]

This change in ideals across Britain led to a growing number of Gaelic-speaking parents in

the eighteenth century believing that learning Gaelic as a primary language, "was at best

pointless and at worst a hindrance to their children's future economic prospects… This meant

that, even when the opportunity to learn in Gaelic existed, it was not fully exploited by native

speakers."[20] This ideological shift became one of the most important reasons for the decline

of Gaelic. It was this system of internal colonization in Scotland that created a system in

which Scottish Gaelic was viewed as less valuable and even in some instances a hinderance,

that posed the greatest threat to Gaelic. Parents ultimately choosing not to teach their children

Scottish Gaelic was a reflection of this shift in ideas in Scotland.

      The dominance of English has pushed Scots Gaelic today primarily to areas in the

Highlands and sporadically across parts of Scotland in such low numbers that it is not

sustainable for the future unless something is done, which Gaelic activists are fighting today.

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[17] John R. Gold, and Margaret M. Gold, ""The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders": Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden," History and Memory 19, no. 1 (2007): 12.

[18] Ibid., 13.

[19] Alan Montgomery, "Reconquering the Highlands: Hanoverian Interpretations of Roman Scotland," In *Classical Caledonia: Roman History and Myth in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, 113.

[20] Robert McColl Millar, "Homogenisation and Survival: The Languages of Scotland in the eighteenth century," In *A Sociolinguistic History of Scotland*, 116.

In 1891, An Comunn Gàidhealach, an organization that today supports and promotes the learning and use of Gaelic,[21] was established and tasked with promoting Gaelic.[22] However, very little was accomplished because, "the cultural imperatives and material incentives to learn Gaelic were limited and attracted few outsiders… [and An Comunn] made very little effort to teach Gaelic to non-native speakers."[23] The establishment of a Gaelic organization shows that while there were interest in Gaelic by some in Scotland, ultimately An Comunn's goals were aimed at native speakers rather than outsiders, and they had to contend with shifting attitudes against Gaelic. Larger more expansive efforts to increase the number of fluent Gaelic speakers would not gain increased interest until the twentieth century.

The renewed interest in Gaelic was connected to pushes for independence since the mid-twentieth century, as Scots saw Scottish Gaelic as a national language and an aspect of Scottish culture that made the country distinct from the rest of the UK. With changing ideas towards Scots Gaelic, its revival became a kind of rejection of English hegemony. Gaelic language revival needs to be understood with UK politics because the nature of revival efforts have been closely tied with political systems and political events. Understanding the nuances of re-emerging Scottish identity means understanding the organizations and groups of people who had a stake in this identity and their motivations. Gaelic activists provide an analysis of what political sides they decided to support during political events and their motivations behind those choices.

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[21] "An Comunn Gàidhealach," *An Comunn Gàidhealach - Royal National Mod*: Home, An Comunn Gàidhealach.

[22] Wilson McLeod, "New Speakers of Gaelic: A Historical and Policy Perspective," In *Gaelic in Contemporary Scotland: The Revitalisation of an Endangered Language*, edited by MacLeod Marsaili and Smith-Christmas Cassie, 80.

[23] Ibid., 80.

Interest in Scottish heritage as a driver of tourism was hardly a new invention in 1979. During the nineteenth century, a surge in interest around Scottish heritage and culture occurred in Britain due largely to Queen Victoria's fascination with Scotland. As aspects of Scottish culture became popular, the manufacturing and creation of "tradition" began. As Hugo Trevor-Roper, a British historian explains in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's book *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), many of the elements that today are most associated with Scotland, like tartan and clans, were carefully crafted to appeal to a wide audience. For example, tartan, was banned by the English for decades after Culloden, however the tartan became popular and the fabrication of clan tartans picked up in the mid-nineteenth century. The clan system, while once the social system in the Highlands, had been replaced with the English model of society. The fabrication of Scottish "traditions" served tourism because objects could be used to retrieve the past. However, this fabrication actually reimagined the past rather than retrieved it.

In addition to the creation of tradition, the Scottish diaspora after Culloden created Scottish communities across the Empire, which can be seen through Highlands Games and festivals today. This separation while also pride in Scottish ancestry connects to the idea of Scotland as a mother country. But why did people with Scottish roots see Scotland as a homeland whereas this idea was much less prevalent in people with English ancestry?

Part of the reason for this distinction lies in the patterns of migration through which the Anglophone settler empire was established. In the century that followed the Acts of Union, efforts by the English state and Scottish elites to assert more control over Scottish land led to many Scots being displaced. Scots were sent off their lands and either enlisted in the British army or were sent to different areas of the empire to settle. Today the migration of

Scots can be seen in different parts of the world such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, to name a few, a process sometimes known as the Scottish diaspora.[24] The pride in Scottish identity today can be seen through Highland Games, memorials and statues, and Caledonian societies[25] that celebrate the heritage and culture of Scotland.

This pride in Scottish heritage is paralleled directly with racism. Especially in the US, the ideology of white supremacy helped build this positive association with having Scottish blood. In January 1915, US President Woodrow Wilson said to the House of Representatives while addressing his veto of the Immigration Act of 1917, "the right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land."[26] While it may appear that Wilson was fighting against strict immigration policy, he was actually arguing against the literacy test in the Act. He never argued against increasingly restrictive measures against people immigrating from the Middle East, Asia, and other countries deemed "undesirable," in fact there was no argument against expanding the Immigration Act from simply Chinese immigrants to all Asian immigrants. Wilson's racism can be understood through his infamous quote, "*every line of strength in American history is a line colored with Scottish blood."[27]* When Wilson was talking about immigrants of "noble character and elevated purpose," he was not talking about people of Asian or Middle Eastern descent. Rather he was talking about Northern Europeans, and specifically Scots, "who [were] marked as an outlaw" at one point that led to

[24] Erin C. M Grant, "'Part of My Heritage': Ladies' Pipe Bands, Associational Culture and 'Homeland' Identities in the Scottish Diaspora," In *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600*, edited by McCarthy Angela and MacKenzie John M., 159-60.

[25] Ibid., 159.

[26] "January 28, 1915: Veto of Immigration Legislation," Miller Center. University of Virginia, February 23, 2017.

[27] George Shepperson, "Writings in Scottish-American History: A Brief Survey," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1954): 163.

the migration of Scots to the US. The increasingly growing notion of the ideal immigrant supported white supremacy in the US and fuelled pride in Scottish heritage in the US which built the idea of Scotland as the homeland.

The idea of Scotland as the homeland for these communities caused people to travel to Scotland to experience their ancestral heritage. The strand of tourism that emerged in Scotland was genealogy tourism. Genealogy tourism consists of tourists who have an ancestral connection to the destination.[28] While there are many types of tourism such as environmental, religious, special interest, cultural, etc., Scotland's emphasis on genealogy tourism shows the ways in which Scotland is understanding their own identity in the late twentieth century.

For the emerging tourism industry in Scotland beginning to take off in the mid to late twentieth century, an updated version of this romanticized Scottishness was proffered looking outwards to the international community. As will be analyzed, *VisitScotland*, Scotland's national tourism body released a series of marketing campaigns that sought to promote and sell a vision of Scotland that would appeal to tourists globally. In 2016, while opening the "Spirit of Scotland" campaign, Nicola Sturgeon, first Minster of Scotland said,

> The spirit of Scotland is an indefinable quality that permeates all of the wonderful things that happen in our country and it encompasses many things – warmth, humour, guts, spark, soul determination and fun… But nowhere is the spirit of Scotland more evident than in its people – visitors to our country can be guaranteed that the people they meet and the welcome they receive will leave a lasting impression.[29]

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[28] "Definitions for Genealogy Tourism," What does genealogy tourism mean? Definitions.net, 2010.
[29] "#ScotSpirit," First Minister of Scotland, February 10, 2016.

Sturgeon's words helped get people excited to support Scottish tourism and promote their country to the world through social media, international travel ads, and tourism services in Scotland. The growth of tourism and support for it internationally brought a surge of visitors to Scotland and the UK, but the relationship between tourism and Gaelic activists ultimately hurt activists' mission because people globally began associating the language with the ancient past rather than as a living language of the present.

Historians such as T. M. Devine, Linda Colley, and Fiona M. Douglas have studied the emergence of Scottish identity extensively. Dr. T. M. Devine, a Professor Emeritus at the University of Edinburgh is a Scottish historian with a focus on Scottish interactions with the wider UK and emigration. Dr. Linda Colley is a leading British, imperial, and global history expert at Princeton University who has addressed the formation of Britain and has given numerous talks on current British events. Dr. Fiona M. Douglas is a lecturer at the University of Leeds, focusing on corpus linguistics and language in the media. T. M. Devine's works encompass many topics such as Scotland's relationship with the British Empire and the Scottish diaspora.

The book, *Scotland and the Union,* edited by Devine provides a comprehensive history of Scotland from 1707 to 2007 that my work expands upon. This book is made up of chapters by many scholars and holds the central premise that Scotland has always been distinct from the UK. In contrast, Colley's seminal book, *Britons*,[30] first published in 1992, discussed the emergence of British identity and specifically focuses on how an emerging British identity over regional identity interacted with the wider world. A focal point of her book is the idea that the unification of British identity ultimately flattened regional identities.

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[30] For book see: Linda Colley, *Britons*, Yale University Press, 2005.

In her conclusion, Colley states that, "intense localism remained the norm, at least until the coming of the railways."[31] My IS expands more upon Dr. Devine's book than Dr. Colley's because as will explored, Scottish identity always existed even after the Acts of Union when Britain was formed. The strong re-emergence of regional identity over a sense of Britishness suggests that Scottish identity existed alongside that of a larger British identity and was not flattened in the ways Colley suggests.

And finally, Fiona M. Douglas published a book titled, *Scottish Newspapers, Language, and Identity*.[32] This work is very similar to my own work, however her sources are limited in their capacity to primarily newspapers to track the emergence of identity in Scotland whereas my work uses a broader range of interdisciplinary sources for evidence. In addition, while her work addresses Scottish Gaelic like mine, she analyzes the relationship between Gaelic and newspapers as helping to explain the emergence of Scottish identity whereas my own works expands further by looking at two competing forms of identity emerging since the late twentieth century.

There has been little work on this topic to understand the complexities and nuances of Scottish identity today from a historical perspective that my IS fills. This IS addresses those nuances and how two seemingly competing visions of Scotland worked together to form the complex Scottish identity that stands today. The scholarship surrounding this topic primarily comes from fields such as political science, sociology, linguistics, and law. The historical perspective is important when discussing these current events because it provides a richer depth in understanding the cultural, historical, and social aspects that shape current events.

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[31] Linda Colley, "Conclusions," In *Britons*, 364-75, Yale University Press, 2005.
[32] For book see: Fiona M. Douglas, Scottish Newspapers, Language and Identity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

By placing these events into their larger historical frameworks, a deeper analysis can be done which aids other disciplines studying current events. My historical analysis of these events fit into large frameworks by scholars interested in emerging Scottish identity, political shifts in the UK, the emergence of nationalism, and how Scotland is positioning itself globally.

Given that one IS cannot address every facet of Scottish identity since the eleventh century, I have chosen to focus on the late twentieth century political events and how the tourism industry and Gaelic revival activists interacted with one another and the shifting ideas of what it meant to be Scottish. Through the use of news articles, websites, legislative acts, Parliamentary records, and works by scholars in other fields, to name a few types of sources, this IS uses an interdisciplinary set of sources. Using such a wide range of sources by scholars means that I read other fields differently than I would a historical journal. The use of interdisciplinary sources in this IS means using the works of non-historians to help place events in their historical context. Other disciplines also aid in explaining these political events more fully and their significance to historian's broader works.

In connecting these re-emerging pushes for regional identity and independence to the past, this IS provides a deeper analysis of these feelings and the motivations behind them. Growing regionalism stems from a much longer history studying this deeper history helps explain what is going on and more importantly why current events are playing out the way they are. By focusing on three distinct political events, the emergence of Scottish identity can be analyzed. Devolution in 1999 that re-established the Scottish Parliament, the 2014 Independence Referendum that decided whether Scotland would remain in the UK or gain independence, and Brexit in 2016 in which the UK voted whether to leave to remain in the EU, are key moments that show the development of Scottish identity and how Scots see

themselves and the wider world. By keeping the focus of this work on tourism and Gaelic revival, we can see two clear identities emerge and interact. On the one hand, tourism was creating a global identity looking outwards while language activists focused nationally on reclaiming a sense of self.

Chapter one discusses the leadup and effects of devolution. Both the tourist industry and Gaelic activists strongly supported this political change. For the growing tourism industry, the focus on genealogy tourism, a strand of tourism in which a visitor has an ancestral connection to their destination, helped shape what would become heritage tourism, a slightly different strand of tourism focused on the cultural heritage of the location. Tourism's support for devolution stemmed from the ability for the industry to sell a vision of a distinctive Scotland. Meanwhile Gaelic activists supported devolution, as they hoped that the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament would allow Scottish specific issues to be addressed more directly than had been done through Westminster. Activists anticipated more supported and promotion of their initiatives for Gaelic revival.

Chapter two addresses the 2014 Independence Referendum, often referred to as IndyRef. Scotland's referendum over becoming an independent nation from the UK showed how tourism and language activists were continuing to define Scottish identity and their differences in this idea of what it meant to be Scottish. Both these groups opposed the "yes" vote, as they had more to lose by leaving the UK than remaining. Activists' cooperation with other minority languages across Britain offered the support and leverage that they had not gained with Holyrood and the tourism industry leaned on the UK for economic, social, and political reasons.

Chapter three focuses on the lead-up and results of Brexit in 2016. In this chapter, we will see a continuation of how the tourist industry and Gaelic activists are working in tandem to protect their access to established political resources. While tourism did not want to risk losing connections to the EU in the form of labor and visitors, language activists did not want to lose their connection to the community of European minority languages. The ultimate vote to leave the EU led to increasingly positive shifts in Scotland towards independence to maintain the possibility of rejoining the EU. Both the tourism industry and activists began supporting ideas of independence after Brexit due to Scotland's unwavering commitment to the EU.

Chapter 1: Devolution is Just the Beginning

In the twentieth century, as the British Empire was dissolving, ideas of independence and what it meant to be an autonomous nation were emerging worldwide. These debates reached deep into Britain itself. Though, as a political entity, Britain would survive, the nations within it—especially Scotland and Wales—began to demand more and more independence, leading to a push for what is called devolution. Devolution is, "the term used to describe the process of transferring power from central government to the regions and nations of the UK."[1] In Scotland, devolution resulted in the re-opening of the Scottish Parliament in Holyrood for the first time since 1707. As will be explored through tourism and Gaelic revival, the Scottish identity being created in this period was at times contradictory, but transformed the way Scots saw themselves and their relationship to the international community.

While this chapter will be discussing Scotland in depth, it was not the only country discussing independence and devolution in the twentieth century. Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales, experienced, "movements toward cultural rediscovery and political autonomy."[2] These ideas emerged as ties to empire were disintegrating in the postcolonial era. These movements for independence also highlighted whether Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were imperializing powers themselves or simply colonies to England.

While devolution was a push for legislative autonomy, the tourism sector and Gaelic activists were creating and pushing identities for Scotland as well. Tourism saw Scottish

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[1] Chris Bradford, "What Does Devolution Mean and When Did Scottish Devolution Happen?" *The Sun*, The Sun, November 17, 2020.

[2] Justin Dolan Stover, "Modern Celtic Nationalism in the Period of the Great War: Establishing Transnational Connections," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 32 (2012): 286.

culture as belonging to a "lost" past, trying to reclaim a lost heritage that would attract tourists seeking their family history. For the purposes of tourism, Scots Gaelic belonged to this "lost past" that was being marketed, reimagined, and sold to tourists. Tourist agencies worked to sell a vision of Scotland to the international community. In addition to tourist agencies, Scots Gaelic activists were working to establish Gaelic as a nationally recognized language and increase the dwindling number of fluent speakers. In contradiction to the tourism sector, activists were attempting to appeal to the Scottish community primarily, focusing on demonstrating that Gaelic was not a dead language, and rather an important aspect of Scottish heritage and culture, as it connects the past to the present and future of Scottish identity.

<div align="center">Creation of Great Britain</div>

Scotland was an autonomous country until the Acts of Union in 1707 which created Great Britain with the consolidation of England and Scotland. The question stands however: why did Scotland allow this consolidation after centuries of warfare with England? To understand the motivations behind twentieth-century devolution, and the formations of Scottish identity, the moments leading up to the Acts of Union need to be explored. The politics of the union from the beginning showed a clear power imbalance. England's position of power over Scotland in the agreement created a political union that led to the subjugation of Scots by English, that is reflected in twentieth century parliamentary representation in Westminster prior to devolution.

What were the factors that led to the Acts of Union? And more importantly, why would Scotland give up its Parliament in Edinburgh? On the surface it does not make sense that Scotland and England would agree to this after centuries of conflict. However, a

multitude of factors pushed Scotland's hand and England seemed the best alliance. In a

country that was relatively poor prior to the 1690s, a series of famines, a disastrous campaign

to colonize Darién, the question of Queen Anne's successor, and religious tensions only put

Scotland in a worse position economically, socially, and politically. In comparison, the

English Empire was growing substantially and a formal legal union with Scotland would be

"England's moment of triumph… the attainment of a goal that had driven the English

nation… since the time of Edward I."[3] For Scotland, the nation, "was on the verge of

bankruptcy, and barely viable as an independent entity."[4] By creating the union of England

and Scotland, Scotland stood to gain substantially while England gained the territory of

Scotland and its resources. Economically, England was prepared to compensate the

Company of Scotland's investors who had lost substantial wealth due to the Darién Scheme's

failure. The injection of money into Scotland aided the economy and brought more people to

the Unionist side.[5] For these reasons, Scotland was open to the Acts of Union even if it meant

losing their parliamentary independence.

Historians such as Christopher Whatley and Karin Bowie agree that generally the

public in Scotland did not support this Union in 1706. Both historians acknowledge that

popular sentiment was strongly to maintain the Scottish Parliament and its political

autonomy. However, they argue that wider social and political concerns pushed Scottish

politicians to agree to union despite these protests. Bowie and Whatley, though, differ in their

focus on which concerns were most pressing to those politicians. Whatley claims that, "in

some respects union was settled on England's terms, but much was conceded to satisfy the

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[3] Christopher A. Whatley, "The Making of the Union of 1707: History with a History," In *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*, edited by Devine T. M. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008: 25.
[4] Ibid., 33.
[5] Ibid., 34.

Scots."[6] While Whatley recognizes the failed Scottish colony in the 1690s that severely damaged Scotland's already fragile economy, the role of religion, and Queen Anne's role as monarch of Scotland and England, his conclusion mentions but does not fully explore the power dynamics of the Acts of Union. His evidence for concessions by the English states, "that the Company of Scotland investors were now to be compensated… which was worth almost £400,000."[7] In addition to the injection of capital to Scotland's economy, "the Union also secured the union of trade that many Scots had long sought… Scottish merchant ships could now call on the Royal Navy and the convoy system to provide protection on the high seas from French and other privateers."[8] While these did sway many Scots to the pro-Union side, these factors did not singularly contribute to a cohesive union, instead, Whatley does not address the religious factors that went into the Acts of Union or the threat that both Scotland and England feared from the French.

Another major factor that Whatley touches on was the impact the Aliens Act of 1705 had on Scotland's willingness to agree to union if England saved the Scottish economy. The Aliens Act, passed by the English, threatened Scottish trade with England, which would have exacerbated the failing Scottish economy. There were many factors that made the Acts of Union a favorable agreement between England and Scotland, so it makes sense that Whatley chose to focus on some of the larger factors. Ultimately however, the conclusion does not expand on the religious as well as manipulative aspects that led to the Acts of Union.

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[6] Christopher A. Whatley, "The Making of the Union of 1707: History with a History," In *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*, edited by Devine T. M. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008: 35.
[7] Ibid., 34.
[8] Ibid., 34.

In contrast to Whatley, Bowie chooses to look at religion as the primary purpose as to why the Scottish Parliament agreed to the Acts of Union.[9] While factually correct, Bowie chooses to look past the multitude of factors that led to the Acts of Union and therefore Scotland's reasons for agreeing to union. Both these historians are correct in their facts but fail to see the larger picture surrounding the Acts of Union. Although Scotland was at a significant disadvantage to England, the Acts of Union did aid both countries and ultimately Scotland was not a colony to England, rather a reluctant partner that gained advantages globally from the British Empire. In the twentieth century, memories of the Union had become all the more negative, and debates about reclaiming political autonomy were framed as an attempt to correct a centuries old power imbalance that was being continuously reflected in Westminster.

<div align="center">Devolution</div>

James Mitchell, a Professor of Politics at the University of Strathclyde describes the developing political systems leading up to devolution. His chapter's analysis of the Labour Party's (UK) attitudes towards Scottish political power explains why the devolution referendum of 1979 occurred and its outcome in UK politics.[10] His central thesis states that, "Scottish devolution is best understood as an important development in a continuous process of challenges to and defence of existing institutions."[11] In addition, Colin R. Munro, a professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Edinburgh, sets forth the argument that devolution was used as a tool by Westminster to appease Scots. Both statements help explain

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[9] Karin Bowie, "Popular Resistance, Religion and The Union Of 1707," In *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*, edited by T. M. Devine, 39-53.

[10] James Mitchell, "The Settled Will of the Scottish People," In *Devolution in the UK*, 111-41. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009: 111-41.

[11] Ibid., 141.

the chain of political events leading up to the Brexit vote in 2016. As stated above, for Scots, devolution stood as a symbol of attempting to correct a centuries old power imbalance that was only being shown more clearly in Westminster in the late twentieth century.

As will be explored further in this section, Alison Park, director of Research at the Economic and Social Research Council, and David McCrone, emeritus professor of sociology at the University of Edinburgh, address whether devolution "worked" in appeasing Scots and whether the power imbalance that was felt was addressed through devolution.[12] Interestingly, the Labour Party's increasing support for Scottish devolution would pave the way later for the SNP (Scottish National Party) to establish itself and push for independence after the creation of the Scottish Parliament. But what were these changing attitudes and how did they lead Scotland towards its perceived goal of political autonomy?

As Mitchell describes, in the 1970s, the Labour Party (UK) opposed devolution measures, believing that Scotland did not need a legislative devolution when the country had administrative devolution in the form of the Scottish Office.[13] However, during the 1980s, the Labour Party began rallying with the SNP after seeing the Tory Party control Scottish affairs.[14] In 1994, John Smith, Labour Party leader, said that a Scottish Parliament was the "settled will of the Scottish people."[15] This was used as a rallying cry by those pushing for devolution. While there had been pushes for independence since the 1920s, the 1980s saw a unique headway in the 1960s when the SNP, with the support of the Labour Party, was able

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[12] Alison Park and David McCrone, "The Devolution Conundrum?" in *Has Devolution Delivered?*, edited by Park Alison, McCrone David, Bromley Catherine, and Curtice John, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006): 15-28.

[13] James Mitchell, "The Settled Will of the Scottish People," In *Devolution in the UK*, 111-41. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009: 111.

[14] Ibid., 111.

[15] Ibid., 111.

to make electoral headway through Winnie Ewing in 1967.[16] Dr. Winifred (Winnie) Ewing

was a prominent member of the SNP who stood for Scotland's interests, ultimately giving up

her Westminster seat, "to stand for the new Scottish Parliament. As its oldest member she

presided over its historic opening" and served as the president of the SNP until 2005.[17] Her

roles in Scottish politics have had a great impact on the development of devolution and the

re-emergence of the Scottish Parliament.

 Mitchell credits Dr. Ewing's victory with spurring Scottish MPs to make Scotland's

constitution a part of the agenda in Westminster.[18] This resulted in discussions regarding,

"transferring or devolving responsibility… of government functions from Parliament and the

central government to new institutions of government in the various countries and nations of

the United Kingdom."[19] The 1979 Referendum aimed to see whether there was adequate

support for a Scottish Assembly, which would have devolved a set list of powers from the

UK Parliament to Scotland.[20] The vote resulted in, "32.9 per cent of the voting population of

Scotland voted for and 30.8 per cent against… the fact that devolution failed on that occasion

was the result of a 'spoiling' amendment."[21] This amendment meant that a simple majority

vote would not suffice and that 40% of the eligible voters in Scotland (despite an out-of-date

register) had to vote in favor of an Assembly, thus immediately placing a vote for an

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[16] James Mitchell, "The Settled Will of the Scottish People," In *Devolution in the UK*, 111-41. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009: 111-12.
[17] "The University of Glasgow Story." Story. University of Glasgow.
[18] James Mitchell, "The Settled Will of the Scottish People," In *Devolution in the UK*, 111-41. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009: 112.
[19] Ibid., 112.
[20] Ibid., 128.
[21] Ian Brown and John Ramage, "Referendum to Referendum and Beyond: Political Vitality and Scottish Theatre," *The Irish Review (1986-)*, no. 28 (2001): 46.

Assembly as a less likely outcome than a vote against.[22] Interestingly however, this "defeat" was anything but in 1979.

Paradoxically, the failure of the vote led to a resurgence in culture and art. When a group of people attempting to express their identity fail to win in politics, they sometimes turn to art to express this. Art served as a medium to express their identity and voice, which in turn built it up within Scotland, galvanizing others. As Ian Brown and John Ramage express, "Scottish theatre of the 1980s and 1990s ha[d] been dedicated to redefining the nation."[23] Since 1979, public opinion in Scotland was shifting towards a positive view of devolution. As a national image was emerging through the arts, support for legislative independence surged. This resulted in the publishing of the devolution White Paper in 1997 which outlined the proposals for Scottish devolution.[24] The White Paper stated,

> the UK Parliament is and will remain sovereign in all matters, but as part of
> Parliament's resolve to modernize the British constitution Westminster will be
> choosing to exercise that sovereignty by devolving legislative powers to a Scottish
> Parliament without any diminishing in its own power.[25]

The wording here shows how devolution efforts, while working to create more political autonomy for Scotland, continued to emphasize the role of the wider UK and Westminster's overarching rule. Mitchell's presentation of the lead up to devolution and his central argument help set up and explain aspects of devolution and therefore the future political events that would unfold into the twenty first century.

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[22] Ian Brown and John Ramage, "Referendum to Referendum and Beyond: Political Vitality and Scottish Theatre," *The Irish Review (1986-)*, no. 28 (2001): 46-7.

[23] Ibid., 48.

[24] James Mitchell, "The Settled Will of the Scottish People," In *Devolution in the UK*, 111-41. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009: 134.

[25] Ibid., 134-5.

In 1999, the Scottish Parliament was reconvened for the first time since 1707 in Edinburgh, and the unsteady alliance between Labour and the SNP immediately began to fray. While the SNP went ahead with the new Scottish Parliament and new policies it would pursue if they won the 1999 election, the Labour Party instead, "focused on the dangers of independence."[26] The divergence of interests for Scotland was apparent when the SNP pushed for more political power, going beyond devolution to demand independence. The Labour Party simply supported devolution but not outright independence. Between Westminster and Holyrood, devolution stood as a kind of compromise or appeasement by Westminster. England anticipated that Scotland's pushes for independence would be calmed with the creation of the Scottish Parliament, thus keeping the Union together.

Devolution marked a period when Scotland was defining its identity separate from the UK as a type of rejection to the history of English rule and domination. Through analyzing the growth of tourism and Gaelic revival efforts, Scotland's identity was being shaped. While tourism viewed Gaelic as a language of the past, belonging to a "lost world," Gaelic activists worked to demonstrate that Gaelic was a lived language, representative of culture and heritage. These ideas of what it meant to be Scottish contrasted with one another yet worked together to establish the regional identity that is being expressed.

Throughout the twentieth century, appeals for devolution were tied closely with a growing Scottish identity that understood Scottishness as distinct from British. Colin R. Munro presents the argument that, "Scotland is best regarded as a nation, within the union state of the United Kingdom."[27] Munro's argument states that devolution measures have

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[26] McAngus, Craig, "SNP: Devolution Winners," In *The Story of the Scottish Parliament: The First Two Decades Explained*, edited by Hassan Gerry, 137.

[27] Colin R. Munro, "Scottish Devolution: Accommodating a Restless Nation," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 6, no. 1/2 (1998): 97.

always been used by Westminster as a tool to, "appease demands, or accommodate Scottish identity within the union."[28] Munro's argument supports the motivations for Westminster, but Scots who supported devolution had a slightly differing reason for devolution. In 1979, the Select Committee on Scottish Affairs was created to look more closely at issues pertaining specifically to Scotland.[29] This committee was a step towards more political autonomy, but Scottish politics remained under the control of Westminster.

Stemming from the Select Committee came The Scottish Grand Committee, a committee made up of Scottish MPs within the House of Commons in Westminster tasked with Scottish affairs.[30] The Scottish Grand Committee was a more formal committee that held more power in Westminster than the Select Committee. The committee met in Edinburgh in 1980 to discuss reforms on how parliamentary business would be performed.[31] This shows the ways in which Westminster is trying to appease Scots. In Scotland, a survey was made in which about, "nine out of ten persons in Scotland regard themselves as Scottish and two thirds give priority to that Scottish feeling over Britishness."[32] Scotland's feelings of independence were present by 1999. The UK Parliament had the task of keeping the union together, therefore offering devolution measures was used to placate Scots.

Paradoxically, devolution was actually a mechanism that opponents of Scottish independence hoped to use to subdue Scots' desires for autonomy. In the 1960s, appeasement was clearly failing as the SNP was gaining support and membership.[33] The geographic differences between Scotland and the rest of the UK played into distinct cultural differences.

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[28] Colin R. Munro, "Scottish Devolution: Accommodating a Restless Nation," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 6, no. 1/2 (1998): 97.
[29] Ibid., 109.
[30] Ibid., 109.
[31] Ibid., 109.
[32] Ibid., 99.
[33] Ibid., 110.

In addition to geographic differences, the British Empire was decolonizing. The collapse of

the British Empire broke the ties of conquest and globalization that helped hold the Empire

together. Colin Munro and James Mitchell offer up complimentary theses and support for the

motivations and outcome of the lead up to devolution in 1999. While Mitchell states that

devolution was part of a longer process in Scotland of challenging existing institutions,

Munro furthers Mitchell's argument by examining Westminster's attempt at appeasement.

Michael J. Keating analyses the ways in which the homogeneity thesis of British

politics is incorrect when discussing British politics during this time. The homogeneity thesis

is used to understand British politics as a cohesive and unified body of ideas and goals,

which in relation to Keating helps explain national separatist movements in Celtic nations.

He states that, "Scottish MPs operate at two levels, 'Scottish level' and the 'U. K. level.'"[34]

Because of these different levels of politics for Scottish MPs, "at the Scottish level, [Scottish

MPs] seek distinctively Scottish policies, which raises doubts about the homogeneity of

British politics. At the U. K. level, Scottish involvement is low and is primarily aimed at

securing benefits for Scotland."[35] Keating's thesis stands to further explain the growing

distinctive Scottish identity emerging in British politics in the 1960s and 70s. With Scottish

MPs essentially separating themselves from other MPs through their policies and drive to

benefit Scotland, it is apparent that there are divisions with Parliament despite efforts to

display a united UK Parliament. While culturally distinct from other parts of the UK,

Scotland did share many systems of governance, politics, and economics, therefore making it

difficult to distinguish the systems of government once Scotland had its own Parliament

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[34] Michael J. Keating, "Parliamentary Behaviour as a Test of Scottish Integration into the United Kingdom," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (1978): 409.
[35] Ibid., 411.

again. However, a distinct modern Scottish identity was emerging as tensions around governance grew.

The Scottish devolution referendum was held in 1997. The precedent for similar demands had been made by Ireland in the early twentieth century. The Irish War of Independence lasted from 1919 to 1921. The movement for independence began with the Easter Risings in 1916. In April 1916, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) sought international recognition of independence.[36] During the Paris Peace Conference (1919-20), Ireland aligned and identified more closely with other small nations emerging, therefore making independence seem like a logical next step. Their self-identity, much like Scotland in the 1980s was regional rather than British, though Ireland was closer to the Scottish Highlands than the Lowlands in terms of the colonialist and extractive aspects of their relationship with the English. Following years of conflict, on December 6, 1921, the Irish Free State was established, making the territory a separate country from the UK. The Irish Parliament would, "recognise the British monarch as head of state, [in addition] the treaty incorporated clauses dealing with fiscal legacies, restrictions on an Irish military and the maintenance of three British naval bases on the Atlantic seaboard of Ireland."[37] This was very important because while areas of the British Empire were gaining independence, so too were countries of Britain as well. For Scotland, the emergence of Northern Ireland as well demonstrated a changing political structure in the UK, as Northern Ireland remained part of the UK but with devolved powers.

The parallels between the two movements are important to acknowledge, as Scotland in many ways emulates aspects of the Irish Independence movement. Both Ireland and

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[36] John Gibney, Michael Kennedy, and Kate O'Malley, "1919–1922," In *Ireland: A Voice among the Nations*, 3.
[37] Ibid., 17.

Scotland in their respective decades understood their identities to be regional rather than British. The difference between Ireland and Scotland however was that the Republic of Ireland's independence was gained at a time when the British Empire was at its peak. By the 1990s however the Empire was dissolving quickly and Westminster was not willing to lose Scotland at that point. The ideas and feelings however were similar between Northern Ireland and Scotland, as both saw themselves as conquered and distinct from the UK. Ideas on what it meant to be British were being reshaped in the twentieth century as the Empire was changing.

Scottish devolution was seen by many English MPs in Westminster as a way to resolve these tensions without leading to a complete dissolution of Britain. Overall, "[devolution's] central premise, [held] that powers to decide on Scottish law and administration should remain in the hands of the United Kingdom Parliament and Government… became harder to defend, as people in Scotland became increasingly conscious of their Scottish, rather than their British, identity."[38] As Allison Park and David McCrone discuss, the reality of devolution was not the key Scots were hoping for. In their conclusion they state, "one the one hand, we find greater pessimism… even disappointment with, what it [Scottish Parliament] has achieved in key policy areas, especially when we compare people's assessment with the expectations they had in the heady days of the late 1990s."[39] The question remains then, what were people's feelings after devolution? While Mitchell, Munro, and Keating supply evidence towards attitudes leading up to devolution,

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[38] Colin R. Munro, "Scottish Devolution: Accommodating a Restless Nation," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 6, no. 1/2 (1998): 113.

[39] Alison Park and David McCrone, "The Devolution Conundrum?" in *Has Devolution Delivered?*, edited by Park Alison, McCrone David, Bromley Catherine, and Curtice John, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006): 27.

their works do not address the aftermath. Park and McCrone provide evidence as to people's opinions after devolution to help explain the effects the event had on people's understanding of their identity.

Park and McCrone use data collected through surveys from 1997 to 2003[40] to examine attitudes afterwards. As explained, "nearly two-thirds [of people surveyed] would like the [Scottish] parliament to have more powers (63 per cent)."[41] This shows that although devolution seemed to have calmed some demands for outright independence from the UK, overall devolution measures failed in the powers that were devolved to Scotland and did not address the power imbalance that Scots saw in Westminster. Interestingly, when surveyors were asked about Holyrood's performance, if there was a positive change in education, the NHS, or the standard of living, people were more likely to credit Holyrood whereas if said changes were negative, they would be more likely to blame Westminster.[42] In either case, people appear to want more powers devolved to Holyrood as Westminster is being viewed as a negative force on the lives of Scots. With the mounting disappointment of devolution as simply the English attempt at appeasement, unfortunately for Westminster, the reality of devolution did not rid Scots of their renewed sense of regional identity, and it is no wonder that devolution was not enough for Scots as pushes for independence increased into the twenty first century.

This emergence of a Scottish identity fueled devolution which in turn opened the doors for Scotland to determine policies and legislation surrounding Gaelic and tourism.

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[40] Alison Park and David McCrone, "The Devolution Conundrum?" in *Has Devolution Delivered?*, edited by Park Alison, McCrone David, Bromley Catherine, and Curtice John, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006): 15.
[41] Ibid., 18.
[42] Ibid., 21.

While Scots Gaelic activists worked to see Gaelic fluency expanded, tourism saw Scottish heritage as marketable in crafting an identity abroad for Scotland if the heritage remained in the past to be viewed at rather than lived. Devolution, however, did not address all the issues Scots saw in the power imbalance within the UK, as future pushes for independence would grow throughout the twenty first century. With this, the development of Gaelic activism and tourism would shift and adjust to the political climate in efforts to achieve their goals in expressing and shaping Scottish identity.

Tourism Crafting Identity

Britain experienced a tourism boom in the 1950s and 1960s that included a domestic as well as an international movement,[43] as the Travel Association of Great Britain used tourism as a recovery post war tool.[44] This increase in tourism prompted the need to begin planning for the steady increase of visitors to different areas of the UK. In 1946, there were significantly less than 2 million trips to the UK by international tourists, whereas by 1977 there were an estimated 12 million trips to the UK from different parts of the world.[45] This data demonstrates how quickly the tourism industry took off in the UK and therefore in Scotland.

As Barry Roger, a student at the Kemmy Business School at the University of Limerick explains, tourism both in Britain and other European countries on governmental levels was seen as an avenue to recover their respective economies.[46] Roger's analysis from 1945 to 1970 provides a timeframe that aids in explaining the rise of tourism in Scotland by

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[43] John Heeley, "Planning for Tourism in Britain: An Historical Perspective," The Town Planning Review 52, no. 1 (1981): 64.
[44] Barry Rogers, "The Distribution and Growth of Tourism since the Second World War," 2015: 5.
[45] John Heeley, "Planning for Tourism in Britain: An Historical Perspective," The Town Planning Review 52, no. 1 (1981): 64.
[46] Rogers, Barry, "The Distribution and Growth of Tourism since the Second World War," 2015: 5.

placing the country into the context of other European countries. Roger states, based on evidence from Mark Mazower, a British historian with a focus on twentieth century Europe, that, "the fundamental development of the European tourism industry was focused around attracting the American market,"[47] given that the American economy had fared well and had more stability in comparison to European countries. Astonishingly, "in just 15 years Europe had evolved from being an economically bankrupt smouldering ruin to a booming economy capable of delivering monumental tourism demand."[48] These changes are also reflected in Scotland, as tourism increased after WW2 as these European tourism campaigns took shape.

This spike in tourism led to the 1969 Development of Tourism Act in Scotland. This act created four distinct tourism bodies called the British Tourist Authority, today known as *VisitBritain*, the *English Tourist Board*, *VisitScotland*, and the *Wales Tourist Board*.[49] The organizations were tasked with, "promoting the development of tourism to and across Britain."[50] The 1969 Act was the pivotal moment when tourism was legally recognized to have a large economic potential for Britain. With a growing focus on tourism in Britain, different types of tourism emerged.

As in the prewar period, the Scottish Tourist Board continued to foster and appeal to what may be called genealogy tourism, encouraging visits by those who traced their ancestry to Scotland. This form of tourism continued to grow in the late twentieth century and developed into what can be called heritage tourism, a term coined by Mary E. Curtis in 1992 in the *Proceedings of the 1992 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium.*[51] Heritage

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[47] Barry Rogers, "The Distribution and Growth of Tourism since the Second World War," 2015: 6.
[48] Ibid., 11.
[49] "Development of Tourism Act 1969," Legislation.gov.uk. Statute Law Database, November 30, 1978.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Proceedings of the 1992 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium: April 5-7, 1992, State Parks Management and Research Institute, Saratoga Springs, New York. United States: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, 1993: 73-75.

tourism is a type of tourism that means, "travelling to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past."[52] The biggest difference between genealogy tourism and heritage tourism is who can be included in the categories. While genealogy tourism attracts people with close, easily traceable Scottish ancestry, heritage tourism is a more inclusive form of tourism that encompasses those who are simply interested in the culture and history of Scotland. While the tourists are coming to Scotland to experience heritage and culture, the tourism agencies are creating experiences that support the demands to attract more tourists, thus continuing the cycle. The first archive of the *VisitScotland* website is from 2000 and includes many mentions to heritage tourism. The site is broken into seven main categories to click on, the second of which is "Arts and Culture in Scotland,"[53] thus demonstrating that from the beginning of the creation of the website, heritage tourism has always been a large aspect of Scottish tourism.

Genealogy tourists want to find their clan tartan to connect themselves to their family lineage and therefore their history despite the destruction of the clan system after Culloden.[54] In reality, the fabrication of the modern of clan tartan was created by the Alan brothers, the firm of Wilson and Son of Bannockburn and the, " Highland Society of London… [when they were] considering the publication of a lavishly illustrated book on Highland clan tartans."[55] Despite Roper's analysis on the creation of traditions, these aspects of Scottish culture remain distinctive and easily recognizable to the world as Scottish and attracts heritage tourists trying to find a connection to their Scottish ancestry. These created aspects

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[52] CHT Admin, "Home," CulturalHeritageTourism.org, April 29, 2011.
[53] "Holidays in Scotland - Scottish Tourist Board - Things to See and Do," *http://web.archive.org/*, VisitScotland, February 29, 2000.
[54] E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017: 31.
[55] Ibid., 32.

of Scottish tourism hark back to a romanticized rugged past of the Highlander as told through figures such as William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. Modern tourism uses these fabricated traditions to entice visitors and indicate Scotland's identity.

The vision of Scotland being promoted by tourist agencies shows Scotland looking to the future by looking at the past as a relic. The initiatives to increase tourism are dependent on the past to provide the mysticism and interest based on what tourists are looking for at any given time. This is how genealogy tourism emerged as the main type of tourism driving the tourist economy that developed into heritage tourism. While tourism uses Scotland's history to promote itself, that means that aspects of Scottish culture have been relegated to the past to make it profitable today such as Scots Gaelic. During the same time that tourism was increasing in Scotland, so too were efforts to revitalize Gaelic. While tourism envisions Gaelic as a mechanism by which to "experience" the ancient Highlands, Gaelic activists are pushing for recognition and protection under the government as a living language of the past, present, and future.

Scots Gaelic revival efforts

Efforts to revive the Gaelic language began in the mid twentieth century. The Scottish Renaissance was a literary movement in the mid twentieth century that began changing opinions in favor of Gaelic.[56] A goal of the movement was to reestablish a Scottish identity and reject the Anglicization, "which had effectively quashed any new and original expressions of national character for hundreds of years."[57] An aspect of this movement was the renewed interest in Scottish languages. While Gaelic was still a living language, the

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[56] "History - Scottish History," *BBC*, BBC, September 19, 2014.
[57] Ibid.

number of fluent speakers across Scotland was falling as younger generations were not picking up Gaelic like older generations had.

As attitudes towards Gaelic changed and a sense of pride in Scots Gaelic and Scottish culture reemerged, the late twentieth century saw legal pushes for language revival. The 1981 Education (Scotland) Act extended parent privileges in choosing what language their child would be exposed to.[58] This choice reflected shifting attitudes towards Gaelic and while it did not raise the number of fluent speakers, it certainly slowed the decline of the language. This act was a step towards integrating Gaelic back into the school curriculum. One of the reasons that Gaelic was not immediately reintegrated into schools was because some parents protested that Gaelic would impede their children's social mobility if they did not focus nearly all their energy on learning English.[59] These attitudes towards Gaelic were detrimental because while students were being given the option to learn Gaelic, some parents were not encouraging bilingualism, instead wanting their child to be 'prepared' for the future, in which they did not see Gaelic as a part of that.

However, on the other side of the argument in which some parents did encourage their child to learn Gaelic, in a study by James H. Grant in 1983 on the views of English-speaking versus Gaelic-speaking parents, it was found that parents who chose to have their child learn Gaelic, did so for two main reasons: continuing tradition and the benefits of bilingualism.[60] Across the Highlands and Islands, there was a tension between Gaelic perception. For some, Gaelic was a language of the past, associated with eighteenth century

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[58] Fiona O'Hanlon and Lindsay Paterson, "Gaelic Education since 1872," In the Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland, edited by Paterson Lindsay, Anderson Robert, and Freeman Mark, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, (2015): 313.
[59] Ibid., 312.
[60] Ibid., 313.

ideas of Highland barbarism and low-class status while for others, Gaelic was viewed as a hallmark of true Scottish heritage and culture that Scots should be proud of. As the parents who were in favor of English dominated those who favored Gaelic, traditional schools continued to teach English as the primary language with the choice to take Gaelic in later levels of primary school.

As Gaelic remained in the Highlands and Islands in dwindling numbers, the reemerging interest in Scottish culture resulted in the first Gaelic school outside of the Highlands being established in Glasgow: The Bun-sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu (Glasgow Gaelic Primary School). This school did more for Gaelic than simply reintroduce the language. Bun-sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu encouraged language, traditional songs, and other elements of Gaelic culture, to prepare students to use Gaelic in the modern world.[61] By showing that Scots Gaelic was a language of the future in Scotland, the curriculum was demonstrating to the country that Gaelic was deserving of the respect and recognition as a national language. The founding of Bun-sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu seemed to be a huge step for Scotland and Gaelic, as the Parliament was being established, so too was the future of Gaelic. What is interesting here is that Holyrood was able to do this once devolution happened, thus giving credence to the idea that devolution was beneficial to Scotland, as the interests of the country were better addressed with their own Parliament. Devolution offered Scotland the ability to emphasize these kinds of programs that were specific to Scotland. Westminster would not have had the time or dedication to Gaelic education in Scotland that Holyrood showed.

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[61] "Glaschu," Gaelic Education in Glasgow, Glaschu.

After devolution, Gaelic activists believed they would be able to achieve their goals

of revival given that the Scottish Parliament (1999) was established and had more legislative

powers specific to Scottish affairs. The creation of the Scottish Parliament gave activists

more agency and control within Scotland because they did not have to answer to Westminster

and instead could appeal to a body focused specifically on Scottish concerns. In the Scottish

Parliament from 1999-2003, there were two recurring items of business discussed regarding

Gaelic. One surrounds the 2005 bill that was in the process of being drafted and the other

addresses Gaelic medium education that had been on-going already.[62] The scarcity of sources

on Scottish Gaelic within the Parliament is shocking, considering that activists sought the

Scottish Parliament as a path to revival efforts.

Dr. Winnie Ewing, the SNP member who reconvened the Scottish Parliament on May

12, 1999[63] and a Gaelic activist, fought for the revival of Gaelic within the Scottish

Parliament after years working for other European minority languages. This goal, though,

soon ran into obstacles. On November 5, 2002, two bills were proposed to the Scottish

Parliament. The Convener stated the lack of time available to publish a Gaelic language bill.

Dr Ewing's response was, "I find this all very strange… To say that no parliamentary time is

available is strange. If a Parliament wants to find time, time can be found."[64] Dr Ewing

explained the priorities of the Parliament, stating that if Gaelic had been a forefront issue,

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[62] For the two recurring items of business, see: Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, December 10, 2002.
Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, January 14, 2003.
Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, November 28, 2001.
[63] Alison Campsie, "On This Day 1999: Scottish Parliament Reconvenes for First Time in 292 Years," Edinburgh News, Edinburgh News, May 12, 2020.
[64] Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, November 5, 2002.

then more would be getting done because time would be made for it. Dr. Ewing then

continues that,

> Gaelic is one of the oldest and most cultural minority languages. Not all minority
>
> languages have literature or music… We have one of the oldest solid bodies of
>
> literature, but ours is one of only three minority languages without secure status.[65]

The statements by Dr. Ewing demonstrates the ways Gaelic is not being recognized formally

as a living Scottish language. Activists are fighting an uphill battle trying to convince the

Parliament and other public bodies that Gaelic needs to be revived.

After years of discussion and edits, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 was

passed on April 21, 2005 and given Royal assent on June 1, 2005. This act was the first

major piece of legislation that the Scottish Parliament made towards revival.[66] This piece of

legislation to this day, "gives an official framework to the efforts to preserve and sustain the

Gaelic language and culture."[67] The act established Bòrd na Gàidhlig (Bòrd), which is the

body in Scotland formally tasked with promoting and developing revitalization efforts.[68] The

Bórd is an example of Gaelic revival efforts by the Parliament but it is also an example of the

Parliament moving these matters to committees and groups, therefore distancing Gaelic

activists from their original goal and vision they saw for devolution.

The 2005 Act, in addition to establishing a formal public body to oversee Gaelic

revival efforts also stipulated that a National Gaelic Language Plan must be created every

five years to show progress as well as document what efforts were effective and which were

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[65] Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, November 5, 2002.
[66] "Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005," Bòrd na Gàidhlig, Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2020.
[67] Ibid.
[68] "About Us," Bòrd na Gàidhlig, Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2020.

not.[69] While it may appear that the Scottish Parliament was beginning to make Gaelic a larger priority, in fact, iterations and edits of this Act are some of the only pieces of Gaelic legislation being address from 2002 to 2005. To Dr Ewing's point, the Parliament managed to find time for this Act, though in a limited capacity and more so that it could be resolved and further matters on Scots Gaelic could be moved into the responsibility of the Bòrd. This is the early stage when activists were beginning to be placed into sub committees and when Gaelic revival began taking a back seat as other issues were brought forth to the Scottish Parliament. A potential reason for the marginalization for Gaelic might be that not many people spoke it by 2000. While not yet a dead language, it was far from a majority language, thus the Scottish Parliament most likely put revival efforts to the periphery to instead focus on other issues that affected a greater proportion of the population.

In 2005, discussions in Parliament went beyond simply acknowledging Gaelic and addressed the respect afforded Gaelic. When discussing amendment changes in the third stage of the 2005 Act, Alex Neill, an SNP member pointed out that the 2005 Act was to be, "a clear message… from the Parliament about the importance of the Gaelic language, not just in terms of what we are trying to do for the language itself but in regenerating the language as a key part of regenerating the culture, traditions and heritage of all of Scotland."[70] Words like Neill's demonstrated the commitment to the language and therefore history of Scotland, despite the fact that revival efforts would later be at the periphery of Parliamentary concerns. The relationship between the Parliament and Gaelic activists appeared strong in the beginning as the Parliament was establishing itself. For the Parliament from 1999 to 2005,

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[69] "Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005," Bòrd na Gàidhlig, Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2020.
[70] Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, April 21, 2005.

Gaelic was a relatively simple step to show a developing Scottish identity. Yet, while it appeared that the Parliament was just as devoted to promoting Gaelic as a lived language as activists had been, that attention would not be sustained.

Analysis

The postcolonial era brought new notions of independence across the globe. Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland began to define their respective identities within the British Isles, thus beginning devolution movements. In Scotland's case specifically, tourism and Scots Gaelic revival efforts were able to establish themselves as defining signifiers of Scottish identity. Both looked to the future by using the past.

Tourism used the past to commodify a vision to promote the present and future to the international community. Ideas of what it meant to be Scottish were built in the tourist imaginary, attracting genealogy and later heritage tourists. The growing interest in Scottish culture pushed the tourism sector across Scotland to create a lived vision of the past that was based on profit over culture. The tourism sector saw the potential to sell a vision globally in which heritage was something to look upon as a relic of the past rather than something lived. The ties between Scottish identity and tourism were built in the twentieth century in the advent of WW2 and further influenced one another throughout the twenty first century.

Scots Gaelic used the past to push their agenda of reviving Scots Gaelic within Scotland. Devolution provided a space for activists to oppose the power imbalance of English domination over Scotland since the Acts of Union that led to the decline of Gaelic since the eighteenth century. Within the Scottish Parliament, activists were trying to gain recognition that Gaelic was a lived language that needed to be supported and remained focused on local and national policies. Devolution gave the Scottish Parliament the freedom to make

legislative decisions regarding Scottish specific issues and therefore aided Gaelic activists,

however as time went on, activists found themselves on the margins and moved into sub

committees to fight for language rights. As work for Scots Gaelic was strong in 1999 while

tourism was growing, the twenty first century will see the reverse, as activists remaining

focused on language revival on a local and national level find themselves not a main focus of

the Parliament while tourism increases exponentially by expanding to attract visitors from all

over the world. This shift will prove to be a challenge for activists as they contend with

tourism's vision of Scotland that is becoming increasingly more popular and recognized.

While activists see Scots Gaelic as a living language of the past, present, and future of

Scotland, tourism's vision sees Gaelic as a relic of the past.

Conclusion

Devolution offered Scotland an opportunity for increased regional distinctiveness.

The emergence of genealogy tourism that morphed into heritage tourism formed an

international identity based on the past as a phenomenon to be monetized. On the other hand,

Gaelic activists used Scotland's emerging distinctiveness to show how Scots Gaelic was a

living language that deserved recognition as an official language of Scotland. Activists such

as Anne Lorne Gillies and Sir Iain Noble were two prominent promoters of Gaelic. A

classically trained vocal performer, Gillies has been involved in the movement to revive both

Gaelic language and culture.[71] Among her accomplishments, "she went on to work as

National Gaelic Education Officer for Comann na Gàidhlig, as writer/producer of

programmes like Speaking Our Language and Caraidean for Scottish Television, and

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[71] "Anne Lorne Gillies," Scottish Traditional Music Hall of Fame, Hands up for Trad, January 8, 2013.

eventually as Gaelic Lecturer at the University of Strathclyde."[72] Gillies' work promoting

Gaelic both as an educator and musician has shown Gaelic as a living language in modern

Scotland.

Sir Iain Noble was another prominent Gaelic activist. In his lifetime, he lived on the

Isle of Skye and was known for, "Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Scotland's Gaelic college, which he

founded in embryonic form in 1973."[73] In addition, Noble aided in the efforts to establish the

use of Gaelic on road signs in Scotland and has stimulated the economy on the Sleat

peninsula through business ventures such as "knitwear, fishing, and 'Gaelic whiskies'" and a

hotel.[74] His efforts over the course of his lifetime have given Gaelic speakers a space and

community on Sleat. To this day, Sleat, "holds an unusually high proportion of Gaelic

speakers."[75] Gillies and Noble have been two prominent activists who have been

instrumental in promoting and supporting Gaelic decades before and after devolution,

showing the use of Gaelic contemporarily and giving an example of what the country could

look like if Gaelic rose in prominence. While Westminster used devolution to appease Scot's

desires for independence, for Scotland, devolution was a way to reverse the Acts of Union

and gain more political autonomy.

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[72] "Anne Lorne Gillies," Scottish Traditional Music Hall of Fame, Hands up for Trad, January 8, 2013.
[73] "Sir Iain Noble Obituary," The Guardian, Guardian News and Media, January 3, 2011.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

Chapter 2: Is Scotland Better Together?

In 2014, questions about Scottish identity culminated in the Scottish Referendum, a popular vote to determine whether Scotland should become an independent nation. The referendum was the product of a lengthy political campaign, and Scotland's status in Britain and the wider world had been a major subject of conflict throughout the region in the years leading up to it. In this chapter, we will see how debates about Scotland's independence and connection to the rest of the UK were reflected both by promoters of heritage tourism and activists pushing for Gaelic revitalization. These two visions of Scotland both stood in opposition to the 2014 Referendum, though tourist groups were more likely to appeal to a Scottish identity separate from that of Britain. In very different ways, the two networks both emphasized Scotland's connection to the international community in conjunction with an idea of Britishness.

Independence Referendum

The momentum for the referendum began around 2010 with Alex Salmond, who at the time was Scotland's first minister and leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP).[1] Salmond began discussions around Scottish independence therefore leading the SNP in that direction in 2010.[2] The SNP during this time was driven by an idea of restoring Scottish statehood as well as independence.[3] The SNP sought to garner support for the referendum with a "white paper", but the following referendum bill was not passed and therefore a vote

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[1] Peter Kellner, "Alex Salmond," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.
[2] Gerry Hassan, "Alex Salmond's Leap on Independence," *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, June 30, 2010.
[3] Ibid.

could not happen in 2010.[4] The SNP continued to push, though, and in 2012, the Edinburgh

Agreement was created, "between the Scottish and UK Government on the terms for the

2014 Scottish independence referendum."[5] Signed by Salmond, Cameron, Moore, and

Sturgeon, this document laid out the terms of a referendum, expressing that it should:

> have a clear legal base, be legislated for by the Scottish Parliament, be conducted so
>
> as to command the confidence of parliaments, governments and people, [and] deliver
>
> a fair test and a decisive expression of the views of people in Scotland and a result
>
> that everyone will respect.[6]

This agreement was important because it not only set boundaries and rules between the

Scottish and UK parliaments but also put a deadline by which a referendum could occur, thus

influencing the vote in Scotland.

David Cameron, "was responsible for the referendum's date and terms [and]… he

opted against presenting other possibilities on the ballot."[7] Cameron had an immense amount

of power in the Edinburgh Agreement and framed the referendum to favor the "Better

Together" campaign. The Edinburgh Agreement stated, "that a referendum could be held at

any point before the end of 2014."[8] The 2014 Independence Referendum was broadly

dictated by the Edinburgh Agreement that David Cameron had power in creating as well as

the SNP and Scottish Parliament who created the ballot.

[4] Gerry Hassan, "The SNP Falters on Independence," *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, January 26, 2010.
[5] Elle Duffy, "Explained: What Is the Edinburgh Agreement, and Does It Say Anything about 'Once in a Generation'?" *Herald Scotland*, Herald Scotland, September 3, 2020.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Armin Rosen, "Here's How David Cameron Blundered into Letting Scotland Vote on Its Own Independence," *Business Insider*, Business Insider, September 18, 2014.
[8] Elle Duffy, "Explained: What Is the Edinburgh Agreement, and Does It Say Anything about 'Once in a Generation'?" *Herald Scotland*, Herald Scotland, September 3, 2020.

Around this same time, in 2009, David Cameron and his Conservative Party showed outward support against further involvement in the European Union. Cameron went so far as to say in 2009, "it is not standing up for Britishness when you undermine our Houses of Parliament by passing more and more power to Brussels without giving people the referendum you promised."[9] These words show the Conservative party's stance on British authority and their desire to consolidate as much power in the UK Parliament as possible. This stance on the role of the UK government as well as the future of its authority explains why, though opposed to the Edinburgh Agreement, Cameron signed it. Signing it was a way to both subdue Scots on the notion of independence as well as hopefully put talk of independence to rest for a generation.[10] As we will see later, Cameron's promise of a Brexit vote in years to come would result in the same questions of Scottish identity, British identity, and the role of the United Kingdom in the European Union.

As Ben Clifford and Janice Morphet, professors at University College London explain, the period of political upheaval that the Scottish referendum brought, thus affecting many institutions across the UK.[11] Their work demonstrates how various factors in Britain led to the Scottish referendum and ultimately the vote to remain in the UK. The referendum was hotly contested in a lengthy process. Supporters of an independent Scotland formed the Yes Scotland campaign. Their opponents formed Better Together that campaigned for remaining a part of the UK.[12] Unsurprisingly, the SNP led by Nicola Sturgeon and Alex

[9] Paul Goodman, Mark Wallace, Peter Hoskin, Harry Phibbs, Andrew Gimson, Peter Franklin, and Tim Montgomerie, "David Cameron MP: Proud to Be British," Conservative Home, July 10, 2010.
[10] Armin Rosen, "Here's How David Cameron Blundered into Letting Scotland Vote on Its Own Independence," *Business Insider*, Business Insider, September 18, 2014.
[11] Ben Clifford and Janice Morphet, "Afterword: The Scottish Referendum, the English Question and the Changing Constitutional Geography of the United Kingdom," *Geographical Journal* 181, no. 1 (March 2015): 59.
[12] Colin J McCracken, "Scottish Independence Referendum 2014: The Roots of the #Indyref," *Jstor Daily*, Jstor, September 17, 2014.

Salmond supported the "Yes" campaign. Alistair Darling led the opposition against the SNP: Darling was a former member of Tony Blair's Labour Government and a Labour MP. His "Better Together" campaign also drew the support of David Cameron's Conservative Government.[13] This shows the ways in which the argument over IndyRef and therefore Scottish identity was more about regional identity than political factionalism because both the Labour and Conservative parties were involved in the "Better Together" campaign, which would not have happened had the debate been centered solely around politics. The vote may have appeared simple since it was "yes" or "no", however, it was anything but simple due to social, economic, and political ramifications of either staying in the UK or becoming an independent nation.

The idea of Scottish independence was appealing to some Scots. As we have seen, many in Scotland for centuries had ideas about their own identity and culture separate to that of the UK. However, 55.3% of the population ultimately voted no, thus keeping Scotland a part of the UK.[14] The key issues in the debate on IndyRef were centered around finances, from currency, taxation, and trade, and many who voted to remain part of Britain were motivated by anxieties about the economic consequences of leaving.[15] If Scotland left the UK to become an independent nation, what would that mean for the Scottish economy, the British economy, and would Scotland be able to recover from the loss of over three hundred years of diplomacy with England? In addition, if Scotland gained independence, the country would have sought to join the EU for the economic benefits, yet not accept the Euro as their

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[13] Colin J McCracken, "Scottish Independence Referendum 2014: The Roots of the #Indyref," *Jstor Daily*, Jstor, September 17, 2014.

[14] "Scottish Independence Referendum: Final Results in Full," The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, September 18, 2014.

[15] Colin J McCracken, "Scottish Independence Referendum 2014: The Roots of the #Indyref," *Jstor Daily*, Jstor, September 17, 2014.

currency.[16] This contention between an idealized independent Scotland that would be culturally distinct from England and Wales and the economic and legal ramifications can be seen in conflict as Scots Gaelic activists and tourist agencies decide how they will balance portraying a Scottish identity while recognizing that support from the UK is important to their work.

Gaelic Activists Supporting the UK

Given the central role that the concept of a distinct Scottish culture played in the "Yes Scotland" campaign, one might expect that it would have found ready allies among Scots Gaelic activists. In fact, as the SNP pushed ahead with plans for the referendum, the revitalization of Scots Gaelic was gaining momentum within Scotland but separately from IndyRef debates.

The first national Gaelic Language Plan, spanning 2008-2013 was the first plan developed by the Bórd. In the first plan, the Bórd sought to implement the use of Gaelic publicly within Scotland. This included a specific set of aims, including introducing signs with both Gaelic and English, creating formal procedures for Gaelic speakers within Parliament, establishing Gaelic awareness trainings, and mandating that telephones to have both Gaelic as well as English.[17] Though the deadlines for these particular steps were vague, these goals were aimed at visibility to the public. The Scottish Parliament, which the SNP has had control over since 2007, intended these initiatives to increase awareness of Scots Gaelic, which by that point had been declared a national language by the Scottish Parliament.

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[16] Colin J McCracken, "Scottish Independence Referendum 2014: The Roots of the #Indyref," *Jstor Daily*, Jstor, September 17, 2014.
[17] "Gaelic Language Plan_English.Pdf," Accessed October 3, 2020: 19.

Parliament was attempting to save a language and increase its visibility by any means necessary to help increase the number of speakers and fluency within Scotland.

Despite growing interest in public debates about Scottishness, though, discussions around Gaelic actually declined in the years preceding the IndyRef to simply mentioning Gaelic in passing. In 2010, there are eight major items of business recorded that address Gaelic substantially. In 2012, the most substantive item of business is in relation to what activists and legislators would like to see for the Gaelic Language Plans in the future and the perceived future of the language.[18] And in 2013, the number dropped down to five major mentions from 2010. As Dr. Alasdair Allan, who served as the Minister for Learning, Science, and Scotland's Languages expressed, "I would like to see people with Gaelic being prepared and willing to use the language more often, and for there to be opportunities and places for them to do so."[19] By 2013, discussions around Gaelic were shifting towards what rights would be afforded to Gaelic speakers and how to create systems that would afford Gaelic the same rights as an established national language practiced alongside English.

In 2013 and 2014, the major issues lay in printing ballots in Gaelic[20] and in ensuring the rights of speakers within government and court proceedings.[21] Throughout debates in 2013 over Gaelic's revival process, two main arguments emerged, one stating that Gaelic needed to be respected, accessible, and visible as a national language alongside English. The other side argued that the expectations should not exceed those put in place by the Language

[18] Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, October 2, 2012.

[19] Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, October 2, 2012.

[20] "European Union (Referendum) Bill," Hansard, November 22, 2013.

[21] "European Union (Referendum) Bill," Hansard, January 24, 2014.

Plans.[22] In either case, the issue of Gaelic's application in Scotland as well as its rights were

becoming the center of the debate, thus focusing on the application of the language in

Scotland rather than large theoretical concepts of what revitalization would look like.

As activists moved toward a more lived version of the language, Gaelic was also

beginning to be lumped in with other spoken minority languages by both the UK Parliament

as well as the EU. Cornish, Ulster Scots, Irish, Welsh, Manx Gaelic, Scots Gaelic, and Irish

Gaelic were all beginning to be recognized by the European Union as belonging to a

subgroup of minority languages in Britain. Another important group that worked to aid

minority language revival, the British Irish Council, established in 1998 to promote

relationships between the people on the islands of Britain[23], met in 2013 to discuss the status

of minority languages. At this meeting, Dr. Alasdair Allan MSP said, "when we were

considering the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act during its progress through the Scottish

Parliament we looked to learn from other Administrations including Wales and Northern

Ireland."[24] Dr. Allan's words demonstrate the ways in which minority languages boost one

another and provide aid to each other.

At this seminar in 2013, delegates representing Scots Gaelic, Irish, and Welsh were

present and discussed legislation meant to support and grow a minority language.[25] This

meeting of delegates for minority languages across Britain, while not inclusive of all

minority languages, does show the ways in which these group are leaning on one another to

advocate for the rights of minority language speakers as a collective rather than focusing

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[22] Information on the 2013 debates from Official Report. "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament, The Scottish Parliament, September 17, 2013.
[23] "About the Council," British, 2016.
[24] "Indigenous, Minority and Lesser-Used Languages Legislation Seminar - 7-8th November 2013," British Irish Council, January 29, 2014.
[25] Ibid.

solely on legislation for their respective language. As shown in the UK Parliament records, discussions around minority languages were increasing in 2010, and while languages got attention, generally all minority languages across Britain were grouped together. Lord Foulkes of Cumnock compared minority languages to one another saying,

> it was pointed out recently… that the United Nations committee looking at the European Convention on Human Rights recommended that the Administration in Northern Ireland adopt an Irish language Act with a view to preserving and promoting minority languages and cultural heritage in the same way as the Welsh Language Act and the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act.[26]

This grouping of minority languages by the UK Parliament, while seeming to generalize them, actually bolstered each of their causes because together these languages had more agency and could learn from one another. The Scottish Referendum in 2014 did not gain the support of Scots Gaelic activists because Scots Gaelic was seen in relation to other minority languages across Britain and therefore aligned themselves with a British identity rather than solely Scottish.

As conversations around Gaelic evolved, they shifted from large theoretical concepts to specific ideas around Gaelic's identity within Scotland and Britain. Advocates for Scots Gaelic revival began moving away from a Scottish identity in favor of positioning themselves as part of a broader British identity. This shift occurred because as minority languages across Britain gained traction in politics, Gaelic activists understood that more could be done by working with other minority languages than simply with the Scottish

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[26] "Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Bill," Hansard, December 8, 2010.

Parliament and Scottish organizations alone. From 2012-2014, Gaelic representation across the country was being discussed while advocates were looking to the future.

Gaelic activists engaged with and at times made common cause with other minority language speakers. Because of this, there was little support in the movement for Scottish Independence since it threatened to weaken the alliances made between minority languages across Britain. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages gave visibility and support to British minority languages such as, Cornish, Irish, Manx Gaelic, Scots, Scottish-Gaelic, Ulster Scots, and Welsh.[27] These languages supported one another in their struggle to revive themselves. News sources such as *The Guardian*, a left leaning news source recently wrote an article on the ways that the UK has failed to promote Cornish, Irish, and Ulster Scots as minority languages.[28] This collective categorization of languages shows why Scots Gaelic activists did not support IndyRef. In addition, as we will see in the next chapter with Brexit, the issues of Scottish identity and Scots Gaelic, similarly to IndyRef will show patterns of what it means to be Scottish and where Gaelic revival efforts fit into this identity.

As tourism sided with the "Better Together" campaign, one might expect the Bórd, responsible for the development and implementation of Gaelic revival, to side with the "yes" campaign. Interestingly, the Bórd and Gaelic activists actually removed themselves from the IndyRef debate altogether. There are very few sources linking both Gaelic revival efforts with IndyRef, in part because of the position Gaelic was in. Scotland remaining a part of the UK would mean more tourists which would increase Gaelic's visibility, however the Bórd

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[27] "What Languages Does the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Apply to?" European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Council of Europe, 2020.
[28] "UK Accused of Failing to Promote Minority Languages," *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, September 8, 2020.

and therefore advocates could not ignore the Scottish government's financial support[29] that

allowed the Bórd to accomplish its aims. Gaelic activists' removal from IndyRef politics is

telling and shows, while not showing outward support for "Better Together", an

acknowledgement that the "Yes" campaign would not benefit their agenda.

The second Gaelic plan demonstrates the ways in which the Scottish Parliament is

trying to align growing interest in tourism, which is closely tied to UK politics, with reviving

Gaelic. For these reasons, Gaelic advocates as well as the Bórd, would not have supported

leaving the UK and explains why there was so little connection between Gaelic revival

efforts and IndyRef politics. An article published by *Bella Caledonia*, an online political

magazine, is one of the few sources that addresses this disconnect between IndyRef and

Gaelic revival efforts. The white paper, mentioned in the article, was a document that aimed

to outline Scotland's future economically, politically, and socially should the country gain its

independence. The *Bella Caledonia* article states that,

> The White Paper [regarding the "Yes" campaign by the SNP] does include the fairly
>
> bold statement that 'in an independent Scotland, Gaelic will have a central place in
>
> Scottish public life', but gives no indication as to how this might come about, given
>
> that no significant new measures are proposed and the language very obviously does
>
> not hold such a central place at the moment.[30]

This is indicative of attitudes towards Gaelic that one of the strongest mentions of Gaelic

revival are in this project, yet only within the margins. There was a clear disconnect between

advocacy for Gaelic and IndyRef. Those advocating for Gaelic, it seems, understood that in

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[29] For a list of figures on the Scottish government financial support, see: "Funding Schemes," Bórd na Gidhlig, 2020.
[30] "The Non-Issue of Gaelic in the Indyref Debate," Bella Caledonia, July 31, 2018.

order to make larger structural changes to include Gaelic in Scottish life, the debate needed to

stay within the Scottish Parliament as well as within the discussions around minority

languages across the UK rather than joining the SNP in discussions on IndyRef.

Gaelic activists had a vision of a lived language in modern Scotland. Their mission

found footing with other minority languages across Britain as activists of those languages

shared in the trials and victories of language revival. The shift that Gaelic activists took away

from a strictly Scottish identity to an envisioned modern language within Scotland that would

stand as a representation of Scottishness stood in contrast to tourism efforts. As will be

explored, the London Olympics and Glasgow Commonwealth Games envisioned a Scottish

identity differently than Gaelic activists that leaned more heavily on the international

community and existing connections between the countries in the UK.

How the London Olympics 2012 and Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 Illustrate
Tourism's articulation of National Identity

As Gaelic activists were pushing their agenda ahead, the tourism sector was also

growing and working to establish itself more fully amid IndyRef politics. In the years leading

up to IndyRef, the tourism sector had the opportunity to grow at unprecedented levels due to

the London Olympics (2012) as well as Commonwealth Games in Glasgow (2014). The

Scottish tourism industry was able to make more use of a distinct vision of Scotland in this

period, one that might seem in keeping with a push for independence. However, economic,

and strategic considerations meant that few in the industry supported IndyRef in 2014.

In Scotland, a series of marketing campaigns by *VisitScotland* show how the tourism

industry is attempting to attract visitors and promote a vision of Scotland amongst political

turmoil. Different years had designations to boost tourism, such as the Year of Homecoming

in 2013 and the Year of Food and Drink in 2015.[31] In 2013, *VisitScotland* began the

"Brilliant Moments" campaign that was targeted for a UK audience.[32] The campaign sought

to attract, "Scots who love travelling but had not seen enough of their own country, and those

in England who always wanted to come to Scotland but just hadn't got around to it."[33] As we

will see in the next chapter, newer campaigns targeted international audiences, continuing the

projection since the 1960s of tourism's aim of promoting Scotland abroad that the 2012

Olympics and Commonwealth Games gave prominence to.

    The 2012 Olympic Games, set in London, created an opportunity for an

unprecedented wave of funding and support for tourism initiatives across the UK. A fund

totaling around £100 million was created for the UK, intended for before, during, and after

the Olympic games.[34] This was an anomaly in a period defined by the austerity policies that

otherwise determined government spending in this period. In 2010, the UK projected that by

2014-15, "DCMS's [Digital culture and media sport] combined capital and resource budget

will be 25% lower than in 2010-11."[35] This resulted in, "*Cutting waste and inefficiency and*

stopping lower priority projects… [and the announcement] to abolish a number of public

bodies including the UK Film Council and the Museums Libraries and Archives Council."[36]

When the UK was cutting public bodies, the influx of money for tourism shows a clear shift

in priorities favoring the growing tourism sector. This emphasis on tourism was funneled into

heritage and culture to attract the international community and showcase the UK. In this

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[31] "Previous Marketing Campaigns – Marketing," Previous Marketing Campaigns - Marketing
VisitScotland.org, VisitScotland.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ian Lacey, "M&C Report: 'Hospitality — Getting in Shape for 2012': 31 January 2011,
London," *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 11, no. 2 (2011): 161.
[35] "Spending Review Statement," Hansard, October 21, 2010.
[36] Ibid.

instance, the UK folded Scotland into that category, despite building pressure for IndyRef. The broader UK was formed around this idea of England, Scotland, and Wales as a unified cohesive destination and cultural phenomena.

The London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics brought a surge in tourism and a push for showing off the UK's culture to attract tourists for years afterwards by both the UK tourist board as well as the organizers of the Olympic Games. Many of these efforts were focused on cultivating an idea of Britain's cultural heritage. The events were considered by the organizers of the Olympics, "a platform to showcase the destination."[37] The UK's ability to show itself off was second only to the games themselves. Their goal was, "to make full use of the opportunities to promote Britain."[38] As expressed in the interim report, "the Olympic and Paralympic Games would provide an excellent catalyst for tourism marketing and development."[39] With the media exposure as well as visitors, the UK had the perfect opportunity to emphasize heritage and culture. Overall, "the brilliance of the London Games was not all about sport. It was about putting the country on display."[40] VisitBritain's interim report for the Olympic Games for example, included an image of Edinburgh from Calton Hill, showcasing an iconic view of the city that would appeal to the international community. [41] The report's "strategy …shows how aligning marketing and Government policy can deliver an economic legacy."[42] As John Penrose, the Minister for Tourism and Heritage in 2012 said, "the Olympics and Paralympics should be viewed as 'the hors d'oeuvres, not the main course' for UK tourism."[43] John Penrose's comment shows the vision the creators of

[37] Rep, *The London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, VisitBritain, November 2012: 2.
[38] Ibid., 4.
[39] Ibid., 7.
[40] Ibid., 14.
[41] Ibid., 8.
[42] Ibid., 19.
[43] Ian Lacey, "M&C Report: 'Hospitality — Getting in Shape for 2012': 31 January 2011,

the London Olympic Games had in creating a national identity that encompassed all the countries of Britain.

It is important to analyze the nature of advertisements in the UK leading up to the 2012 Olympics because it gives insight into how the national tourist industry appealed to foreign visitors as well as how culture and heritage were being presented. A video by the BBC in 2012 leading up to the Olympics opens with a body of water surrounded by mountains, indicating either the highlands of Scotland or somewhere in Northern Ireland. Later in the video, there are scenes specific on London such a London Bridge, Big Ben, and other tourist spots unique to the city, showing the ways in which, the athletes are being welcomed to all parts of the city. Other shots show more developed areas, such as housing areas that can be seen in either England, Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland. Because some of the scenes in this video cannot be distinguished where exactly they are, it serves to present the UK as a unified country that shares geographic aspects across the countries as well as how the UK has modernized as a whole rather than country by country.[44] Several advertisements by other companies such as Visa, Coca-Cola, Proctor and Gamble, and Adidas, all portrayed similar visions of the UK to their viewers in an attempt to build excitement and show off what their companies sold as well as what the UK had to offer to the international community.[45] The nature of these advertisements served to show the culture and heritage of the UK as well as sell a vision of the country to visitors internationally.

No event more fully captures the Olympic's efforts to create a vision of the UK than the Opening Ceremony. The London Olympic Opening Ceremony was oriented on the UK's

London," *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 11, no. 2 (2011): 161.
[44] The section about the BBC 2012 Olympic video come from: tehguy3, "BBC London 2012 Olympic Games Advert (Full Length)," Youtube, July 3, 2012.
[45] "London 2012 Olympic Advertising," Urban River, July 2012.

past in industry, pop culture, and other factors to demonstrate how the country had moved

and developed into the current era. The opening ceremony begins with a song with scenes of

a children's choir in England, Ireland, and Scotland; each singing a song representative of

their country.[46] The opening ceremony then appears to enter the age of the industrial

revolution, in which workers and factory owners must work together to create a developed

nation.[47] Afterwards, there are shots of men in WWI uniforms, the women's suffrage

movement, the Empire Windrush, the trooping of the guards, all the while steel workers

building up the infrastructure of modern day Britain.[48] The diversity of people in this

performance, carefully staged and purposefully shown here, points to the diversity of Britain

due to globalization and colonialism. London is not shying away from its past in this

performance, rather showing the broad steps it took to become an international city. This first

performance thus presented a very glorified and condensed version of the UK's history.

     After the first performance, the opening ceremony incorporated internationally

recognized symbols of the UK such as James Bond, the Queen, her corgis, and the prominent

tourist destinations people think of when they think of London.[49] This show of what

London—and therefore the UK have to offer the international community—shows the ways

in which the creators of the opening ceremony want people to view the UK. The use of

British pop culture icons such as Harry Potter, Mary Poppins, Mr. Bean, and many more on

display show the contribution of the UK to the modern world. This perceived heritage and

therefore culture is being emphasized to appeal to the international community and draw

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[46] *The Complete London 2012 Opening Ceremony London 2012 Olympic Games*, 2012.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

them to the UK. These efforts are evident in the Opening Ceremony, and are intended to display the country as well as attract tourists for the future.

Though the Olympics were centered in London, planners for the event expected that its impact would be felt across the UK, including in Scotland. *The Herald*, a Glaswegian non-partisan news source wrote in 2005, "on either side of the Olympics, Scotland can expect a huge tourist boom, as spectators extend their stays to take in the sights."[50] The £100 million budget for the games was meant to be spread across England, Scotland, and Wales. The influx of money to Scotland allowed the tourism sector to grow quickly to meet the coming needs of tourists. The Office for National Statistics (UK)'s statistics on the GDP of Britain from 1949 to 2018 indicates that from 2007 to 2015, the years encompassing the London Olympics as well as the Glasgow Commonwealth Games, the GDP rose significantly, peaking in 2014 then began to lower until 2018.[51] While there are many factors in calculating the GDP, the sharp rise from 2009 to 2014 indicates that overall, the build-up and subsequent years of major events in Britain aided the British economy.[52] The combination of the London Olympics as well as Commonwealth Games in Scotland resulted in the GDP increasing and therefore visibility and tourism increasing internationally.

During the Olympics and Paralympics, England pushed tourists into Scotland to encourage UK tourism, but later, in 2014 we see Scotland choosing to reject its position as an extension of England. During 2012, Scotland was seen in conjunction with the UK for the most part, whereas in 2014 Scotland is trying to distinguish itself from England. Scotland got

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[50] "Olympic Victory for all Scotland has More to Gain than Lose from 2012 Games: [Final Edition]," *The Herald,* Jul 07, 2005.
[51] Office for National Statistics (UK), "Gross domestic product (GDP) year-on-year growth in the United Kingdom (UK) from 1949 to 2019," Chart. February 11, 2020, Statista.
[52] Ibid.

a second opportunity to profit from major athletic events in 2014, when the Commonwealth Games were held in Glasgow. Again, tourism hopes abounded, but this time Scottish planners would frame a very different vision of Scotland to the incoming visitors. In 2013, *VisitScotland* announced that, "Scotland's tourism agency will spend [pounds]2.5million on marketing the 2014 Commonwealth Games at home and abroad."[53] In this instance, Scotland was referring to solely the country and not Great Britain. This boost to Scotland's primary tourism agency, *VisitScotland*, allowed the company to promote Glasgow as a cultural hub as well as encourage visitors to travel to other areas of Scotland that welcomed tourists. The advertising for the Games contained no references to England, Great Britain, or the UK: rather Scotland presented itself as an autonomous country—or at least as a distinct cultural zone.

The Commonwealth Games allowed Scottish tourism agencies such as Historic Scotland, *VisitScotland*, and several others to advertise and present their vision of the country to the world. Showing off the things that made Scotland distinct from the rest of the UK. Unlike the London Olympics where Scotland was portrayed as a piece of the UK's history and culture, the Commonwealth Games allowed Scotland to take center stage and present a proud identity with its own rich history.

The Game organizers were not pushing to increase domestic tourism, rather they were looking internationally to bring people into Scotland to show a modernized Scotland that welcomed the world. The build-up to IndyRef also coincided with the Commonwealth Games being held in Glasgow in 2014. For some Gaelic activists, this was a chance to enhance Gaelic's visibility to the international community. Discussions in Parliament were

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[53] Lynsey Bews, "It's Game on with [Pounds]2.5m Ad Campaign for Glasgow 2014: Tourism Chiefs Announce Drive to Promote Commonwealth Hosts [Scot Region]," *Daily Mail,* Jul 22, 2013.

focused in 2014 around Gaelic's relationship to Scottish culture.[54] From 2012 to 2014,

discussions around Gaelic first focused on the future of the language to associating Gaelic

closely with a Scottish identity. This evolution within the Scottish Parliament shows a

growing specificity in Gaelic's role and place within the future of Scotland and the UK.

The Commonwealth games, while catering to domestic tourists less than international

tourists, did include Gaelic, though very little, in their advertisements. In their marketing

strategies, they used short Gaelic translations such as, "Bliadhna air leth a bhith an Alba"

meaning "this is a great year to be in Scotland"[55] to show Scottish linguistic heritage. While

this translation is nowhere near enough to learn a language, it is a show of "Scottishness" and

linguistic heritage to the international community that Glasgow promoted to show its heritage

and culture to audiences all over the world.

The limited role for Gaelic in the Commonwealth Games may also hint at an

important divergence between how Gaelic activists envision the language and the way that

the tourist industry conceives of it as a symbol of Scottishness. Despite activists' efforts to

present it as a living language, tourist depictions of Scotland usually associate Gaelic with a

more "ancient" version. In contrast, the Commonwealth Games led to entirely new facilities

being constructed, pointing to a vision of tourism focused on modernity rather than the past.

This vision of the past is where Games organizers envisioned Gaelic, thus standing in

contrast to what Gaelic activists were fighting against. While the Olympic Opening

Ceremony looked back at the events and icons that created a British identity, the

Commonwealth Games focused on the future. Steve MacNaull pointed to the Velodrome as a

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[54] Official Report, "Official Report," Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament, August 14, 2014.
[55] Scotland, Creative, and Creativescotland, "Culture 2014 Programme Guide," Issuu, June 16, 2014: 4.

purpose-built site meant to draw spectators, "the venue has been built as a public space where people are encouraged to watch and try out the sport of indoor track cycling."[56] Several other buildings in Glasgow were built with public consumption in mind as well. These buildings serve as training spaces as well as tourist destinations. Visitors can be excited to exercise in the same space as the athletes they supported and cheered on. Gordon Arthur, games chief communications officer expressed that part of the goal of the games was to, "generate legacy, tourism and economic development."[57] This is essential to mention because both legacy as well as economic development will further tourism and sustain it long term. The expressed goal of the games creating a lasting sustainable tourism industry that can support Scottish culture and heritage.

Scotland was looking to the future for tourism when planning for the Commonwealth Games. In the 2014 Program Guide, "Culture 2014" was created as a way to capitalize on the Commonwealth Games.[58] The entire culture guide provides insight into the events and performances that will be held during the summer of 2014 in both Edinburgh and Glasgow such as: dances, singing, exhibitions, plays, trusts and organizations, and artists throughout the months of July and August.[59] There was a wide variety of performers, directors, and creators with emphasis on local artists. Janice Parker, a Glaswegian choreographer's work "Glory" was featured at the festival as well as Big Big Sing which seeks to promote singing in the UK and is based in and supported by Glasgow art initiatives such as, "Glasgow 2014, Creative Scotland, [and] Glasgow UNESCO City of Music and Spirit of 2012."[60] In addition

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[56] Steve MacNaull, "Glasgow's Glowing; Scotland's Biggest City Will have Knockout Summer Hosting Commonwealth Games," *Prince George Citizen,* Apr 26, 2014.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Scotland, Creative, and Creativescotland, "Culture 2014 Programme Guide," Issuu, June 16, 2014.
[59] Ibid., 28-35.
[60] "What Is Big Big Sing," Big Big Sing.

to this, Get Scotland Dancing held events across the duration of the Games such as Get

Dancin', Dance Trails, and Dance-along Movies.[61] These Scottish centered events sought to

promote Scottish culture and heritage through actions or visuals.

Another large group involved in Culture Program were authors. Authors Live brought

in, "leading Scottish, UK, and Commonwealth-based authors and illustrators for children,

broadcast live for free."[62] These initiatives show how Glasgow is showing its place within

the Commonwealth and UK while still displaying Scotland's unique culture. The

Commonwealth showed Scotland's connection to the wider world. Events such as Sports

Soties from around the African Commonwealth by Africa in Motion and Welcome: Common

Ground by the Scottish Refugee Council[63] demonstrated Scotland's ability to look outwards

to the world and not simply throwing Scottish culture at visitors. Part of the vision being

shown in the Glasgow 2014 Games is a country rich in culture and heritage but also a

cosmopolitan country.

The short distance between the cities as well as their position in the Lowlands

allowed easy movement and for the cities to work in conjunction in to demonstrate

Scotland's industrial and innovative past as well as their shared vision of Scotland. The

Highlands, however, gave tourists the imagined Scotland seen in pictures and media. The

remoteness of the Highlands also allowed tourist agencies to show a complex dichotomy in

Scotland of innovation and progress in the Lowlands yet a romanticized and mystic vision of

the Highlands. This complex idea of one country with seemingly two distinct cultures and

heritages builds Scotland's identity and differentiates it from that of Britain.

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[61] Scotland, Creative, and Creativescotland, "Culture 2014 Programme Guide," Issuu, June 16, 2014: 6-7.
[62] Ibid., 8-9.
[63] Ibid., 10-11.

The Commonwealth Games promoted an idea of Scotland that seemed disconnected from Britain as a whole. However, the organizers nevertheless understood that Scotland's success was tied in closely to British structures. This proved to be a dominant view in Scotland, and in 2014 ultimately the people voted to remain part of the UK. The 2012 London Olympic and Paralympic Game understood Scottish identity differently, but both organizers of the Games understood that Scotland's success was tied closely to Britain. In addition, Scots Gaelic activism, while pushing for rights and a place in society for Gaelic speakers, acknowledged that to lobby for Gaelic revitalization, it needed the support of other groups lobbying for minority languages across Britain. Though both the tourist industry and Gaelic activists pointed to a distinct Scottish identity in the early twenty-first century, the connections economically and culturally to British identity were strong enough that these ideas did not extend to independence.

Conclusion

The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum brought questions of identity to the forefront of Scottish politics. The lead up to IndyRef was fierce with two sides trying to convince Scots as to why they should vote either to remain or leave the UK. The 2012 Olympics and Paralympic Games and the Glasgow Commonwealth Games in the summer of 2014 heightened debates about Scottish identity. The agencies leading the Olympic Games sought a vision of a unified UK while the creators of the Glasgow Games recognized a Scottish culture and heritage separate from the UK. Scottish distinctiveness, though, did not translate into support for independence. Due to these factors tourist agencies and those promoting the Olympics and Commonwealth Games sided with the "Better Together" Campaign that would ensure unity and more economic benefits.

In addition, while it may seem as if Gaelic activists would have sided with the "Yes" Scotland campaign, they actually aligned with the "Better Together" campaign so that they could both give and receive support from the European Union as well as the UK Parliament on matters of minority languages. The question of Scottish identity and independence can be seen in these events as well as how interconnected Scotland is with the UK despite strong feelings of cultural distinctiveness. The 2014 Referendum forced Scotland to analyze its place within the UK and whether their feelings of independence were strong enough to leave the UK or if other factors were more important to stay. Ultimately the vote resulted in Scotland remaining in the UK, showing how these visions of the UK and Scotland are distinct yet interconnected. This tension between the tourist industry and Gaelic activists is evident, despite both group pushing for "remain" due to differing reasons. Tourism sought an international image whereas Gaelic activists focused on a local identity, however both recognized that eh institutions of the UK were more important to their differing goals than an independence Scotland.

Chapter 3: Stay… But not with You

No country had left the European Union (EU) since its founding in 1993 or even the European Common Market that has existed since 1957. Until Britain that is. The European Union is both a political and economic collection of states that seeks to, "foster economic cooperation… and so [therefore] more likely to avoid conflict"[1] between countries. Initially an attempt in 1950 to prevent a third world war and promote cooperation between countries, the European Coal and Steel Community was formed between Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.[2] In 1957 this group developed to become the European Economic Community (EEC), better known as the 'Common Market'.[3] The purpose of the Common Market was to foster European cooperation through the free movement of people, goods, and services across borders of countries part of the community.[4] As the Common Market was successful, more countries began joining. In 1975 Britain applied to join the EU and as more countries joined, it developed into what is now known as the European Union in 1993.[5] Since Brexit, the EU is made up of 27 member states.

In 2016, a vote across Britain was held to see if its membership in the EU would be terminated. While it may seem simple, this vote had far reaching consequences that brought into question what it meant to be British amongst growing political and social regionalism within the countries of Britain. In the last chapters, we saw how Gaelic activists and the tourist industry created a unique Scottish identity that was nevertheless connected to both

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[1] "Brexit: What You Need to Know about the UK Leaving the EU," *BBC News*, (BBC, December 30, 2020).
[2] "A Peaceful Europe – the Beginnings of Cooperation," Europa.eu. European Union, May 9, 2017.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] "The History of the European Union," *Europa.eu*, European Union, November 20, 2020.

British and EU institutions. Devolution in 1999 and the Referendum of 2014 brought to the forefront of Scottish politics issues of increasing independence and an emerging Scottish identity over a British identity. Brexit threatened the visions of Scotland created by the tourist industry and Gaelic activists. Tourism grappled with the economic implications of Brexit as tourists feared how Brexit would complicate traveling to the UK as well as the impact on the labor sector while Gaelic activists continued looking inward rather than internationally which conflicted with Scotland's efforts to establish itself internationally.

In this chapter we will see the development of those conflicting identities and how each will emerge amongst Brexit politics. While tourism engaged with the international community through a series of campaigns, Gaelic activists split into two branches, one focused on national legislation through Holyrood and the other focused on localized efforts to protect existing Gaelic speakers. As we have seen, tourism and Gaelic activists have worked to define, shape, and steer Scottish identity in different directions. This final chapter will address the current state of those relationships. Brexit collapsed elements of British identity that moderated the steadily growing feelings of independence discussed in previous chapters. Calls for Scottish independence are usually linked with anti-Brexit attitudes, however, an important distinction to make is that while anti-Brexit attitudes have created a resurgence in calls for independence, they should not be conflated, as anti-Brexit attitudes did not automatically result in calls for independence.

After the Brexit vote, there was renewed energy to Scotland's vision of an independent nation by many Scots. While some Scots supported remaining in the UK for the economic benefits already established with the EU, others worried about the impact losing

EU membership would have on international tourists, so therefore debated ways to join the EU as an independent country.

The Scottish tourism sector offers an interesting yet complex understanding of Scotland's tensions in the lead up to Brexit and following the vote. Scotland's tourist agencies, prior to Brexit showcased the growing international recognition looking to the future to attract tourists and then transitioned to showing the ways Scotland would not change in response to concerns over the impact of Brexit. Scotland's advertisements show how the tourism industry is rejecting the results of the 2016 vote and aligning themselves with Europe over the UK. For Gaelic activists, it appears they were fairly protected from Brexit politics, as there is little mention of their involvement, however what is notable is the separate path away from politics that Gaelic activists are taking. With devolution, we saw Gaelic activist's hopes for more power and stability with the Scottish government. Now, though, we are seeing several strands emerge in revival efforts. As tourism's vision of Scotland is gaining momentum and visibility across the world, Gaelic activists, in attempting to revive the language are actually splitting from one another into two paths with slightly differing goals, thus weakening their shared goals.

<div align="center">Brexit</div>

In 2016, the UK voted to leave the EU. The lead up to and immediate aftermath of Brexit had far reaching consequences not just in the UK, but in Europe and other continents. Brexit was the culmination of many factors in Britain. As will be explained, the UK's relationship with the European community was always complex. The UK had an arm's length relationship with Europe that set it apart through various treaties. Britain's choice in leaving the EU was not a simple vote, rather some parts of the UK such as Scotland,

Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar voted to remain in the UK, but were ultimately outvoted by England and Wales where the "leave" vote won.

Britain's relationship with the EU had always been complex. When the European Coal and Steel Community was created in 1951, Britain chose not to join, something that, "Frenchmen Jean Monnet said: 'I never understood why the British did not join. I came to the conclusion that it must have been because it was the price of victory.'"[6] Monnet's comment shows how European nations post WWI are understanding Britain's position in Europe. However, in 1961 Britain applied to join the EEC, as they saw France and Germany's strong post-war recovery.[7] Britain's applications were vetoed twice by French President Charles de Gaulle on the grounds that Britain's desire to join came from, "'a deep-seated hostility' towards European construction."[8] To some extent, it is an easy connection to make, as Britain's post war recovery was not as fast as the European countries in the EEC. In addition, Britain held itself above the rest of Europe as a kind of "victor", because they had not been invaded. Britain's geography to the rest of Europe and this attitude helped lead to an isolationist standpoint.

One way Britain was different from other member states was the Schengen zone. The Schengen zone is comprised of 26 European countries, of which Britain had never been included. Ultimately it is a border free zone that allows for the free movement of goods, people, and services. Originally created in 1985 between five member states, the Schengen zone grew and was put into effect in 1995 with a new treaty.[9] Interestingly however, the UK did not have to join it, but could still remain a part of the EU. This special status, as dictated

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[6] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship," *BBC News*, BBC, April 1, 2014.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Steve Peers, "The UK and the Schengen System," UK in a changing Europe, December 3, 2015.

under the Treaty of Amsterdam, provided Britain with the power to check people coming to the UK from anywhere in the world.[10] Throughout the 1970s divides in the UK's political parties over EEC involvement resulted in "Black Wednesday" on September 16, 1992.[11] "Black Wednesday" was Britain's withdrawal from the Exchange Rate Mechanism. When the EU was founded in 1992 under the Treaty of Maastricht, "Britain secured opt outs from the single currency and the social chapter,"[12] thus continuing the trend of membership in the European community but still from a distance with special exemptions. The development of UK involvement in the European community shows why Brexit happened. Brexit was the culmination of xenophobia, ideas of isolationism, and a membership that kept Europe at arm's length from the beginning.

Kirsty Hughes, director of the Scottish Centre on European Relations lays out many of the complexities of Brexit. Within the UK, Scotland voted to remain while England voted to leave the EU. In addition, within each country, political parties were split in whether to remain or stay. In 2016, "Scotland voted 62 per cent Remain to 38 per cent Leave… across all its 32 voting areas"[13] therefore making Scotland the most pro-Remain in the British Isles.[14] Across the UK, there were twelve regions and countries, and only three areas voted to remain: Scotland, London, and Northern Ireland. It is interesting to point out that both Northern Ireland and Scotland were two countries that had devolution movements and voted to remain in the EU, yet the only other zone that voted to remain was London. If we look at the data by country and region, we can see that "remain won the most votes in all counting

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[10] Steve Peers, "The UK and the Schengen System," UK in a changing Europe, December 3, 2015.
[11] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship," *BBC News*, BBC, April 1, 2014.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Kirsty Hughes, "Scotland's Brexit Blues," In *The Story of the Scottish Parliament: The First Two Decades Explained*, edited by Hassan Gerry. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019: 203.
[14] Gibraltar was the most pro-Remain British Overseas Territory that voted.

areas in Scotland."[15] Clearly, Scotland did not want to sever ties with the EU however their status as part of Britain meant that their voice was in the minority among other areas that voted to leave.

Craig Calhoun, director of the London School of Economics, points out something very important in his chapter on Brexit. While the 2016 vote asked Britain whether it would leave the EU, ultimately, "Brexit is an expression of English (more than British) nationalism."[16] This claim makes it clear that a cohesive British identity had eroded by 2016. Scottish nationalism had been growing for decades, arguably centuries before. Even in England, according to Calhoun, "before the referendum [2016], many proudly displayed the St. George's Cross – a symbol of England not Britain."[17] Whereas in the last chapters we've seen Scotland separating itself from a British identity, here we see England also doing this, emphasizing regionalism. This makes Brexit very interesting, as a popular slogan of the "leave" campaign was "take back control."[18] This poses the question, who is taking back control? England or the UK? Scotland and Northern Ireland voted to remain while England held the most voting power due to population. This expression of nationalism over the union in both England and Scotland was indicative of larger issues across Britain. For Scotland, Brexit was an indication that devolution no longer enough to subdue Scots as Scotland's apparent commitment to the European Union seemed unwavering and alienating amidst pro-

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[15] Elise Uberoi, "Analysis of the EU Referendum Results 2016," House of Commons Library, UK Parliament, June 26, 2016.

[16] Craig Calhoun, "Populism, Nationalism and Brexit," In *Brexit: Sociological Responses*, edited by Outhwaite William. London; New York: Anthem Press, 2017: 57.

[17] Ibid., 57.

[18] Dave Richards, Kingsley Purdam, Liz Richardson, and Oliver James, "Brexit and the Meaning of 'Taking Back Control': Great State Expectations?" PolicyManchester Blogs, The University of Manchester, March 27, 2017.

Brexit politics of the wider UK. In the next few years, we might see the result of these feelings as events continue to unfold.

In 1999, the campaign for devolution had been fueled by feelings of disenfranchisement by Scottish politicians in Westminster. The lack of power and representation in London pushed the SNP and Labour Party to support devolution, as it would give Scotland agency in its own affairs, however in 2016, the leave campaign used this same argument to leave the EU. The difference is that Scotland did not want to sever ties with the EU and instead went forward with pushes for independence from the UK but not the EU. In contrast, Scotland's ties with Europe had been strong for the past several decades. Even in the 2014 referendum, Scotland's ties to the European Union were clear. The "Better Together" campaign, while pushing for Scotland to remain in the UK mentioned the EU's involvement in the vote. A strong argument to the remain side stated that,

> We can help others on the issues we care about, for example helping over a million people get food, medical care and shelter. Our interests are protected through a global network and our longstanding diplomatic relationships give us advantages in our dealings with other countries.[19]

The argument presented placed Scotland's best interests with the rest of the UK. The argument stood that with the UK's assistance and support, Scotland would have a stronger footing internationally and continue to receive benefits from Westminster.

While chapter one explored British disintegration through Scottish devolution, this section of chapter three will discuss European integration. These two phenomena were interacting at the same time. While Scotland was focusing on devolution, Westminster was

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[19] "Scottish Independence Referendum: Our Place in the World," *GOV.UK*, GOV.UK.

focused on European integration and its relationship with the EEC (European Economic

Community). Andrew Devenney, a visiting assistant professor of world history at Grand

Valley State University, describes the process of Britain's integration to the EU. Devenney

presents the argument that,

> Historians have generally paid little to no attention to how these regions [of Britain]
> engaged the European integration issue or how a nascent but distinctly English
> nationalism responded to the move toward Europe… This article will suggest that
> Ireland and Scotland offer contrasting pictures of the success or failure of political
> elites at marginalizing early anti-EEC arguments.[20]

In the 1960s British foreign policy issues, primarily the EEC were of little interest to Scottish

politicians given that devolution was a more pressing issue for Scots.[21] The interests of

Scottish politicians differed from other UK politicians that sought European integration while

Scotland pushed for devolution.

Interestingly, the SNP took an anti-EEC stance as a part of its independence

campaign after the 1967 by-election because Westminster was more concerned with the

potential EEC membership than Scottish issues in the 1960s.[22] Britain gained membership in

1973 after two unsuccessful applications, however Scottish support remained low with 45%

of voting Scots wanting Britain to leave the EEC resulting in a referendum in 1975 to vote

whether to stay or leave the EEC.[23] British Prime Minister Harold Wilson believed staying in

the EEC was a necessity and therefore supported out-campaigning and marginalizing anti-

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[20] Andrew D. Devenney, "Joining Europe: Ireland, Scotland, and the Celtic Response to European Integration, 1961-1975," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 99-100.
[21] Ibid.,102.
[22] Ibid., 102.
[23] Ibid., 102-3.

EEC groups, therefore ensuring the vote outcome he wanted, something Winnie Ewing criticized, "as buying 'Scottish votes with English gold'."[24] The misuse of a referendum kept Britain in the EEC, but brought up questions of regional power, as Scotland was overpowered by England. So, what happened between 1975 when England supported membership in the EEC whereas Scotland did not to 2016 when England wanted to leave the EU while Scotland pushed to stay?

In the 1960s and 1970s, the SNP was fearful that supporting the EEC would undermine their work towards independence, as Scotland was part of Britain within the EEC. However, in the late 80s and early 90s, Britain was seeing the economic prosperity that Europe was experiencing by being members in the EEC. So while there had always been trepidation regarding the EEC by the UK, opinions were becoming less negative overtime as those part of the EEC were benefitting greatly economically. In addition, Britain's ability to carve out exceptions, such as the Schengen zone, appealed to Britain and helped turn opinions towards the EEC. In the 1975 referendum, which decided UK involvement in the EEC, 67.2% of voting Britain's voted "yes" while the remaining 32.8% voted "no".[25] In every UK country, the "yes" vote won, showing Scotland's support for the EEC and the beginning of Scotland's relationship with the European community.

Fear over losing Scotland's relationship with the EU were prevalent in 2014 as the Independence Referendum brought into question Scotland's relationship with the UK. According to the Pro-independence side, "There is, within the EU Treaties, a legal framework by which Scotland, a country that has been an integral part of the EU for 40

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[24] Andrew D. Devenney, "Joining Europe: Ireland, Scotland, and the Celtic Response to European Integration, 1961-1975," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 103.
[25] "EEC Referendum Result 1975 Statistic," *Statista*, Statista, July 13, 2015.

years, may make the transition to independent EU membership."[26] This was enormously

significant because it reveals how both sides saw Scotland's relationship with the EU as

influencing how people would vote. If Scotland lost the connection to the EU, then a

relationship with the UK became more important. However, if Scotland became an

independent nation from the UK, then the treaties and agreements with the EU would be even

more important in Scotland. Another argument from the "Better Together" campaign stated

that, it would be unlikely for the EU to accept Scotland as a member state based on Article

49. Both article 48 and 49 offer a procedure for how countries can enter the EU. The pro-

unionist side argued that because Scotland had agreed to article 48, they would not be able to

use article 49, thus preventing future Scottish membership.[27] On both sides of the vote in

2014, Scotland's membership in the EU was important. Brexit brought Scotland's

involvement in the EU to front and center stage in 2016. The UK leaving the EU forced

Scotland to choose whether its ties from 2014 to the UK were more important than

Scotland's ties to the EU.

The National, a pro-independence new source in Scotland, addressed their political

stance on the cover of their newspaper. The cover shows a candle surrounded by stars, each

representing the EU with the flag of Scotland behind it.[28] The wording above the image says,

"Dear Europe. We didn't vote for this. Remember to… Leave a light on for Scotland."[29] This

cover page was released January 31, 2020 which was the day when the UK formally left the

EU. This page illuminates how Scotland is understanding its relationship with Europe and the

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[26] Martin Currie, "Scottish Independence: Would Scotland Be in the EU after a Yes Vote?" BBC
News, BBC, April 29, 2014.
[27] Ibid.
[28] The National, "Leave a Light on for Scotland," *The National*, January 31, 2020.
[29] Ibid.

UK. Rather than support the UK decision, which Scotland did not support, the creators of this cover page are asking the EU to keep its relationship with Scotland despite the vote and the loss of UK membership.

In 2014, uncertainties about EU membership may have played a role in the success of the Better Together campaign. After 2016, though, a united Britain was no longer synonymous with EU membership. Accordingly, by 2020, a series of polls by Progress Scotland, a public opinion polling agency,[30] showed that a majority of Scots now support independence. In 2019, several news sources such as the New York Times, The Guardian, CNBC, Daily, Al Jazeera, and Daily Record released coverage of pushes in Scotland for a second Independence Referendum. Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland's first minister, told the Guardian, "that her government would continue the parliamentary progress of legislation to enable a second referendum on independence."[31] While there has been push back by Conservatives, such as Johnson have claimed that "'we should stick to that promise' that the 2014 vote was decisive for a generation,"[32] support within Scotland for independence have grown significantly since the 1016 Brexit vote. The politics that led to a "remain" vote in 2014, while it is speculative because there has not been a second independence referendum, in the past few years have since changed with the threat of leaving the EU and many in Scotland are showing support for EU institutions over British institutions.

Tourism's Engagement with Brexit

The Scottish tourism sector continued to grow and attract international tourists into the twenty-first century. As explored in previous chapters, since the 1960s, tourism had

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[30] "About," *Progress Scotland*, Progress Scotland.
[31] Libby Brooks, "Nicola Sturgeon Calls for New Scottish Independence Vote," *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, July 25, 2019.
[32] Ibid.

become a large contributor to the Scottish economy. But how was the tourism sector engaging in Brexit politics and how did they respond after the vote? In opposition to the 2014 Referendum, we will see tourist agencies align themselves with independence politics after the Brexit vote. Campaigns by *VisitScotland*, aimed at different areas of the world, crafted visions of Scotland commonly associated with the country worldwide today. The use of campaigns before and after the vote indicate how the primary tourist agency, *VisitScotland*, is interacting with Brexit politics and how they are understanding Scotland's place amongst the political turmoil of the UK. Prior to the vote, campaigns were aimed at audiences in different areas of the world such as North America, Europe, and the Middle East with the aim of attracting visitors. After the vote however, campaigns shifted to displaying Scotland as an independent nation from the UK, promoting cooperation with the EU and focusing on the country's commitment to the EU and international community.

  Despite the tourist industry's rejection of the independence campaign in 2014, Scotland had crafted a globally recognized identity separate from the rest of the UK and had become a popular tourist destination by 2016. Published in April 2018, the *Tourism in Scotland, The Economic Contribution of the Sector* report was commissioned by the Tourism Leadership Group. The group serves under the Scottish Government to oversee tourism groups in Scotland such as, *VisitScotland* and *Scottish Enterprise*.[33] In the report, data shows that international tourism from the US to Scotland from 2011 to 2016 increased 36% with a total of 451,000 visitors in 2016.[34] In addition, international travel to Scotland increased by 17% from 2011 to 2016 overall with a total of 2,747,000 visitors in 2016. Data also shows

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[33] Rep. *Tourism in Scotland: The Economic Contribution of the Sector*, Edinburgh, Scotland: Scottish Government, 2018: 3.
[34] Ibid., 9.

the economic impact these tourists had. In 2016, visitors spent around £9.7 billion.[35] This

data includes all travelers, domestic and international. The careful collection of this data

alone shows the impact tourism is having on the Scottish economy. In 2016, "spending by

tourists in Scotland generated around £11 billion of economic activity in the wider Scottish

supply chain and contributed around £6 billion to Scottish GDP."[36] For Scotland, this is

huge, given that tourism represented around 5% of the Scottish GDP in 2016. In the twenty

first century, tourism both international and domestic is increasing and therefore is playing an

increasingly larger role in the Scottish economy.

Fears over Brexit were not only addressed through campaigns however. In the news

prior to the vote, members of the tourism industry were vocal in their fears over how Brexit

would negatively affect the economy. One of the main concerns was how EU nationals

would react. The BBC news published an article in September 2016, after the vote, sharing

that, "a recent survey suggested that more than a quarter of EU nationals - normally the most

loyal and lucrative visitors - would be less likely to holiday here because of the vote to

leave."[37] This impact would have direct consequences for store owners and turning a profit in

the future after Brexit.

Another concern expressed were the changes to the labor force in Scotland. An article

published by the Edinburgh News in 2018 stated that Nicola Sturgeon warned that the jobs in

the tourism sector, amounting to around 8% of the total jobs in Scotland, would be affected

as, "an estimated 75 per cent of EU nationals living in Scotland would have been ruled

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[35] Rep. *Tourism in Scotland: The Economic Contribution of the Sector*, Edinburgh, Scotland: Scottish
Government, 2018: 11.
[36] Ibid., 29.
[37] Craig Anderson, "Uncertainty over Future of Scottish Tourism after Brexit," *BBC News*, BBC, September 5,
2016.

ineligible to come to the country under the proposed clampdown."[38] According to data

provided by the Scottish government, non-UK nationals comprised a large proportion of the

tourism sector's work force.[39] With around 5% of the tourism workforce in Scotland made up

of non-UK nationals in Scotland,[40] Brexit had a large effect on tourism, which meant a large

impact on the Scottish economy, that had become increasingly dependent on tourism's

success.

Similarly, to the 2013 campaign, "Brilliant Moments" by *VisitScotland* that was

addressed in chapter two that displayed Scotland to the rest of the UK, in 2015, the "Meet the

Scots" campaign launched. This was intended for audiences in North America, France,

Germany, Australia, and the Middle East to, "increase the uptake of touring holidays,

promote all areas of Scotland and encourage repeat visits."[41] While there is little information

on this specific campaign by *VisitScotland*, it used, "23 'Scots' ambassadors who each

represented a different theme associated with Scottish tourism such as food, drink, Scottish

culture and the activity or event sectors."[42] What we can gather from the 2013 to the 2015

campaigns is a sense of expanding ideas of Scottish identity as well as the literal expansion

of displaying Scottish identity to the rest of the world. This aligns with political movements

as Scotland attempted to gain independence and would therefore need to create its own

political allies abroad and craft its own identity from Britain.

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[38] The Newsroom, "First Minister Warns Scottish Tourism Industry Is Facing 'Workforce Crisis'
over Brexit," *Edinburgh News*, Edinburgh News, October 1, 2018.
[39] Rep, *Tourism in Scotland: The Economic Contribution of the Sector*, Edinburgh, Scotland: Scottish
Government, 2018: 21.
[40] Ibid., 21.
[41] "Previous Marketing Campaigns – Marketing," Previous Marketing Campaigns - Marketing
VisitScotland.org, VisitScotland.
[42] Ibid.

The aims of these earlier campaigns were about expanding Scotland's image across the globe. In 2016, *VisitScotland* launched "Spirit of Scotland", aimed at the UK, US, Germany, and France to create, "one incredibly strong universal identity with jaw-dropping imagery and stirring content, that evoked the emotion, spirit, and mystical qualities"[43] of Scotland. This campaign was launched in February and is indicative of how *VisitScotland* was interacting with Brexit politics. Given that this campaign was launched four months prior to the Brexit vote, we can see that *VisitScotland* was anti-Brexit prior to the vote and seemingly focused on creating a sense of stability and permanence in a period of uncertainty. As we can see, from 2013 to 2016, the nature of Scottish advertisement campaigns shifted to markets that the tourist board believed would attract the most visitors. While the Brexit leave campaign advocated that Britain should look globally rather than just to the EU, here the argument is a bit more nuanced. *VisitScotland* is not siding with the British "leave" campaign, as Scotland overall voted to remain. But *VisitScotland* does appear to be preparing itself to have those international connections and media presence ready in case the vote results in leaving the EU.

The 2016 "Spirit of Scotland" campaign sought to unite Scotland behind one slogan. "#ScotSpirit" was used to rally Scots in promoting and celebrating Scotland. Through this campaign it is clear that the tourist industry stands with Scotland when First Minister in 2016, Nicola Sturgeon made her position on Brexit clear in a statement on February 21st, around the same time as the 2016 campaign was launched. Sturgeon said,

> We would much prefer Scotland to be one of the independent member states of the
>
> EU – and hope that in future we will be… A concern for Scotland is the prospect of

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[43] "Previous Marketing Campaigns – Marketing," Previous Marketing Campaigns - Marketing *VisitScotland.org*, VisitScotland.

voting to stay in but being taken out of the EU on the strength of a UK-wide vote. I

have repeatedly made it clear that such a scenario would, in my view, lead to strong

demands for a second independence referendum.[44]

Sturgeon's words left no doubt that the ties of empire had collapsed and Scotland aligned

with the EU over the UK prior to the vote. The 2016 *VisitScotland* campaign reflected this

and promoted an independent Scotland. The "Spirit of Scotland" campaign showed what the

tourism industry believed to be the hallmarks of Scottish identity and sought to understand

what the international community thought as well through "ScotSpirit" on social media

platforms.[45] *VisitScotland* identified, "warmth, humour, guts, spark, soul, determination, and

fun"[46] as the traits that could be found within the people and landscapes of Scotland. The

campaign, that cost around £4.25 million, sought to "harness a nation behind tourism."[47]

Without explicitly declaring support for Sturgeon, *VisitScotland* and therefore the tourist

industry showed their ant-Brexit stance. As we see, tourism is trying to sell a unified vision

of Scotland abroad and in doing so attempting to unify Scots to a common vision.

     VisitScotland was in part successful in their creation of an internationally recognized

identity due to their use of digital media and the increasing scope of their campaigns. With

their later campaigns, they created videos to reach anyone who had access to the internet,

thus increasing their audience. In an advertisement published in 2016 prior to the Brexit vote,

A Spirit of its Own, portrayed the nature of Scotland and its distinct tourist locations,[48]

leaning increasingly towards an independent Scotland. In the minute-long video, there was

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[44] "The EU Isn't Just about Business, That's Why I Think Scotland Will Vote to Stay Nicola Sturgeon," *The Guardian,* Guardian News and Media, February 29, 2016.
[45] "VisitScotland Campaign Harnesses 'Spirit of Scotland'," *BBC News*, BBC, February 10, 2016.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] *VisitScotland Advert 2016 Scotland, A Spirit of Its Own - Spirit Lights. YouTube*, VisitScotland, 2016.

no mention of Brexit, which can be interpreted to actually attempt to calm fears over Brexit. In displaying that Scotland will endure and its spirit will be there for visitors no matter how the Brexit vote turns out, *VisitScotland* shows the strength and identity of the country. The words, "it's in our islands, in our waters, in our artistry, and across our land. It's in our history, in our cities, it's in all our stones that stand. It's time to come and find it. It's time to come and feel it,"[49] all point to things that will not change amidst the possibility of Brexit. The use of this language not only separates Scotland as a nation from the UK, but also works to maintain the ideas of what Scotland is to visitors.

In 2018, *VisitScotland* launched their *Scotland is Now* campaign. Similarly to the 2016 campaign, the goal was so reach continue showing off the country to entice visitors from all over the world. In an advertisement published in 2019 by *VisitScotland*, Scotland appears to be rejecting Brexit and emphasizing the country's openness to visitors. In the video, a line says, "you can travel here seamlessly from the rest of the UK... and from overseas."[50] This is important to note given that the video was published after the Brexit vote by several years. By this time, a leading national tourist organization is separating itself from the remainder of the UK by saying, "rest of the UK" and going against Brexit in welcoming visitors to Scotland. This use of language appears to be attempting to alleviate fears about changing travel restrictions to the UK from Europe, as Scotland is inviting visitors despite the alienating nature of Brexit.

As part of the 2018 campaign, *VisitScotland* released a video on January 1, 2021. The video is only 50 seconds, but is a verbal letter to the EU. It stars a woman presumably in Scotland, speaking directly to the camera with the occasional shot of a lighthouse or

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[49] *VisitScotland Advert 2016 Scotland, A Spirit of Its Own - Spirit Lights*, *YouTube*, VisitScotland, 2016.
[50] *A Wee Tour of Scotland*, *YoutTube*, VisitScotland, 2019.

scenery.[51] The narrator is speaking directly to the EU and the audience of the video, promising friendship, cooperation, and a shared goal of a better world, making it clear that Scotland still welcomes the EU saying, "as long as Scotland's still here, Europe you are always welcome."[52] This advertisement, published well after the Brexit vote but recently after the UK formally left the EU, frames Scotland as an independent nation, not sanding with the decision of the rest of the UK and instead aligning themselves with Europe. These two advertisements, while aimed at different audiences, share two major themes in common. Both are emphasizing what Scotland has to offer, whether that be interesting sites to visit or friendship to Europe and continuity and permanence among political change. The development of these campaigns by Scotland's primary tourist agency shows how the industry was interacting with Brexit politics and ultimately rejecting the UK's decision to leave the EU. Prior to 2016, campaigns focused on expanding visibility of Scotland abroad and showcasing the country's identity. After the Brexit vote, the scope of campaigns adjusted and began including language showing Scotland's commitment and friendship with the EU over the UK.

The fears expressed over Brexit prior to and after the vote demonstrate Scotland's close relationship with the EU. The fact that Scotland voted to remain while the overall UK vote was to leave indicates the deterioration of a cohesive British union as well. News articles gave members of the tourist industry a voice to express their frustrations and fear over Brexit over both the number of visitors to the country as well as the effect on the labor force. In addition, the VisitScotland campaigns sought to calm fears and emphasize Scotland's place in the EU. From this, it is clear that the tourism industry was not pro-Brexit

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[51] *Scotland Is Here Scotland Is Now*, *YouTube*, Scotland is Now, 2021.
[52] Ibid.

and resonated with a distinct Scottish identity as they had more to gain by remaining in the EU.

Local and National Gaelic Revival

Gaelic activists, because of their emphasis on minority languages would have resonated little with the leave campaign of Brexit. The leave campaign was a threat to activist's vision of Scotland and contradicted with the support they received from other minority languages. Whereas activists did not support Scottish independence in 2014, we will see the reverse happen now, where activists are anti-Brexit, and are instead focused on a Scottish identity that is connected with the EU over a British identity. This resulted partially from a lack of support from the Scottish Parliament because the EU had protections in place for minority languages of member states that did more for Gaelic activists than Holyrood. As we have seen in the previous chapters, Gaelic activists were let down by devolution as they were pushed to the margins of the Scottish Parliament and did not support the "leave" campaign in the 2014 Scottish referendum.

In 2016, the trend of dwindling political participation continued, as Gaelic activists attempted to remain out of Brexit politics. Two strands of Gaelic activism and promotion occurred prior to Brexit. While the Gaelic Language Plans continued to show a commitment by the Scottish Parliament and the Bórd, regional activism in various areas of Scotland began attempting to execute Gaelic initiatives on local levels rather than nationally through Holyrood. Though there is little media attention on Scots Gaelic activism interacting with Brexit politics, it is clear that activists did not want to leave the EU just like the tourism industry. While activists did not need to appeal to the international community in the way tourism needed to, the support they gained from EU membership was more powerful than the

work Holyrood was doing for Gaelic. Domestic language revival was in part dependent on EU membership and support. ELEN, the European Language Equality Network, helped protect Gaelic and promote the language where Holyrood was failing. ELEN is a group within the EU focused specifically on language rights such as, "the promotion and protection of European lesser-used… languages."[53] This group has supported Gaelic given its classification under British minority languages.

Though there are few statements by Gaelic activists specifically in regard to their stance on Brexit, an article by The Herald Scotland, sums up why activists did not support Brexit. The Gaelic community had been pushed to the margins in Holyrood, with activists being placed in sub committees, thus pushing minority languages to lean on one another for support, as was addressed in chapter two. In 2016, "ELEN said leaving the EU would leave speakers of minority languages 'at the mercy of governments that have shown neither the interest nor the desire to protect and promote the rights of speakers of our nations and regions' languages."[54] The protection and promotion Gaelic were receiving by Holyrood did very little to help the language, rather the acknowledgement and resources given by the EU through ELEN was another layer of protection that activists could not lose. In addition, as Leask describes, "being a part of a heterogeneous European Union with its robust congregation of minority and majority cultures allows for a better understanding and protection of our own languages,"[55] thus supporting the idea that minority languages could and were supporting one another. Activists wanted to remain part of this network and

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[53] "Information," *ELEN*, Accessed February 24, 2021.
[54] Davis Leask, "Brexit 'Disastrous' for Gaelic and Scots Languages, Warns European-Wide Campaigners," *The Herald Scotland,* The Herald, June 20, 2016.
[55] Ibid.

therefore would not have supported Brexit where they would be vulnerable to Holyrood and potentially Westminster.

On the ELEN site, a news article was published in 2018 addressing language activists' concerns over Brexit. The organization went directly called on the UK and devolved governments of the UK to remain in the EU.[56] ELEN presented that,

Brexit will have a profoundly negative effect for all of the Celtic languages spoken in the UK. These language communities… are faced not only with losing direct funding via [several] programmes… but also with losing significant structural funds… which have created sustainable employment for Celtic language speakers in sectors such as agriculture, fishing, tourism and higher education.[57]

In this quote, ELEN is demonstrating how far-reaching language revival is for societies. Because language is fundamental to culture and heritage, especially minority languages, it was argued that the funding given to revival efforts impacted many aspects of society from employment, education, tourism, and agriculture. This supports the tourism industry's argument for remaining in the EU as the tourism industry used minority languages to show a distinct Scottish identity. It is interesting that ELEN is connecting Gaelic and tourism because ELEN represents minority languages and promoting them for the future whereas tourism understood minority languages as aspects of the past and not necessarily the future.

Since 2014, local efforts to aid and promote Gaelic speakers have continued, as have the National Gaelic Language Plans (GLP). Specifically, the 2013-2018 GLP approved by Parliament shows the progression of the plans and the overall failings of Holyrood's revival

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[56] "Language Organisations Call to Remain in EU over 'Potentially Disastrous' Effects of Brexit on the Celtic Languages," *ELEN*, ELEN, December 13, 2018.
[57] Ibid.

efforts. The 2013-2018 Gaelic Language Plan (GLP) covers the planned activities regarding

Gaelic revival from May 2013 to April 2018, emphasizing, "the principle that Gaelic should

be accorded equal respect with English."[58] In every GLP, the Bórd and therefore the Scottish

Parliament renew their commitment to the promotion of Gaelic. However, as we've seen in

previous chapters, the Scottish Parliament failed to fully support activists' work. The 2008-

13 Gaelic Language Plan was very similar to the 2013-18 Plan which just stands to continue

the trend of Gaelic activists being disappointed by the lack of progress for Gaelic revival.

Both plans were broken into four chapters: introduction, core commitments, policy

implications, and implementation.[59] This demonstrates the Bórd's, and therefore Holyrood's,

slow progress and lack of commitment to revival efforts. This shows a trend since devolution

when Gaelic activists, supported devolution believing that more legislative power moved to

Scotland would move their agendas further than Westminster had. However, as time went on,

Holyrood moved activists into sub-committees and their goals were not a focus of the

Parliament either. This demonstrates why activists were adamant about not losing ELEN's

support.

   The primary area of interest in both Gaelic Language plans is the implementation of

Gaelic. The sections of the plans provide insight into what had been successful in the past

and what had not. In the 2008-13 plan, the "monitoring implementation for the Plan" is

barely a page long, with broad statements such as, "progress against plan targets will be

monitored by a Gaelic Language Plan Monitoring Group."[60] Statements like this bring more

questions than answers, such as, who will be in this group? What will their formal tasks be?

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[58] "Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body – Gaelic Language Plan 2013-18," *Scottish Parliament*, The Scottish Parliament: 3.
[59] Ibid., 3.
[60] "Gaelic Language Plan_English.Pdf," 36.

How will they measure progress against the plan? The 2008-13 plan appears to have been following the trend of Holyrood in doing the minimum for Gaelic activists and creating these plans out of obligation. The "implementation and monitoring" portion of the 2013-18 plan is two pages instead of one, but is just as broad. The goals are laid out, such as the goals they have for publicizing the Plan. They lay out that a press release, use of social media, hard copies being made available in Holyrood reception areas, and the distribution of the plan to various Gaelic organizations and interested bodies, are their goals for publicizing.[61] Similarly to the 2008-13 plan, what does this mean? Holyrood's lack of engagement with Gaelic revival is indicative of why activists did not support Brexit. Since there was little being done by Holyrood, activists looked to other minority languages and ELEN for support.

While Holyrood was creating Language Plans mandated by the 2005 Act, other activists looked past Holyrood and focused on localized efforts. Despite shifting to localized efforts, these activists still shared an interest in the EU despite interacting with Brexit politics very little. As one SNP member Màrtainn Mac a' Bhàillidh writes,

> There's no recognition of this reality [that a living language is the language of home, community and of peer groups] in Gaelic revitalisation which prioritises nationwide education and symbolic cultural activities rather than the essential preservation of the physical Gaelic speaking communities.[62]

This is a powerful statement and shows the divergence of goals within the Gaelic activist community. These goals are diametrically opposed, because Holyrood is looking to increase

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[61] "Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body – Gaelic Language Plan 2013-18," *Scottish Parliament*, The Scottish Parliament: 55.
[62] Màrtainn Mac a' Bhàillidh, "On Gaelic Language Development Policy in Scotland," *Bella Caledonia*, Bella Caledonia, July 6, 2019.

the number of speakers, fighting a constant battle of trying to teach the next generation of

Scots amongst a steady decline in currently fluent speakers.

On the other side, activists such as Màrtainn Mac a' Bhàillidh are looking to

preserving the sense of community and the core values of Gaelic speakers to keep that aspect

of language and culture alive. The difference in their goals spread resources across a larger

number of initiatives, thus creating many different avenues for change that were not given

adequate resources. Mac a' Bhàillidh explains Holyrood's distribution of funds for Gaelic are

not being used to their maximum benefit as, "money is distributed to GME [Gaelic Medium-

education] schooling and to various cultural projects with no real assessment on what the

outcome is in terms of language use."[63] This is troubling, given that, "the area with the

highest [Gaelic] speaker density is the most economically marginalised and in need of the

most support, but also the only place where Gaelic can realistically be preserved as a

community language."[64] The argument presented here shows the opposition within the Gaelic

community, as the tension between what is believed to be saving the language is not agreed

upon. While local activists were not very engaged with Brexit politics, they would have

shared the common goal of remaining in the EU. Across Europe and Britain, minority

languages were facing the similar fate as Scots Gaelic. ELEN attempted to protect and

promote minority languages both on governmental as well as local levels. Gaelic activists

across the board resonated with this and pushed the UK to remain in the EU.

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[63] Màrtainn Mac a' Bhàillidh, "On Gaelic Language Development Policy in Scotland," *Bella Caledonia*, Bella Caledonia, July 6, 2019.
[64] Ibid.

Another example of local initiatives for Gaelic was the recent proposal to create housing estates specifically for Gaelic speakers.[65] According to SNP politician Kate Forbes, this plan would create artificial Gaelic communities, thus promoting the learning of Gaelic as well as provide language support to those who already speak Gaelic.[66] This plan came under scrutiny from the Conservative Party. Alexander Stewart, spokesperson for the Conservative Party said, "Housing should be available on a needs basis for Scots, not on if you speak English or Gaelic over the breakfast table."[67] The opposition to Gaelic proposals was also something that activists, and in this case primarily SNP members, dealt with, thus making change on a local level difficult as well.

In Fife politics, we again see the tension between political parties on a local level. At an SNP Conference in April 2019, Dave Thompson, "an MSP in the Highlands and Islands from 2007-2016"[68] came under fire from conservatives for introducing himself in Gaelic and Scots then saying, "Apologies to those who do not have the two proper languages of Scotland"[69] to give those languages visibility. Some conservatives who were not named claimed that "he had 'made a bit of a fool of himself' and risked insulting the majority of English-speaking voters."[70] The constant struggle between political parties contributed to the battle of Gaelic activists because many of them belonged to the SNP and those party lines could not be looked past. These promotions for Gaelic were met with opposition from the Conservative Party on local levels, thus showing that in every sphere whether local or

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[65] Shane O'Brien, "Gaelic Language Close to Collapse in Scotland," *IrishCentral.com*, IrishCentral, January 5, 2021.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Michael Alexander, "A Voice for Scotland or an Irrelevance of History? Why Gaelic Interest Is on the Rise in Fife..." *The Courier*, The Courier, May 21, 2019.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

national, enacting change was difficult. The separation of local and national work hindered both ultimately as resources were not used efficiently and the Conservative Party was able to argue against various initiatives.

Gaelic activists had an increasingly difficult job of promoting and implementing Gaelic revival measures. The split between Holyrood and local politics distributed resources unevenly and hindered progress. In addition, opposition from other politicians served as an obstacle in all forms of politics as the issue of Gaelic revival had been politicized since the 1980s.

Conclusion: Brexit Illuminates Scotland's' Commitment to the EU

Brexit brought to the forefront of Scottish politics what it meant to be Scottish and the country's place in the wider Western world. The ramifications of the Brexit vote and ultimately the overall vote to leave resulted in the tourism industry having to choose who to support and what was best for their industry. The various marketing campaigns and advertisements released since IndyRef and directly after the Brexit vote show the progression of Scotland's adamant loyalty to the EU over the UK. In contrast, Gaelic activists experienced two strands of work emerging. On the national level, Holyrood gave diminishing interest in Gaelic revival, therefore encouraging activists to look to the EU for language support through ELEN. On the local level, activists engaged with Brexit politics even less, but understood that ELEN's support at local levels was essential to their mission and therefore were also anti-Brexit. Similarly to the last two chapters we see that Scottish tourism agencies and Gaelic activists are supporting the same political sides but for two distinct and contrasting agendas. While tourism does not want to lose the connections and visitors to

Scotland, Gaelic activists understand that groups like ELEN can support their work in ways

Holyrood has shown it will not.

Conclusion

As has been explored, the tourism industry and Scottish Gaelic revival activists had competing visions of Scotland that interacted with politics in different ways. By analyzing devolution, IndyRef, and Brexit, these competing visions of developing Scottish identity often times aligned politically, though differed in why. With the tourism industry increasingly looking internationally while Gaelic activists remained nationally focused, their competing visions were illuminated during distinct political events in which Scotland asserted its distinctive identity. As tourism's vision has dominated, Gaelic has remained under threat of being seen as primarily a language of ancient Scotland.

In addition, my own original research plan had to take a back seat, something that I did not anticipate. In March 2020 when American began experiencing cases of COVID-19, Wooster's Copeland fund application indicated that it would not be granting money for international travel, something that I had anticipated applying for to return to Scotland for the purposes of conducting research in the fall of 2020. I ultimately shifted my plans for Senior IS so that I could conduct all my research from the United States which meant that this IS as a whole shifted in its analysis of events, looking at how tourism and language revival interacted with political movements rather than with one another, which had been the original plan.

The political fallout of the changes explored in this IS are ongoing today. The results of Brexit culminated "officially" on January 31, 2020, after a long negotiation process between the UK and EU. Today in Scotland SNP politicians, such as Nicola Sturgeon are

pushing for a second Independence Referendum.[1] The continued impact of Brexit is being

felt now and will continue to shape and define UK politics for years to come.

A reason why this IS addresses events up until 2019 is because attempting to

historicize current events poses many challenges such as a lack of historical significance, as

current events that are happening during a project like this, it would near the realm of

guessing rather than historical analysis. In addition, with any topic such as this, a set of

events unfolding in real time risks lack of documentation. While scholars may have

published works anticipating what will happen, that is ultimately not the work of a historian

and there is a lack of reliable documentation with events that are too current.

In 2020, COVID-19 had brought the tourist industry to a halt, affecting economies

everywhere and changing the way people engaged with tourism. Since 2020 however,

tourism industries in Scotland have found new ways to appeal to and attract visitors, many of

which have become virtual. On the *VisitScotland* site currently, there is a page dedicated to

virtual tours and webcams of Scotland. This specific website is focused on the Scottish

Islands with categories such as: nature, animals, adventuring, traditional music, heritage sites,

art, and stories to name a few.[2] This website demonstrates how the tourism industry has

adapted during COVID-19 and has tried to provide an experience to people interested in one

day visiting Scotland. These videos and webcams attempt to provide experiences that tourists

who go to Scotland might not even get to experience, such as a tour of the Hebrides from the

sky. The tourist industry's ability to adapt is contrasted with their previous marketing

campaigns, in that rather than giving a small taste of what Scotland has to offer in minute

[1] Simon Jenkins, "Scottish Independence Isn't Going Away. Will the Tories Be Its Curators – or Victims?" The Guardian, Guardian News and Media, March 5, 2021.
[2] Anna Kilda, "Experience the Scottish Islands from Home - Virtual Tours and Experiences: VisitScotland," visitscotland.com, The Blog, June 12, 2020.

long videos, today, they are providing experiences that normally would cost a great deal free, in the hopes that these glimpses into Scotland virtually will move visitors to coming to physically experience Scotland.

For Scottish Gaelic, the pandemic brought a surge in interest to the language, in part because people at home sought out new kinds of enrichment. Most prominently, the language software *Duolingo* released Gaelic as a language on their platform in 2019[3] and it has been doing phenomenally, but is it enough to change ideas about Gaelic as a signifier of Scottish identity today? The issue with *Duolingo's* software for Gaelic is that it does not go as far in grammar, vocabulary, and other markers of fluency. When I began taking Gaelic lessons on *Duolingo,* I noticed that the language being taught was for tourists. It was teaching me the basics of what a tourist might need such as directions, greetings, and basic words like "whisky"—playing into stereotypical depictions of what it meant to be Scottish. Hardly a language software pushing for full fluency as of now, new developments and changes to the lessons might make it a more robust language learning platform for Gaelic in the future. As of now, *Duolingo* is helping to increase Gaelic's visibility, however it is not providing the lessons to become fluent in the language in a way that would support the dwindling Gaelic speaking community in Scotland.

While this thesis drew on experts and scholars in a multitude of fields such as linguistics, political science, law, and many others, the historical lens of this topic offered something new to the analysis of emerging Scottish identity. To quote Linda Colley, from an interview with the *Economist* in 2014,

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[3] "Scottish Gaelic," *Duolingo Wiki*, Fandom.

It's history not so much geography in fact that helps to explain the current shape of

the UK and some of the fractures that are currently emerging. So I thought as a

historian, I could add a different strand to what is going to be an increasingly frantic

but perhaps not always terribly well-informed debate.[4]

Issues over identity require nearly every field of academia as it is pertinent to

understanding a culture and people. History provides the lens of sustained analysis, as

understanding the past helps explain current issues. Because this is thesis addresses current

events that are still ongoing, the historical perspective helps give a different insight into what

is going on amongst the online media storm happening currently with experts from many

fields weighing in on UK politics.

While this IS covered three political events that illuminated and helped shape Scottish

identity, it would be interesting to see what other markers of identity were interacting during

these events. For example, how did the NHS interact with these political events? In addition,

in later years it would be interesting to see an IS address the effects of Brexit and COVID,

studying various dimensions on which these two events are interacting whether in people's

lives, the effects on the economy of the UK, or specifically on industries such as tourism.

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[4] *Linda Colley on Britain's Identity: Scotland Was Never a Colony*, *YouTube*, The Economist, 2014.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

"About." Progress Scotland. Progress Scotland. Accessed January 28, 2021.
        https://www.progressscotland.org/about.

        This public opinion polling agency provides insight into how Scots were thinking
        about their national identity and their leanings toward independence after the Brexit
        vote. For this IS, this source shows how Brexit affected Scot's understanding of their
        place in the UK and wider EU, through the ways they were expressing a desire for
        independence from the UK to remain in the EU.

"About the Council." British, 2016. https://www.britishirishcouncil.org/about-council.

        This source gives preliminary information on what the British Irish Council is and
        what they do. For the purposes of chapter two, this website sets out who is on the
        Council as well as conversations they've had on the status of minority languages.

"About Us." Bòrd na Gàidhlig. Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2020.
        https://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/about-us/.

        This site run by the Scottish Parliament through Bòrd na Gàidhlig, a group tasked
        with the promotion of Gaelic across Scotland, explains the role of the Bòrd and its
        duties for Gaelic activism. Created under the 2005 Act, this group is crucial to
        understanding Gaelic revival efforts, as they are central in promoting and supporting
        efforts nationwide. A basic understanding of this group sets up the IS, because the
        Gaelic Language Plans, created by the Bórd serve as evidence for the efficacy of
        existing Gaelic activism efforts.

"An Comunn Gàidhealach." An Comunn Gàidhealach - Royal National Mod: Home. An
        Comunn Gàidhealach. Accessed March 2, 2021. https://www.ancomunn.co.uk/.

        This source explains what the organization An Commun is. In order to understand the
        work of Gaelic activists, a basic understanding of what An Commun is and does for
        the Gaelic community is important. For this IS, an understanding of An Commun
        provides the basis for the beginnings of Gaelic revival activism.

Alexander, Michael. "A Voice for Scotland or an Irrelevance of History?: Why Gaelic
        Interest Is on the Rise in Fife..." www.thecourier.co.uk. The Courier, May 21, 2019.
        https://www.thecourier.co.uk/fp/news/local/fife/894758/a-voice-for-scotland-or-an-
        irrelevance-of-history-why-gaelic-interest-is-on-the-rise-in-fife/.

        This news article by Michael Alexander, a lead news feature writer for The Courier,
        gives insight into the difficulties local Gaelic activists faced as the issue was

politicized given most Gaelic activists belonged to the SNP therefore drawing party lines. In response to an SNP activist attempting to use Gaelic, members of the Conservative party lashed back. This is important because it illuminates that language revival is a politicized issue and that Gaelic activists working on local level had more obstacles than might be anticipated due to language revival's politicized nature.

Anderson, Craig. "Uncertainty over Future of Scottish Tourism after Brexit." BBC News. BBC, September 5, 2016. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-37258984.

   Craig Anderson is a retired who served as a journalist with the BBC's Highlands and Islands for 34 years. Anderson's article with the BBC outlines some of the fears over Brexit including economic and social. From an economic perspective, the loss of EU member would have a large impact on the tourism industry because a large number of EU nationals, he argues, would be less likely to visit the UK. This source helps explain the multifaceted negative response by Scotland towards Brexit.

A Wee Tour of Scotland. *YoutTube*. VisitScotland, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JoI9tMwO7x0.

   This video on *YouTube* shows how the tourism industry is interacting with Brexit politics after 2016. Their rejection of the referendum results is displayed in their message to the wider world because they are welcoming tourists from all over the world and showing their support for the EU despite the "leave" vote ultimately winning. Through these kinds of advertisements, the developing nature of the tourism industry in Scotland can be examined and their political stance can be seen overtime.

"BBC Politics 97." BBC News. BBC, 1997. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/news/09/0907/devolution.shtml.

   This BBC source provides polling data from 1997 regarding people's opinions on devolution, whether they are in favor, against, or undecided on it. With 60% of people polled in favor of devolution, it is indicative of opinions towards Westminster and the wider UK prior to devolution. For this IS, this source shows a progression of changing attitudes towards devolution and later Scottish independence, and Brexit.

Bews, Lynsey. "It's Game on with [Pounds]2.5m Ad Campaign for Glasgow 2014: Tourism Chiefs Announce Drive to Promote Commonwealth Hosts [Scot Region]." *Daily Mail,* Jul 22, 2013. https://wooster.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/docview/1406159962?accountid=15131.

   Lynsey Bews is a political correspondent who has worked with the Press Association as a reporter at the Scottish Parliament covering elections and Scottish referendums. Her article reviews the advertisements by VisitScotland that encouraged support for the Commonwealth games as well as general tourism across Scotland. The intention

was to generate the levels of enthusiasm for Glasgow that tourists felt for the London 2012 Olympics. This promotion of Scotland as a country independent of England, shows the developing ideas of what it means to be Scottish and efforts to transform the idea of Scotland abroad. Bews' article demonstrates how Scotland is trying to capture the tourism numbers that the London Olympics garnered while displaying a unique Scottish identity over a larger UK identity.

"Brexit: This Is How the Final Agreement between the United Kingdom and the European Union Remained at the Last Minute." MSN news. MSN, December 27, 2020. https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/brexit-this-is-how-the-final-agreement-between-the-united-kingdom-and-the-european-union-remained-at-the-last-minute/ar-BB1cgXxa.

This news source provides information on what the final Brexit deal addressed. Overall, the issues addressed in the over 1,000-page document are simply a measure to protect UK and EU citizens as much as possible through the gradual process the UK will go through to formally leave the EU fully. For this IS, this source provides an understanding of the effects of Brexit years after the vote and what culminated for the EU and UK.

Brooks, Libby. "Nicola Sturgeon Calls for New Scottish Independence Vote." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, July 25, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jul/25/nicola-sturgeon-calls-for-new-scotland-independence-vote.

Libby Brooks serves as the Guardian's correspondent based in Glasgow. Her article source gives politicians a voice in this IS. Nicola Sturgeon in this source is supporting a second independence referendum after the results of the Brexit vote in which Scotland did not get its desired outcome. On the flip side, the Conservative government argued that the results of the 2014 Independence Referendum should be respected. This source gives two sides of the political spectrum after the Brexit vote.

Currie, Martin. "Scottish Independence: Would Scotland Be in the EU after a Yes Vote?" BBC News. BBC, April 29, 2014. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-26173004.

After the Brexit vote, many politicians in Scotland tried to think of ways to join the EU again but as an independent nation from the UK. Martin Currie, a BBC reporter's source shows Scotland's commitment to the EU over the UK. For this IS, this source supports the tourism industry's ads that showed their loyalty to the EU as well as Gaelic activists' continued support for EU minority languages over British minority languages from a more political standpoint.

"Development of Tourism Act 1969." Legislation.gov.uk. Statute Law Database, November 30, 1978. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1969/51.

This act is a culmination of increased tourism in Britain. Specifically, for Scotland, this act created *VisitScotland*, the official tourist body of Scotland. This source is crucial for this IS because it sets up why *VisitScotland's* campaigns are the main focus of chapter three in particular.

"EEC Referendum Result 1975 Statistic." Statista. Statista, July 13, 2015. https://www.statista.com/statistics/1043098/eec-referendum-result/.

The 1975 EEC referendum results provide a look into the historical vote that confirmed UK membership in the EEC. At the time, every country in the UK voted to remain in the EEC. Placing the Brexit vote into the historical context of the UK's larger involvement in the UK demonstrates changing attitudes and how Britain is becoming increasingly more regional.

"European Union (Referendum) Bill." Hansard, November 22, 2013. https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2013-1122/debates/13112259000002/EuropeanUnion(Referendum)Bill?highlight=scots+gaelic.

This Referendum Bill shows the shift in conversations around Gaelic. The Bill addresses Gaelic speaker's rights both in government documents and proceedings as well as the courts. An example of fair treatment for Gaelic speakers mentioned is the use of Gaelic on ballots.

"European Union (Referendum) Bill." Hansard, January 24, 2014. https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2014-01-24/debates/14012442001468/EuropeanUnion(Referendum)Bill?highlight=scots+gaelic.

This document supports the discussions regarding rights of Gaelic speakers. This document is important for this IS because it addresses future of legal rights for Gaelic speakers in context with other Parliamentary records that address the future of Gaelic speakers and the promotion and support of the language.

"Funding Schemes." Bórd na Gàidhlig, 2020. https://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/fundraising/.

This site provides a list of figures showing the financial support the Scottish government gives Bórd na Gàidhlig. This site proves why Gaelic activists removed themselves from the IndyRef debate and through this action actually supported the "better together" campaign. For this IS, this source gives insight into the relationship or lack thereof between the Bórd and Scottish Parliament.

"Gaelic Language Plan_English.Pdf." Accessed February 13, 2021. https://www.parliament.scot/Gaelic/GaelicLanguagePlan_English.pdf.

The 2008 to 2013 plan is the first national Gaelic Language Plan. It lays out what the goals of revival efforts should be from 2008 to 2013. For the purposes of this project, the presence of tourism shows an awareness of the potential that it can provide for revival efforts.

"Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005." Bòrd na Gàidhlig. Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2020. https://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/about-us-gaelic-language-scotland-act-2005/.

As the first major piece of legislation dedicated to the promotion and visibility of Scottish Gaelic, this act is very important for the entire IS, as without this act, Gaelic activists would not have the kind of legal support they depended on since the twenty-first century.

"Glaschu." Gaelic Education in Glasgow. Glaschu. Accessed January 5, 2021. https://glaschu.net/gaelic-education-in-glasgow/.

This source details the school, Bun-sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu, and its impact for the Gaelic speaking community. Founded in Glasgow by the Scottish Parliament, this school proved that Holyrood was more effective in addressing Scottish issues than Westminster had been. For this IS, the source serves to give credence to the idea leading up to devolution that a Scottish Parliament would be more effective in addressing Scottish issues than going through Westminster.

Hassan, Gerry. "Alex Salmond's Leap on Independence." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, June 30, 2010. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/jun/30/alex-salmond-leap-scottish-independence.

Hassan's article connects Alex Salmond's involvement in the Independence Referendum debates prior to 2010 to the SNP's later push for a referendum. His involvement can be attributed to the growing momentum for the 2014 referendum as devolution had proved to be a disappointment to many Scots. This source is crucial to my IS because it explains why devolution measures were not enough and the figures responsible for pushing attitudes in favor of independence.

Hassan, Gerry. "The SNP Falters on Independence." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, January 26, 2010. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/jan/26/snp-scotland-independence-alex-salmond.

Hassan's article gives insight into the creation of the Independence Referendum and the various political actors involved. This article is important because it opens the argument as to why the Scottish Independence Referendum happened and provides the knowledge required to build the chapter's argument.

"Holidays in Scotland - Scottish Tourist Board - Things to See and Do."

http://web.archive.org/. VisitScotland, February 29, 2000.
http://web.archive.org/web/20001018222407fw_/http://www.visitscotland.com/seean
ddo/index.htm.

This site, from WayBackMachine, provides evidence of what the VisitScotland site
looked like in February 2000. From the first recorded version of the website, heritage
tourism played a large part, thus showing that by 2000, heritage tourism was already a
profitable and growing strain of tourism in Scotland being promoted by *VisitScotland*.

"Inbound Visits to the UK 2021." Statista. Statista Research Department, December 16,
2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/287133/annual-number-of-overseas-visits-
to-the-united-kingdom-uk/.

This data shows the projected number of visitors to the UK. When compared to
another data set of the number of visitors to the UK, this projected data set is
significantly different. These 2020-21 projections for tourism in the UK explain the
reasoning behind choosing to end the chronology of this IS with the political events
of 2019.

"Indigenous, Minority and Lesser-Used Languages Legislation Seminar - 7-8th November
2013." British Irish Council, January 29, 2014.
https://www.britishirishcouncil.org/news/indigenous-minority-and-lesser-used-
languages-legislation-seminar-7-8th-november-2013.

This seminar is a clear example of minority language activists meeting together and
discussing collective issues their languages are facing. The source also demonstrates
the ways in which these activists are leaning on one another as well as which
languages are in conversation and which are not.

"Information." ELEN. Accessed February 24, 2021. https://elen.ngo/information/.

This website explains what ELEN is. As part of the EU, representing and promoting
minority languages in Europe, this site supports the argument in chapter three that
Gaelic activists wanted to remain in the EU because of the support they received from
ELEN and therefore Europe.

"January 28, 1915: Veto of Immigration Legislation." Miller Center. University of Virginia,
February 23, 2017. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-
speeches/january-28-1915-veto-immigration-legislation.

This source provides evidence how the United States perpetuated racist ideas in
regard to "good" immigrants versus "bad." Woodrow Wilson's quote, while seeming
to support anyone seeking political asylum, is referring to white European
immigrants. This IS addresses the racism behind the pride people with Scottish
ancestry have in the United States.

Jenkins, Simon. "Scottish Independence Isn't Going Away. Will the Tories Be Its Curators –
or Victims?" The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, March 5, 2021.
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/mar/05/scottish-independence-
tories-boris-johnson.

Simon Jenkins, a columnist, author, and BBC broadcaster's article discusses the
current political state in Scotland post-Brexit. This source provides information on
Scotland currently in 2021 regarding calls for independence post-Brexit. For this IS,
this source gives insight into what the future may bring to Scottish politics and how
Scotland today is responding to a political decision that they never supported.

Kilda, Anna. "Experience the Scottish Islands from Home - Virtual Tours and Experiences:
VisitScotland." visitscotland.com. The Blog, June 12, 2020.
https://www.visitscotland.com/blog/islands/scottish-islands-virtual-tours-from-home/.

This site provides information on virtual tours being offered by VisitScotland.
Specifically, tours of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. For this IS, this source
serves to show how the tourist industry has adopted to coronavirus and managed to
cater to international tourists who cannot physically travel.

Lacey, Ian. "M&C Report: 'Hospitality — Getting in Shape for 2012': 31 January 2011,
London." *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 11, no. 2 (2011): 161-65. Accessed
September 20, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23745477.

This source gives insight into the views and the preparations the UK did for the 2012
Olympics, showing the importance they saw in tourism not simply for the events but
for the future of tourism. For this IS, this source demonstrates the commitment the
UK had for the growing tourism industry.

"Language Organisations Call to Remain in EU over 'Potentially Disastrous' Effects of
Brexit on the Celtic Languages." ELEN. ELEN, December 13, 2018.
https://elen.ngo/2018/12/13/language-organisations-call-to-remain-in-eu-over-
potentially-disastrous-effects-of-brexit-on-the-celtic-languages/.

In response to Brexit, Celtic language activists wrote a plea explaining why
remaining in the EU was the most beneficial. This supports what Gaelic activists were
doing when they opposed leaving the EU for fear that they would lose the support and
connections to European minority languages as well as monetary and legal support.
What this plea does as well is demonstrate how far-reaching language activism
because language is a deeply ingrained aspect of heritage and culture.

Leask, Davis. "Brexit 'Disastrous' for Gaelic and Scots Languages, Warns European-Wide
Campaigners." The Herald Scotland. The Herald, June 20, 2016.
https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14568512.brexit-disastrous-for-gaelic-and-
scots-languages-warns-european-wide-campaigners/.

Leask's article describes Gaelic activists' desires to remain in the EU. Supporting the idea that there is power in numbers, Gaelic activists did not want to lose the connections already formed with other minority languages given the lack of promotion given by UK governments. This serves to show why activists did not support Brexit and made their opinions known clearly despite little political activity related to Brexit.

Linda Colley on Britain's Identity: Scotland Was Never a Colony. *YouTube*. The Economist, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9TL7HlOzMJ4&feature=emb_logo.

Linda Colley is a leading British historian at the University of Princeton. Colley's interview with the Economist demonstrates why a historical perspective is important when discussing recent political events in Scotland. For this IS, her interview is used to explain why, while other disciplines are important when studying the emergence of national identity, it is the historical lens that gives a larger perspective that provides a deeper analysis from which other disciplines add to.

"London 2012 Olympic Advertising." Urban River, July 2012. https://www.urbanriver.com/london-2012-olympic-advertising/.

This source shows the 2012 Olympic advertisement by showing short clips and pictures of other advertisements leading up to the Olympics. The use of advertisements to understand the portrayal of British identity proves the ways in which the UK saw itself as a unified whole. For this IS, this source serves to show how the UK was understanding its identity during the Olympics which in contrast to how Scotland is presenting itself during the Commonwealth Games.

Mac a' Bhàillidh, Màrtainn. "On Gaelic Language Development Policy in Scotland." Bella Caledonia. Bella Caledonia, July 6, 2019. https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2019/07/06/on-gaelic-language-development-policy-in-scotland/.

Mac a' Bhàillidh outlines the difference in goals within the Gaelic activist community. While some activists continued working on a national level working with the Scottish Parliament, others looked locally within Scotland to small communities. While the Parliament sought to increase the number of Gaelic speakers, locally focused activists sought to support and protect current Gaelic speakers in Scotland. The two strands of activism emerging serve to show on some level why the tourist agency was continuing to grow steadily while Gaelic revival efforts did not see this same progress.

MacNaull, Steve. "Glasgow's Glowing; Scotland's Biggest City Will have Knockout Summer Hosting Commonwealth Games." *Prince George Citizen,* Apr 26, 2014. https://wooster.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/docview/1519123225?accountid=15131.

This article gives insight into the goals of the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow as well as how the facilities that were built served both the games as well as the community domestically and internationally. For this IS, the source shows how Scotland is looking to the future of tourism as well as the impact the Games would have on Scotland's tourist industry.

McLeod, Wilson. "The Non-Issue of Gaelic in the Indyref Debate." Bella Caledonia, September 5, 2014. https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2014/09/05/the-non-issue-of-gaelic-in-the-indyref-debate/.

This article addresses the lack of Gaelic in discussions around the Independence Referendum. It demonstrates that Gaelic activists were not involved in IndyRef politics, and rather aligned themselves more with minority languages. For this IS, the source is showing how groups, specifically here Gaelic activists are staying directly out of politics, yet through other means are choosing to support the "remain" vote in other subtle ways.

Moseley, Christopher (ed.). 2010. Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd edn. Paris, UNESCO Publishing. Online version: http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas

This website describes the classifications of languages from extinct to safe. Gaelic currently is classified as "definitely endangered." This scale, because it is internationally accepted is used in this project as an indicator of the status of Gaelic today. For this IS, the UNESCO site shows the precarious place Gaelic is in as a living language and sets up the IS to explain why the work of Gaelic activist is urgent and the motivations behind the group.

Newsroom, The. "First Minister Warns Scottish Tourism Industry Is Facing 'Workforce Crisis' over Brexit." Edinburgh News. Edinburgh News, October 1, 2018. https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/politics/first-minister-warns-scottish-tourism-industry-facing-workforce-crisis-over-brexit-570175.

This article addresses the economic concerns the tourism industry had. In terms of labor, Brexit potentially meant that around 75% of EU nationals would be ineligible to work in Scotland, therefore affecting around 8% of the total jobs in Scotland. For the purposes of this IS, this data is important because it demonstrates another way that Brexit would fundamentally change the Scotland and why the tourism industry was adamantly opposed to Brexit.

O'Brien, Shane. "Gaelic Language Close to Collapse in Scotland." IrishCentral.com. IrishCentral, January 5, 2021. https://www.irishcentral.com/culture/gaelic-language-collapse-scotland.

O'Brien's article is an example of what local activists are doing for Gaelic speakers in areas of Scotland, such as housing estates dedicated to Gaelic speakers. The article

also addresses the opposition these local activists faced by Conservative politicians. For this IS, this article outlines the struggles activists faced in trying to promote and protect Gaelic speakers and the efforts being made to help the existing community of Gaelic speakers.

Office for National Statistics (UK). "Gross domestic product (GDP) year-on-year growth in the United Kingdom (UK) from 1949 to 2019." Chart. February 11, 2020. Statista. Accessed October 05, 2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/281734/gdp-growth-in-the-united-kingdom-uk/.

This source outlines why the 2012 Olympics Games were important for the UK economically. In addition, why the UK put so much emphasis on the games as a way to show British culture and identity to the wider international community. For this IS, this source will serve as a comparison to how Scotland it is promoting the Commonwealth Games in 2014.

"Olympic Victory for all Scotland has More to Gain than Lose from 2012 Games: [Final Edition]." *The Herald,* Jul 07, 2005. https://wooster.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/docview/333019127?accountid=15131.

This news article highlights the positives for Scotland in respect to the 2012 London Olympic Games. With a tourism boost, Scotland stands to gain more than lose as tourists flock to both England and Scotland. With these tourists, businesses experience a boost in sales as long as they cater to the tourist's desires thus continuing the cycle of showing the tourist their imagined Scotland and England.

"Outlander Tours." rabbies.com. Rabbies Trail Burners. Accessed March 12, 2021. https://www.rabbies.com/en/scotland-tours/see/outlander-tours#seetours.

This website displays the various *Outlander* tours offered by this tour service. A fairly popular tour service in the UK, this site, while catering to growing interest in the show, actually do not include any Gaelic in their advertisements or information on tours. For this IS, this source serves to show how the tourism industry is dominating in creating a Scottish identity that is growing in popularity while Gaelic activists are struggling with visibility.

"Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Bill." Hansard, December 8, 2010. https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2010-12-08/debates/10120863000336/ParliamentaryVotingSystemAndConstituenciesBill?highlight=minority+languages.

This record from the UK Parliament shows how minority languages across Britain were grouped together in conversation and therefore found agency and power by learning and advocating with each other. This IS uses this source to explain why Gaelic activists did not support independence in 2014.

"Previous Marketing Campaigns - Marketing." Previous Marketing Campaigns - Marketing |
VisitScotland.org. VisitScotland. Accessed February 9, 2021.
https://www.visitscotland.org/about-us/what-we-do/marketing/previous-campaigns.

This website lays out the campaign by *VisitScotland* since 2013. This website serves
to show and compare the multiple tourism campaigns and give preliminary
information on them. For this IS, this website in particular serves as a basis of chapter
three's analysis of the changing tourism industry and how *VisitScotland* is responding
to Brexit.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The
Scottish Parliament, October 2, 2012.
https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=7673.

This source addresses the perceived future of Gaelic and the goals of the next
Language Plan. As one Gaelic plan was coming to its end date, the Parliament as well
as the Bórd were in discussion as to what the next Language Plan should focus on.
For this IS, it allowed for the analysis of the progress the Bórd had made as well as
what those working on the next plan perceived as needing to be changed or kept.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The
Scottish Parliament, September 17, 2013.
https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=8515.

This source outlines had in 2013 within the Scottish Parliament surrounding the rights
of Gaelic speakers. This source focuses on debates had on whether initiatives for
revival should exceed the National Gaelic Language Plans or follow them thus risking
slowing progress. For this IS, it gives a glimpse into the struggle language activists
faced and the obstacles the Parliament created thus explaining to some extent the
slow progress of language revival.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The
Scottish Parliament, April 21, 2005.
https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=4577.

This Parliamentary Record shows the commitment the Scottish Parliament expressed
for the future of Gaelic and the importance of the language for Scottish identity,
heritage, and culture. This report serves as a comparison to how Holyrood would treat
language activists in the future.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The
Scottish Parliament, August 14, 2014.
https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=9460.

This report discusses the cultural significance of Gaelic in Scotland. During the lead-up to the Commonwealth Games in Scotland, activists attempted to gain more promotion and visibility from Holyrood. While Holyrood expressed support for Gaelic, in reality tourism was facing an enormous boost while Gaelic was not. For this IS, this source serves to prove that Holyrood, while declaring their support for Gaelic revival in actuality were more focused on the growing tourism industry and promoting that vision of Scottish identity.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament, December 10, 2002. https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=636&.

This official report highlights the discussions about the drafting editing of the Gaelic Lnaguage (Scotland) Act 2005. This report discusses specifically stage one of the bill, showing how MPs in Holyrood are thinking about the future for Gaelic. For this IS, this source serves to demonstrate how the 2005 Act was a major piece of legislation for Gaelic and how ideas of Gaelic's place in modern Scottish identity were being formed.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament, January 14, 2003. https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=639&.

This official report highlights the discussions about the drafting editing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. This report discusses specifically stage one of the bill, showing how MPs in Holyrood are thinking about the future for Gaelic. For this IS, this source serves to demonstrate the importance of the 2005 Act as well as how slow Holyrood was being in creating this Act. As Gaelic activists supported devolution in 1999, they quickly began seeing that their hopes for promotion and visibility the reconvened Parliament were not going to be a reality.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament, November 5, 2002. https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=3017.

This report states Dr. Ewing's opinions on Holyrood and it's allotment of time. She points out that if the Gaelic Language Bill were of more importance, that time would be made, thus showing the lack of support and commitment by Holyrood for the promotion and support of Gaelic.

Report, Official. "Official Report." Parliamentary Business: Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament, November 28, 2001. https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx?r=4339.

This report discusses Gaelic medium education in Scotland. Generally, this source also shows how politicians were thinking about the future of Gaelic in terms of

younger generations. For this IS, this source serves to show how the Scottish
Parliament was able to pass more legislation and do more for Scotland without
making Scottish MPs go through Westminster.

Rep. *The London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games*. VisitBritain, November 2012.
https://www.visitbritain.org/sites/default/files/vb-corporate/Documents-
Library/documents/2012_games_our_story.pdf.

VisitBritain's advertising of the 2012 Olympic Games provides important insight into
what tourism agencies were promoting as culture and identity in relation to the
Games. This site also shows what popular tourist destinations in London and across
the UK were in 2012 that tourists were being encouraged to visit. For this IS, the
report provides information on the vision Britain is trying to promote.

Rep. *Tourism in Scotland: The Economic Contribution of the Sector*. Edinburgh, Scotland:
Scottish Government, 2018.

Created by the Tourism Leadership Group, this report shows the growth of tourism in
Scotland since 2011. For this project, the source gives evidence as to why the tourism
industry was gaining so much momentum and therefore the tourism industry was
against Brexit after they had gained a significant increase in the number of tourists.

Scotland, Creative, and CreativeScotland. "Culture 2014 Programme Guide." Issuu, June 16,
2014. https://issuu.com/creativescotland/docs/culture_2014_programme_guide.

This Culture Guide from the Glasgow Commonwealth Games provides evidence as to
what types of events were offered during the Commonwealth Games. In addition this
source shows how Glasgow was trying to market and portray Scottish identity as well
as building a reputation of being an international city.

Scotland Is Here | Scotland Is Now. *YouTube*. Scotland is Now, 2021.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5cMQf0QuAkM.

This video created by *VisitScotland* is directly interacting with Brexit politics, as the
tourism industry in this video is rejecting the vote and expressing to the EU that
Scotland remains committed to its relationship with the EU. Pos-Brexit vote, this
advertisement serves to demonstrate how the tourism industry was interacting with
and reacting to politics.

"#ScotSpirit." First Minister of Scotland, February 10, 2016.
https://firstminister.gov.scot/spiritscot/.

Nicola Sturgeon's speech in 2016 at the opening of the Spirit of Scotland campaign
outlines the characteristics that the tourism industry is working to promote and
develop as key identifiers of Scottish identity to the international community. As first
minster of Scotland and the leader of the Scottish National Party, Sturgeon's speech is
important for this IS because it demonstrates the relationship between politicians and

the tourism industry, therefore showing how tourism's vision of Scotland was dominating over the vision Gaelic activists worked to promote.

"Scottish Gaelic." Duolingo Wiki. Fandom. Accessed February 28, 2021.
    https://duolingo.fandom.com/wiki/Scottish_Gaelic.

    This site provides information on the increased visibility of Scottish Gaelic through *Duolingo*. This language learning platform serves to show how the visibility of Gaelic may be expanding, but the increased fluency is not, given the lessons taught on the platform are not geared towards fluency, rather basic tourist language.

"Scottish Independence Referendum: Final Results in Full." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, September 18, 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2014/sep/18/-sp-scottish-independence-referendum-results-in-full.

    This news source provides the statistics of the Referendum vote in 2014. The chapter is dependent on these results in order to show how tourist agencies and Gaelic activists interacted with a developing Scottish identity and their respective places within the idea of Scottishness.

"Scottish Independence Referendum: Our Place in the World." GOV.UK. GOV.UK.
    Accessed January 22, 2021. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/scottish-independence referendum-our-place-in-the-world/scottish-independence-referendum-our-place-in-the-world.

    This source serves to prove how Scotland is placing its relationship with the EU over its relationship with the UK. By looking back at the 2014 Referendum, the relationship between Scotland and the EU proves later in chapter three that Scotland's commitment to the EU had been unwavering for years and after Brexit, Scotland was prepared to stay with the EU over the UK.

"Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body – Gaelic Language Plan 2013-18." Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament. Accessed February 13, 2021.
    https://www.parliament.scot/help/63352.aspx.

    The 2013-2018 Gaelic Language Plan outlines the commitment and plan by the Bórd and Holyrood to promote and revive Gaelic. However, this plan, incredibly similar to the last Language Plan shows the lack of progress being made in Scotland. This document serves to show Holyrood's lack of commitment and resources to language revival.

"Spending Review Statement." Hansard, October 21, 2010.
    https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2010-10-21/debates/10102140000012/SpendingReviewStatement?highlight=heritage+tourism.

This report shows a clear preferential treatment for the tourism industry. While some departments like UK Film Council and the Museums Libraries and Archives Council were abolished due to budget cuts, and many other organizations had to cut funds by 15%, the tourism sector, "by protecting Visit Britain's £50 million marketing budget and challenging industry to match it".

tehguy3. "BBC London 2012 Olympic Games Advert (Full Length)." Youtube, July 3, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cVrjFlt4hI.

This advertisement for the 2012 Olympics demonstrates the nature of advertisements in the UK leading up to 2012. This advert serves the purpose of showing the UK as a unified country as well as welcoming to the international community. The source serves to demonstrate how the UK is portraying itself and its identity to the wider international community.

The Complete London 2012 Opening Ceremony | London 2012 Olympic Games, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4As0e4de-rI.

The YouTube video of the Opening Ceremony of the 2012 Olympic Games shows the ways in which Britain is broadcasting its portrayal and therefore understanding of culture and identity. The clip is used in the chapter to demonstrate how the creators of the Games understand Britain's place in the world and their depiction of a unified United Kingdom.

"The EU Isn't Just about Business. That's Why I Think Scotland Will Vote to Stay | Nicola Sturgeon." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, February 29, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/29/eu-business-scotland-vote-stay-uk-economic-arguments.

This interview with Nicola Sturgeon highlights the SNP's view and support for remaining in the EU and their preparation for a potential second independence referendum should the UK vote to leave the EU. Sturgeon's words serve this IS to show Scotland's commitment to the UK and that the ties of Empire had dissolved by 2016.

The National. "Leave a Light on for Scotland." *The National*, January 31, 2020.

This advertisement in *The National* serves to show Scotland commitment to the EU. Published right after the UK formally left the EU, this advertisement shows Scotland's disapproval of the results of the Brexit vote.

Uberoi, Elise. "Analysis of the EU Referendum Results 2016." House of Commons Library. UK Parliament, June 26, 2016. https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7639/.

The data of how each country in the UK voted in the 2016 Brexit referendum shows the extent to which Scotland did not support Brexit, rather England's population was significantly larger therefore making England the more powerful country in the vote.

"UK Accused of Failing to Promote Minority Languages." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, September 8, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/sep/08/uk-accused-of-failing-to-promote-minority-languages-cornish-irish-ulster-scots.

This news article addresses the ways in which minority languages in Britain have not been supported by the government. This source helps explain why Gaelic activists did not join discussions on IndyRef and chose instead to join other minority languages.

"UK Total Visits by Country Visited 2019." Statista. Statista Research Department, November 26, 2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/288969/total-visits-to-the-united-kingdom-uk-by-country/.

These statistics provide evidence as to COVID-19's impact on international travel. The decrease in tourists to the UK, as evidenced by another source show how COIVD-19 had impacted the tourism industry. For this IS, this source helps explain the reasoning behind choosing to end the chronology of this project with 2019 and not address COVID-19's impact.

VisitScotland Advert 2016 | Scotland. A Spirit of Its Own - Spirit Lights. *YouTube*. VisitScotland, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otEcULXOpGc&feature=emb_logo.

This tourist campaign by *VisitScotland* launched in 2016. This video, as part of this campaign shows how the tourist industry was interacting with Brexit politics. This campaign appears to be trying to calm public fears over Brexit prior to the vote, assuring visitors and those affected that Scotland would remain a country they can visit and work in. For this IS, this source demonstrates the tourism industry's commitment to its vision of what Scotland is despite political turmoil.

"VisitScotland Campaign Harnesses 'Spirit of Scotland'." BBC News. BBC, February 10, 2016. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-35536478.

The 2016 campaign by *VisitScotland* sought to promote the vision of Scotland that the tourism industry wanted to create and expand globally. Demonstrating an increasingly independent Scotland, this campaign showed how Scotland was understanding its own identity separate to the rest of the UK.

"What Is Big Big Sing." Big Big Sing. Accessed October 31, 2020. https://www.bigbigsing.org/what-is-big-big-sing/.

Big Big Sing is an organization that seeks to encourage people across the UK and Commonwealth to sing. This organization is supported by Glasgow and shows the ways in which Glasgow was promoting Scotland as a cultural hub. This is important for this IS because Big Big Sing demonstrates Scotland's increase in showcasing specific groups to Scotland therefore separating its identity from the wider UK, specifically England.

"What Languages Does the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Apply to?" European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Council of Europe, 2020. https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-charter-regional-or-minority-languages/languages-covered.

This charter provides authority and evidence as to Gaelic's classification within Britain as a minority language according to the Council of Europe. The acknowledgement of European powers in British minority languages bolsters language activists in their revival work. For the purposes of this chapter, this document provides a basic information into other minority languages as well as evidence as to Gaelic activists' shift towards other minority languages rather than IndyRef.

Secondary Sources

"Anne Lorne Gillies." Scottish Traditional Music Hall of Fame. Hands up for Trad, January 8, 2013. https://projects.handsupfortrad.scot/hall-of-fame/anne-lorne-gillies/.

This source detailing Anne Lorne Gillies lists her accomplishments and history as an activist for the use of Gaelic today. For this IS, she is an important example of how activists in different areas of Scottish culture were expressing and promoting the language.

"A Peaceful Europe – the Beginnings of Cooperation." Europa.eu. European Union, May 9, 2017. https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/1945-1959_en.

This source describes the process by which the European Coal and Steel Community was formed, that later became the EEC or Common Market, then became the European Union known today. For this IS, this source provides the basic information on post WWII European cooperation and how it has grown and developed.

Bowie, Karin. "Popular Resistance, Religion and the Union Of 1707."
In *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*, edited by Devine T. M., 39-53. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. Accessed January 11, 2021. http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1r1z7z.8.

Bowie, similarly, to Whatley addresses the reasons why Scotland agreed to the Act of Union in 1707. Unlike Whatley however, she gives much of the reasoning behind Scotland's agreement to the role of religion and looks past the multitude of other factors that led to the decision. For this IS, her analysis provides some background

and reasoning behind the Acts of Union, though my work expands upon hers to address the multitude of factors of which religion was one of them.

Bradford, Chris. "What Does Devolution Mean and When Did Scottish Devolution Happen?" The Sun. The Sun, November 17, 2020. https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/13217499/what-devolution-mean-when-scottish-devolution-happen/.

 The article by the Sun provides basic terminology and definitions on Scottish Devolution. For the purposes of this IS, this source begins chapter one with a basic definition on which the remainder of the chapter continues.

"Brexit: What You Need to Know about the UK Leaving the EU." BBC News. BBC, December 30, 2020. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887#:~:text=The%20UK%20voted%20to%20leave%20the%20EU%20in,to%20the%20terms%20of%20a%20new%20trade%20deal.

 This source describes the function and purpose of the EU. For this IS, the source demonstrates a basic understanding of what Britain is voting to leave in the Brexit vote of 2016.

Brown, Ian, and John Ramage. "Referendum to Referendum and Beyond: Political Vitality and Scottish Theatre." *The Irish Review (1986-)*, no. 28 (2001): 46-57. Accessed January 31, 2021. doi:10.2307/29736043.

 This source describes the events from the 1979 referendum to the 1997 referendum for devolution. The ultimate failure of the 1979 referendum led to an increase in expressions of Scottish identity through art in Scotland and therefore increased positive attitudes towards devolution. For this IS, this source helps explain why desires for devolution increased.

Calhoun, Craig. "Populism, Nationalism and Brexit." In *Brexit: Sociological Responses*, edited by Outhwaite William, 57-76. London; New York: Anthem Press, 2017. Accessed January 22, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1kft8cd.8.

 Calhoun's article addresses the feelings of nationalism by both England and Scotland by the Brexit vote, showing the disintegration of the ties of Empire that helped create the UK. For this IS, this source gives insight into the events that would unfold after the Brexit vote and why Scotland remained committed to the EU over the UK.

Campsie, Alison. "On This Day 1999: Scottish Parliament Reconvenes for First Time in 292 Years." Edinburgh News. Edinburgh News, May 12, 2020. https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/heritage-and-retro/heritage/day-1999-scottish-parliament-reconvenes-first-time-292-years-2850402.

This article describes who Winnie Ewing was and what her role was as part of the SNP and in the Scottish Parliament. An important figure for Gaelic activists, Dr. Ewing reconvened the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and was an advocate for the revival and promotion of Scottish Gaelic. For this IS, information on Dr. Ewing provides evidence to how activists were interacting with Holyrood and navigating the Parliament to achieve their aims.

"Charles Edward Stuart." Accessed March 2, 2020. http://www.englishmonarchs.co.uk/stuart_11.htm.

This website providing basic information on Charles Edward Stuart is used to give a brief background on the Stuart who led the Highlanders against the English crown at the Battle of Culloden. This source sets up the introduction and the Battle of Culloden that set in motion the accelerated efforts by the English to control and subdue Highland culture.

Clifford, Ben, and Janice Morphet. "Afterword: The Scottish Referendum, the English Question and the Changing Constitutional Geography of the United Kingdom." *Geographical Journal* 181, no. 1 (March 2015): 57–60. doi:10.1111/geoj.12137.

This source provides information on why the Scottish Independence Referendum resulted in a "no" vote based upon economics, politics, social, and cultural forces. This source is important because it supports the claims made as to why tourism industries and Gaelic activists sided with the "Better Together" campaign.

Colley, Linda. "Conclusions." In *Britons*, 364-75. Yale University Press, 2005. Accessed March 13, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm1mq.14.

Colley's conclusion states her central premise that the unification of a collective British identity flattened other regional identities of Britain. For this IS, I argue that this is not the case, rather than regional identity had always been present and was not flattened, as evidenced through the political events of the IS.

Devenney, Andrew D. "Joining Europe: Ireland, Scotland, and the Celtic Response to European Integration, 1961-1975." *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 97-116. Accessed February 20, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27752692.

Devenney's article addresses the Scotland and Ireland's integration into the EU and why they were initially anti-EEC but later became committed to the EU, as seen in the lead-up to and after the Brexit vote. For this IS, this work places the events of chapter three into a historical context that serve to understand a fuller picture of Brexit and feelings towards it.

Douglas, Fiona M. Scottish Newspapers, Language and Identity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. Accessed March 1, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Fiona M. Douglas is a lecturer at the University of Leeds, focusing on corpus linguistics and language in the media. Her work addresses how Scottish newspapers were crafting a Scottish identity during the same time period as my own IS. Her work however, sets up my IS in that I use it to demonstrate how my IS fills a gap in scholarship that others have not filled. Douglas' work, while very similar to my own uses a limited range of sources and addresses one factor that effects identity rather than two, therefore lacking the type of analysis that my IS covers.

Duffy, Elle. "Explained: What Is the Edinburgh Agreement, and Does It Say Anything about 'Once in a Generation'?" Herald Scotland. Herald Scotland, September 3, 2020. https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/18694365.scottish-independence-edinburgh-agreement/.

This news article addresses and proves why the Edinburgh Agreement was so important in the creation of IndyRef and the impact that David Cameron as well as members of the SNP had in its creation and application. This article also outlines the terms of the Edinburgh Agreement and provides the foundation as to why the vote was ultimately "no" in 2014. For this IS, Duffy's article addresses the complexities of the IndyRef vote and its outcome.

Frater, Anne. "Clann and Clan: Children of the Gaelic Nobility, C.1500–c.1800." In *Children and Youth in Premodern Scotland*, edited by Nugent Janay and Ewan Elizabeth, 89-103. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2015. Accessed December 20, 2020. doi:10.7722/j.ctt155j3t8.12.

This article explains the Statutes of Iona that introduced English into Scottish schools in an attempt to control and assimilate the Scots to English life. For this IS, Frater's work provides an analysis to expand upon as my IS uses her article to explain the decline of Gaelic in Scotland.

Gibney, John, Michael Kennedy, and Kate O'Malley. "1919–1922." In *Ireland: A Voice among the Nations*, 1-29. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2019. Accessed December 22, 2020. doi:10.2307/j.ctvswx7g3.6.

This article describes what the Irish Republican Brotherhood was and their fight for Irish independence. This work describes the process of Irish devolution after WWII. For this IS, this source shows how Celtic nations were beginning to understand their national identities over their British identities and their efforts for independence or devolution. Irish independence and devolution offered Scotland a general framework for their own strides for devolution in the late twentieth century.

Gold, John R., and Margaret M. Gold. ""The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders": Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden." History and Memory 19, no. 1 (2007): 5-38. Accessed February 18, 2020. doi:10.2979/his.2007.19.1.5.

This article explains the Battle of Culloden, explaining the two armies as well as the measures afterwards that began the Highland Clearances. This article is used to begin the conversation around the Highland Clearances to further explain the decline in Scots Gaelic and the reasons for it.

Goodman, Paul, Mark Wallace, Peter Hoskin, Harry Phibbs, Andrew Gimson, Peter Franklin, and Tim Montgomerie. "David Cameron MP: Proud to Be British." Conservative Home, July 10, 2010. http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2009/07/david-cameron-proud-to-be-british.html.

This source demonstrates the UK Conservative Party's stance on involvement in the European Union prior to 2010. In his speech, David Cameron makes it clear that he is against increased involvement in the European Union and would rather see a future in which Britain stands on its own but united. This source is important because it shows why Cameron forced certain measures in the Edinburgh Agreement that helped the "better together" campaign win.

Grant, Erin C. M. "'Part of My Heritage': Ladies' Pipe Bands, Associational Culture and 'Homeland' Identities in the Scottish Diaspora." In *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600*, edited by McCarthy Angela and MacKenzie John M., 159-76. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016. Accessed December 28, 2020. http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1bh2kgm.15.

This source describes the idea of Scotland as the "homeland" for Scots across the world who were part of the Scottish diaspora. For the purposes of this IS, this serves to demonstrate how the tourism industry was using the idea of Scotland as "home" to attract genealogy tourists.

"History - Scottish History." BBC. BBC, September 19, 2014. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/modern/features_modern_culturalrenaissance.shtml

This website discusses the Scottish Literary Renaissance of the mid-twentieth century that brought increased visibility to Gaelic. For the purposes of this IS, the website lays out part of the reason why there was a renewed interest in Scottish Gaelic that developed into what is addressed in the chapters.

Hughes, Kirsty. "Scotland's Brexit Blues." In *The Story of the Scottish Parliament: The First Two Decades Explained*, edited by Gerry Hassan, 201-10. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Accessed January 23, 2021. doi:10.3366/j.ctvs32qft.22.

Kirsty Hughes is the director of the Scottish Centre on European Relations. She presents the complexities of Brexit in her work explaining that across all voting areas in Scotland, the vote to remain won by more than 60%. For this IS, her work provides important figures of the vote in the UK and helps explain Scotland's desire to stay in the EU with increased pushes for independence from the UK.

Keating, Michael J. "Parliamentary Behaviour as a Test of Scottish Integration into the United Kingdom." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (1978): 409-30. Accessed January 12, 2021. http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/439451.

    Keating's article addresses the homogeneity thesis in discussion with how British politics does not fit this mold due to its union of distinct nations. For this IS, the article explains why devolution was bound to happen as Scottish MPs were representing Scottish issues and interests and largely ignoring English issues while Westminster did not give Scotland enough legislative power.

Kellner, Peter. "Alex Salmond." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed October 17, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alex-Salmond.

    Kellner's article provides insight into Alex Salmond's role in Scottish politics and his involvement in the beginning pushes for the IndyRef. Salmond pushed for IndyRef prior to 2010 and later led the SNP to organize around the "yes" vote campaign. In this IS, Kellner's sets up chapter two and the history of when an Independence Referendum became something the SNP began pushing for after devolution.

Colley, Linda. *Britons*. Yale University Press, 2005. Accessed February 26, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm1mq.

    Linda Colley is a leading British historian at the University of Princeton. Her book addresses the creation of Great Britain since 1707. Using a wide variety of sources to analyze the relationships between countries of the UK as well as between people. In addition her book addresses the relationships in the UK from 1707-1837. For this IS, Colley's work serves a point for my own work to expand upon. While my IS addresses the political events of the late twentieth and early twenty first century, the basis of my IS is based in large part on the events she illuminates in her book.

McAngus, Craig. "SNP: Devolution Winners." In *The Story of the Scottish Parliament: The First Two Decades Explained*, edited by Gerry Hassan, 135-44. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Accessed January 19, 2021. doi:10.3366/j.ctvs32qft.16.

    Craig McAngus' article describes how the SNP can be considered the devolution winners because they achieved what they sought with the help of the Labour Party, but managed to go further years later. For this IS, this article demonstrates the relationship between the Labour Party and SNP and the eventual split in their goals as the SNP sought independence while the Labour Party simply wanted devolution but not outright independence.

McCracken, Colin J. "Scottish Independence Referendum 2014: The Roots of the #Indyref." Jstor Daily. Jstor, September 17, 2014. https://daily.jstor.org/scottish-independence-referendum-2014-the-roots-of-the-indyref/.

This article lays out the beginnings of the political parties involved in the Independence Referendum. Specifically, chapter two focuses on the creation of the SNP given its control of the Scottish Parliament in 2014. The source is important because it lays out the political players and the motivations behind the political actors in supporting Independence or not.

McLeod, Wilson. "New Speakers of Gaelic: A Historical and Policy Perspective." In *Gaelic in Contemporary Scotland: The Revitalisation of an Endangered Language*, edited by MacLeod Marsaili and Smith-Christmas Cassie, 79-93. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Accessed January 2, 2021. http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctv8jnzt2.14.

This article outlines the creation of An Commun and places it into the larger context of the beginning of increased Gaelic revival efforts. For this IS, this source shows how originally, An Commun was not effective in promoting Gaelic, but would later serve to be an effective voice for activists and Gaelic speakers.

Millar, Robert McColl. "Homogenisation and Survival: the Languages of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century." In *A Sociolinguistic History of Scotland*, 100-24. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Accessed December 18, 2020. doi:10.3366/j.ctv125jr48.10.

Millar's chapter addresses attitudes and the position Scottish Gaelic was in during the eighteenth century. An important aspect of his chapter is Scottish parent's attitudes towards Gaelic. For this IS, his chapter explains why Scottish Gaelic faced a sharp decline because while the English implemented dominating policies that limited expressions of Scottish identity, it was ultimately negative ideas that Scots began internalizing towards Scottish Gaelic that made the decline of the language faster and ingrained in Scottish schooling and identity.

Mitchell, James. "The Settled Will of the Scottish People." In *Devolution in the UK*, 111-41. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009. Accessed January 11, 2021. http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/j.ctt155j9bx.11.

James Mitchell's chapter analyzes the political systems leading up to devolution, specifically focusing on the Labour Party and SNP. For this IS, Mitchell's chapter explains the motivations the political parties in Scotland had for supporting devolution.

Montgomery, Alan. "Reconquering the Highlands: Hanoverian Interpretations of Roman Scotland." In *Classical Caledonia: Roman History and Myth in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, 112-30. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Accessed December 20, 2020. doi:10.3366/j.ctv177thkx.11.

Montgomery describes how the English viewed the Scots in the eighteenth century, demonstrating why measures to "civilize" the Highlands led to the decline of Scottish Gaelic. For this IS, this source connecting ancient Scottish identity to barbarity, savagery, and low class explains why there were such intense pushes by parents to have their children learn English over Gaelic and why the decline of Gaelic has led to the position the language is in today.

Munro, Colin R. "Scottish Devolution: Accommodating a Restless Nation." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 6, no. 1/2 (1998): 97-119. Accessed December 22, 2020. http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/24674608.

Munro presents the argument that devolution measures were used by Westminster to appease Scot's desires for independence. While his argument is almost purely from an English perspective, for this IS, the article give evidence as to why devolution was ultimately not enough in 2014 during the Independence Referendum and later Brexit when demands for independence increased again in Scotland.

Park, Alison, and David McCrone. "The Devolution Conundrum?" In *Has Devolution Delivered?,* edited by Park Alison, McCrone David, Bromley Catherine, and Curtice John, 15-28. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Accessed February 2, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1r22b5.6.

Park and McCrone's work used a set of surveys to conduct research on what people thought of devolution. Unlike many scholars, they address the question, did devolution fix the power imbalance? They come to the conclusion that while many Scots had a positive opinion of Holyrood, devolution did not fix the power imbalance caused by the Acts of Union in 1707. Their research aids in explaining why the Independence Referendum in 2014 became a logical option after devolution as promises went unfulfilled.

Peers, Steve. "The UK and the Schengen System." UK in a changing Europe, December 3, 2015. https://ukandeu.ac.uk/the-uk-and-the-schengen-system/.

This article addresses Britain's special status in the EU from the Schengen zone to Britain's involvement in other areas. For the purposes of this IS, the source helps explain why Britain felt separated from the EU and some of the motivations behind Brexit.

Richards, Dave, Kingsley Purdam, Liz Richardson, and Oliver James. "Brexit and the Meaning of 'Taking Back Control': Great State Expectations?" PolicyManchester Blogs. The University of Manchester, March 27, 2017. http://blog.policy.manchester.ac.uk/posts/2017/03/brexit-and-the-meaning-of-taking-back-control-great-state-expectations/.

This article addresses the popular Conservative Party Brexit slogan, "take back control" and questions who was taking back control in the situation. In the larger

framework of this IS, this article brings into question the role of regionalism, as England voted to leave the EU, but Scotland and Ireland overwhelmingly voted to remain. So the question still stands, who was taking back control? Chapter three addresses how the ties of empire had dissolved by 2016 and nationalism was understood to have a greater say in people's lives in the UK over a collective British identity.

Rogers, Barry. "The Distribution and Growth of Tourism since the Second World War," 2015.

> Barry Roger's paper on tourism since WWII describes how Europe sought economic cooperation post war and managed to recover their economies through tourism. This work helps explain why tourism across Europe and especially in the UK after WWII was supported fully and given the resources to grow. For this IS, this source helps connected the tourism growth in the 1960s to the wider timeline of tourism booms across Europe.

Rosen, Armin. "Here's How David Cameron Blundered Into Letting Scotland Vote On Its Own Independence." Business Insider. Business Insider, September 18, 2014. https://www.businessinsider.com/how-cameron-blundered-scotlands-independence-vote-2014-9.

> This source explains David Cameron's role in the Edinburgh Agreement and therefore the results of the Independence Referendum in 2014. His role in shaping the Edinburgh Agreement affected the vote because it set the terms of the ballot. This source shows the complexity of the ballot and IndyRef 2014.

Shepperson, George. "Writings in Scottish-American History: A Brief Survey." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1954): 164-78. Accessed January 22, 2021. doi:10.2307/1922037.

> President Wilson's quote exemplifies the racism ingrained in American history and the pride people with Scottish heritage are made to feel in the United States. For the IS, these feelings of pride in Scottish heritage are tied with inherent racism ingrained in American society and what constitutes a "good" immigrant. In addition, this source shows how the Scottish tourism industry was able to capitalize on this and attract people with Scottish ancestry.

"Sir Iain Noble Obituary." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, January 3, 2011. https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/jan/03/sir-iain-noble-obituary.

> This source detailing Sir Iain Noble lists his accomplishments and history as an activist for the use of Gaelic during the twenty-first century. For this IS, he is an important example of how activists in different areas of Scottish culture were expressing and promoting the language.

Snow, Dean R. "Scotland's Irish Origins." Archaeology 54, no. 4 (2001): 46-51. Accessed
   February 10, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/41779528.

   Dean R. Snow's article explores the Irish origins of Scotland and the movement into
   Scotland from Dál Riata into Western Scotland. For this project, this article explains
   the roots of Scots Gaelic and how the language was developed from Irish Gaelic.

Stover, Justin Dolan. "Modern Celtic Nationalism in the Period of the Great War:
   Establishing Transnational Connections." *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic
   Colloquium* 32 (2012): 286-301. Accessed December 22, 2020.
   http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/23630944.

   Justin Dolan Stover addresses the Celtic Fringe that was occurring since WWII. As
   the ties were dissolving, so too were relationship countries in the UK had to an idea
   of British identity. This work expands the context of Scotland's pushes for
   independence and growing regional identity into the larger framework of the UK as a
   whole. For this IS, this allows for the expansion of analysis to Ireland and Northern
   Ireland to help understand Scottish devolution.

"The History of the European Union." Europa.eu. European Union, November 20, 2020.
   https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history_en.

   This website, while seemingly inconsequential serves to connect the EEC to the EU.
   For this IS, the history of the EU is essential for understanding Britain's complex
   membership within it. While another website in this IS gives the history of the EEC,
   this website connects the two entities.

"The University of Glasgow Story." Story. University of Glasgow. Accessed January 22,
   2021. https://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0726&type=P.

   This University of Glasgow site describes the life and achievements of Dr. Winnie
   Ewing. This source is important for this IS because it gives insight into Dr. Ewing
   and the multiple roles she played in EU, UK, and Scottish politics, and her role as a
   Gaelic activist.

Whatley, Christopher A. "The Making of the Union of 1707: History with a History."
   In *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*, edited by Devine T. M., 23-38. Edinburgh:
   Edinburgh University Press, 2008. Accessed December 9, 2020.
   http://www.jstor.org.wooster.idm.oclc.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1r1z7z.7.

   Whatley's analysis addresses the many facets as to why Scotland agreed to the Acts
   of Union. From the Darien Scheme, Scotland's economy, religion, and Queen Anne's
   rule are all aspects Whatley attributes to the Union. For this IS, his analysis provides
   many of the reasons why the Acts of Union was an uneven agreement. In addition,
   this IS expands upon Whatley's analysis in areas not addressed thoroughly.

Wilson, Sam. "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship." BBC News. BBC, April 1, 2014. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129.

>   Wilson outlines UK's process of entering the EEC and the complex relationship Britain had with the European Union. For this IS, this source provides context into the complexities of Britain's membership with the EU and therefore what helped lead to Britain's exit from the EU.

Tertiary Sources

"Definitions for Genealogy Tourism." What does genealogy tourism mean? Definitions.net, 2010. https://www.definitions.net/definition/genealogy tourism.

>   This source provides a definition for the term "genealogy tourism." This is an important source as it sets up the basis for the tourism section in chapter one discussing tourism's involvement with devolution politics.