Academy of Government
The University of Edinburgh
Parliamentary Programme
Political Internship with the Scottish Parliament

Autumn 2014
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Dear Intern –

You’ve sure picked the right time to arrive here – just a few weeks before the independence referendum. ‘Should Scotland become an independent country?’ – on 19 September we’ll know how the Scots have answered that question. The run-up to the referendum, and the aftermath – will undoubtedly be ‘interesting times’. And you’ll be in the midst of all the excitement!

So, welcome to Edinburgh University, welcome to the Parliamentary Internship Programme, and welcome to Edinburgh – the Festival City and UNESCO’s first World City of Literature! We do hope that you’ll have a rewarding time here, both at Chisholm House and working in the Parliament building at Holyrood…

In the first five weeks of your semester here, we will do our best to give you a grasp of British and Scottish politics, society and culture, in three complementary courses:

- **Government and Politics in the United Kingdom** (Charlie Jeffery)
- **Scottish Politics** (James Mitchell)
- **Scottish Society and Culture** (Eberhard ‘Paddy’ Bort)

Then, after two ‘transition weeks’, you will spend another eight weeks in close cooperation with an MSP and his/her staff in the Scottish Parliament, working on an agreed research project and – hopefully – gaining some valuable insights into the Scottish political process.

Please do read this course handbook carefully, as it gives you all the basic information you need to know – about your classes and the internship. If you have any questions or queries, please do not hesitate to contact Charlie Jeffery, James Mitchell or myself. We all hope you will enjoy your time here in Edinburgh.

Eberhard Bort (Director of Studies)
Introduction: Parliamentary Programme

Internship Requirements
Students will complete three five-week courses and a ten-week placement with a Member of the Scottish Parliament. There is a two-week period of transition at the start of the parliamentary placement for exams and essay writing.

Course Work
Students are required to take three courses: British Politics, Scottish Politics, and Scottish Society & Culture, 10-12 on Monday, 10-12 on Tuesday and 10-12 on Wednesday respectively (note: days and times differ in Week 1, exact schedule on separate Time Table). On the same days, up to two hours in the afternoon will be used to deepen the topics dealt with in the morning sessions – by visiting institutions, having guest lectures, and through other guided activities led by the Interns Tutor, Deborah Menezes. Thursday evenings throughout the 5 weeks of tuition are reserved for compulsory video/film sessions complementing the courses (Chisholm House/6–8pm). The video night then switches to Monday night from Week 6.

Placement
Students will work with a Member of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) and their staff for the duration of the ten-week placement, on a research project agreed between the intern, the MSP and the Director of Studies.

Please make sure that you are around Monday to Friday for the two weeks preceding the start of the parliamentary leg of the internship (i.e. weeks 4 and 5) – as those are the weeks when interns will be introduced to their MSPs.

Assessment
Assessment for the internship takes three forms: course requirements, a report and journal. The academic course work will count 40% towards the final mark; the Report and journal will make up the other 60%.

1. After the completion of courses students are expected to complete either an exam or a 2,500-3,000 word essay which will be assessed by the course lecturer. Deadlines are to be kept – extensions will only be given if requested with good reason and in advance. Handing in course work late will result in penalties.

2. At the end of their internship placement students are responsible for submitting a report. The topic and length of the report (usually c.5,000 words) will be agreed between the MSP, the interns’ Director of Studies, and the intern. The report is to be submitted to the MSP as well as to the Director of Studies.

3. In addition, students are expected to submit a journal on their placement activities and observations at the end of placement. The journal should include at least one page per week of the placement, detailing observations of the political process, outlining questions or frustrations, or discuss anything the students find relevant. The impressions and expectations of the internship placement are of particular interest. Students may wish to include copies of newspaper articles, lists of activities and accomplishments, notes of meetings, speeches or political events.

Grading
Grading of essays, briefings and exams will be according to Edinburgh University standards.
As you see, the Edinburgh system of grading may seem harsher than at some American colleges. But it is University policy to apply the Edinburgh grading system across the University.

General Information

Office Space
Students will be provided with office space in the basement of Chisholm House, High School Yards. Depending on their placement, students may be provided with office space at the Parliament.

Computer Access
Students will be provided with access to computers in Chisholm House and a university e-mail account. With a university account students will be able to log in to any of the additional university computer labs. Computing facilities are available in the Appleton Tower and the University Library in George Square. Depending on their placement, students may gain access to the parliamentary computers.

Parliamentary Passes
Interns will be issued with security passes within the first week of their placement in the Parliament. It is expected that an initial meeting with the host MSP will take place during Weeks 4 and 5 of the internship. It is therefore imperative that all interns are in Edinburgh Mon-Fri on those two weeks. Meeting MSPs has absolute priority over travel plans and other activities.

Books
We have a lending library installed at Chisholm House, looked after by Deborah Menezes in the ground floor office, containing all major text books needed for the course. Students may borrow books for up to one week. Please do not mark books – if you have to read with pen or pencil, do buy your own books!

Weblogs
Please note that weblogs about the student’s placement in Parliament should only be kept with the explicit agreement of the intern’s MSP.

Lecturers/Tutors
James Mitchell is Professor of Public Policy. Charlie Jeffery is Professor of Politics and Director of the Academy of Government. Paddy Bort (Lecturer in Politics and Academic Coordinator of the Institute) is the Director of Studies of the Internship Programme. The afternoon activities are organised by postgraduate Interns Tutor
Deborah Menezes. Administrative Secretary for the course is Lee Corcoran (lee.corcoran@ed.ac.uk) - to whom all assignments should be sent electronically.

External Examiner: Dr Lynn Bennie, Politics, Aberdeen University
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Charlie Jeffery
3rd Floor, St John’s Land
Tel: 07970 619716
Email: Charlie.jeffery@ed.ac.uk

COURSE AIMS

The course provides an overview of the government and politics of the United Kingdom. It examines the development of the UK state, the impact of constitutional reform and European integration, the nature of the British party system and ideological change, the electoral system and its consequences. It is intended to give students an insight into key features of the British political system, to provide insight into the relative strength and positions occupied by the main parties, and to provide an understanding of the continuing relevance of the UK politics for Scotland.

FORMAT

The course is taught in two hour sessions involving lectures, discussion and small group exercises.

Place: The class will meet on Wednesdays (10-12 am) in the Seminar Room, St John’s Land

READING

Aim for at least 3 readings for each session – the relevant parts of textbooks, supplemented by the readings suggested below. Key readings are indicated. Additional readings may be used to follow up areas of particular interest, and to assist in preparing written coursework. These should be complemented by checking relevant journals: key journals include Parliamentary Affairs and Political Quarterly, and both can be accessed on-line via the University Library website. Students are also encouraged to use official websites, and find relevant articles in newspapers and the media. It is an essential requirement that students do the reading prior to coming to class.

ASSESSMENT

Assessment will be based on one short assignment, worth 20% of the overall grade, and one written exam (see Timetable) worth 80% of the overall grade. The Assignments is below; details of the exam will be distributed in class. The assignment must be submitted to Lee Corcoran (lee.corcoran@ed.ac.uk) by the deadline (see time table). Extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances and MUST be negotiated in advance. Late submissions will be penalised.
Government and Politics in the UK

Short assignment (worth 20% of overall course grade)

Due Date: See Time Table

Instructions

You are a political researcher for one of the US political parties, on a fact-finding trip to the UK. Select one of the British political parties (major or minor) and prepare a 1,200 word report/briefing for your home organisation (using academic sources from the British politics reading list, supplemented by web-based resources, including party websites). How does the UK party compare with your own? What lessons could your party learn from the UK party?

You might want to consider some or all of the following:

- Ideology
- Organisation & membership
- Which social groups support it
- Programme & Performance
  - Leadership
- Its recent and current prospects

READINGS

There are plenty of good textbooks on UK politics. Any of the following will give you a thorough introduction to the key issues, and you may think it worth buying one of them, especially if you are studying the UK for the first time.

• Moran, Michael (2011) *Politics and Governance in the UK* (2nd ed.) Palgrave


There are also very useful collections of essays. These all contain chapters by well-informed authors, and will give you a better idea of the political and intellectual debates about the topics we cover. They are meant, though, to contributions to debate, not necessarily introductions to the material, so they might best be regarded as supplementary to textbooks. The best are:


The most useful academic journals that focus mainly on UK politics are *Parliamentary Affairs* and *Political Quarterly*. Both produce accessible articles aimed at a mixed academic/practitioner audience. You will also find *British Politics* very useful. These and the other journals found on the reading lists are available online through the University library.

Blogs are becoming an increasingly useful source of up-to-date commentary by leading political scientists. The most useful for UK politics insights are:

- [http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/](http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/)
- [http://nottspolitics.org/](http://nottspolitics.org/)
- [http://www.psa.ac.uk/insight-plus/blog](http://www.psa.ac.uk/insight-plus/blog)

And on Scottish politics:

- [http://futureukandscotland.ac.uk/](http://futureukandscotland.ac.uk/)
- [http://www.referendum.ed.ac.uk/](http://www.referendum.ed.ac.uk/)
- [http://www.scottishconstitutionalfutures.org/](http://www.scottishconstitutionalfutures.org/)

You may find the following websites useful:

- The Constitution Unit – briefings: [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/)
- Hansard Society (charity that promotes effective parliamentary democracy) [http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk](http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk)
- Houses of Parliament: [http://www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk)
- Scottish Government:
- Scottish Parliament: [http://www.scottish.parliament.uk](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk)
- National Assembly for Wales: [http://www.assemblywales.org/index.htm](http://www.assemblywales.org/index.htm)
- Scottish Affairs: [http://www.scottishaffairs.org/](http://www.scottishaffairs.org/)
For each week, it is recommended that you read the relevant chapters in your chosen textbook, as well as at least two other items.

LECTURE PROGRAMME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 1:</th>
<th>Introduction to the UK State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Week 2:</td>
<td>Parties, ideology and elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 3:</td>
<td>Reforming Britannia 1: Constitutional reform at the centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 4:</td>
<td>Reforming Britannia 2: Devolution and territorial politics in the UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 5:</td>
<td>The United Kingdom, the European Union, and the world</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Format:** each week there will be a two-hour ‘collegiate’ style lecture including student input and discussion. I expect you to come armed with questions and points to raise, not just to listen to me.
Week 1: Introduction to the UK State

This week we will examine the UK state and the constitutional development of the United Kingdom, looking at the distinctiveness of the UK’s ‘unwritten’ constitution, the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty and the development of the main political institutions. We will examine the concepts of state and nation, and consider whether the UK can best be conceptualised as a nation-state or a multi-national state, and where power lies in its central institutions. Throughout we will draw comparisons with the US.

Key Readings:
Relevant chapters in your chosen textbook.

Russell in Developments.
Tomkins in Oxford Handbook

Also:
Beer, S.H. (1965) Modern British Politics: a study of parties and pressure groups
Week 2: Parties, ideology and elections

This week we will examine the nature and development of the party political system in the UK. The development of ideology from social democracy to neo-liberalism will be studied, giving consideration to the question of whether the advent of New Labour and the renewal of the Conservatives under David Cameron has led to a new political consensus, or a distinctive ‘Third Way’. In addition, we will examine the nature and consequences of the electoral system and consider the issues it engenders for party and popular representation. The tutorial discussion will focus on analysing the 2010 UK General Election

**Key Readings:**

Relevant chapters in your chosen textbook.

Denver and Cowley in *Developments 9.*
Mair in *Oxford Handbook*

**The 2010 General Election:**


The special issue of *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 63, Issue 4, 2010 covers the 2010 election in depth, with the article by David Denver ‘The Results: How Britain Voted’ giving a good overview.

There is a special section of *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 82:2, 2011 which looks at how and why the 2010 coalition government was formed.

Also:


Geddes, A., Tonge, J. (2010), *Britain Votes 2010*


Kavanagh, D., Cowley, P. (2010), *The British General Election of 2010*


Week 3: Reforming Britannia 1: Constitutional reform at the centre

Following its election in 1997, the Blair government embarked upon the most extensive programme of constitutional reform since the Liberal government of 1906-14, with the coalition under Cameron and Clegg also seeing the constitution as a priority. We will examine these constitutional reforms over the following two weeks. This week we will focus on the current state of British democracy, giving particular attention to reform of the House of Lords, electoral reform and the changing role of the courts. What has driven the demand for reform? What progress has been made so far? Do these reforms contribute to ‘democratic deepening’ in the UK?

Key Readings:

Relevant chapters in your chosen textbook.

Russell and Kelso in Developments.

Also:
King, A. (2009), The British Constitution (Oxford: OUP)
Week 4: Reforming Britannia 2:
Devolution and territorial politics in the UK

This week we will look at the progress and prospects of devolution in the other parts of the UK: Wales, Northern Ireland and England. What are the historical roots of nationalism in Wales and Northern Ireland, and how do their devolved institutions compare to Scotland’s? What progress has been made with regard to the government of England? What do the challenges of territorial politics around the UK mean for the future of the UK state?

Key Readings:
Relevant chapters of your chosen textbook

Jeffery in Oxford Handbook
Scully and Wyn Jones in Developments 9

Also:
Mitchell, J. (2009), Devolution in the United Kingdom (Manchester: MUP)
Week 5: The UK, the European Union and the world

In the final week, we will examine the development of the UK as a member of the European Union. What has the history of British involvement in the EU been? Is it fair to describe the UK as an ‘awkward partner’ in Europe? Does the pull of the ‘special relationship’ with the US complement or detract from the development of UK’s links with Europe? Will there be a referendum on EU membership, and if so what would be the likely outcome?

Key Readings:
Relevant chapters of your chosen textbook.

Gamble in Oxford Handbook
Thorlakson and Gamble in Developments 9

Also:

SCOTTISH POLITICS

Professor James Mitchell
21 George Square
James.Mitchell@ed.ac.uk
Office hours: Tuesday, 2-4pm

NB All seminars for this course will take place in the seminar room of the Geography Annex next door to Chisholm House

COURSE AIMS
i. The course provides an introduction to Scottish politics. It offers an historical overview explaining the origins and development of modern Scottish politics and government. It considers the government structures, political decision-making and party politics in Scotland. These will be discussed in the context of debates, conceptualisations and theories of political science.

ii. The course will provide necessary backdrop for an internship in the Scottish Parliament. Discussion will include a strong practical element aimed to furnish students with competing understandings of Scottish politics and government.

FORMAT
The class meets on Mondays (weeks 4 & 5), Tuesday (week2) and Thursdays (week1 & 3) from 11:00 to 13:00 in the Geography Annex next to Chisholm House (except week 2 - the Seminar Room in Chisholm House.) The course will be lecturer-led seminars. Students are expected to read at least two texts on the reading list. Each seminar will begin with each student outlining what s/he has read for that week’s seminar and expected to be able to answer some questions. This will ensure student participation, allow the lecturer to know what has been covered and allow for better discussion in the seminar. This will be followed by a lecturer-led seminar with student participation. Seminars will be complemented by activities in the afternoon, including visits to the relevant institutions.

ASSESSMENT
Assessment will be based on two pieces of work: a short mid-term project worth 40% and a final class exam worth 60% of the final grade. For the mid-term project, students will be required to write a research briefing paper (max 3 pages) on an aspect of Scottish politics. Two copies of the paper should be submitted electronically to Lee Corcoran (lee.corcoran@ed.ac.uk) by the deadline as per time table. The class exam will be held on in week 6 (see Time Table). The exam will be designed to test knowledge and understanding of seminar subjects.
**USEFUL WEBSITES**
Scottish Parliament: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/
Scottish Government: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/
Electoral Commission: http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/your-area/scotland.cfm
Institute of Governance: http://www.institute-of-governance.org/
Scottish Affairs online articles: http://www.scottishaffairs.org/onlinepub

For some highlights of the previous parliamentary session, see: http://news.bbc.co.uk/democracylive/hi/scotland/newsid_9531000/9531974.stm

You will be given a copy of ‘Scottish Elections 2011’, issued by Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICE)

**LECTURE PROGRAMME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Seminar topic</th>
<th>Aims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 Sep</td>
<td>Scotland’s evolving constitutional status</td>
<td>To outline the evolution of Scotland constitutional status within the UK; To consider the nature of the UK constitution in the context of devolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9 Sep</td>
<td>Nature of Scottish devolution</td>
<td>To explain the nature of devolved government; To consider the extent to which devolved government is a form of federalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18 Sep</td>
<td>Policy-making under devolution</td>
<td>To consider the parameters of autonomy under devolution; To consider the way in which policy is made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>22 Sep</td>
<td>Parties and Elections</td>
<td>To examine the electoral systems used in Scotland; To consider the extent to which a distinct party system exists in Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>29 Sep</td>
<td>Holyrood and the Scottish Government</td>
<td>To outline the workings of the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Week 1: Scotland’s evolving constitutional status

The United Kingdom has always acknowledged a Scottish dimension in its governmental institutions. This has changed over time. The system of local government was the basis of a distinct central government system that emerged in the nineteenth century. As the state’s role and remit increased over time this had implications for its ‘territorial constitution’ ie how it accommodated the component nations. The UK has been a nation of nations or state of unions in which each component was accommodated differently. This seminar aims to explain how Scotland’s position as a nation with the wider UK nation and the nature of the union of Scotland with the rest of the UK evolved over time.

Readings:

Scotland in the Union:  
Bogdanor, Vernon (1999), Devolution in the UK, Oxford, Oxford University Press  
Bulpitt, Jim (1983), Territory and Power, Manchester, Manchester University Press.  
Keating, Michael (1988), State and Regional Nationalism, pp.25-35.  
Kilbrandon (chairman) (1973), Royal Commission on the Constitution, ch.3.  
Rose, Richard (1982), Understanding the United Kingdom chs.1,2,3,4.  
Richard Rose (1971), Governing Without Consensus, ch.2.  

KEY QUESTIONS:
  i. To what extent did changes in the role of the state have an impact on Scotland’s distinct form of government?
ii. To what extent did the UK’s ‘customary’ constitution affect the nature of Scotland’s distinct status in the UK?

iii. In what sense is the UK a unitary state today?
Week 2: Nature of Scottish devolution

The Scottish parliament was first elected in 1999. There had been a number of proposals for a devolved legislature over the course of the twentieth century, most notably in the 1970s. Debates on devolution in the 1980s were shaped by the context in which the Conservatives governed Scotland as the largest party in the UK but with declining support in Scotland. This had implications for devolution as a response to ‘Thatcherism’. An informal convention was established in 1989 which outlined a scheme of devolution that provided the basis for devolution which was established.

Mitchell, James (2009), Devolution in the United Kingdom, Manchester, Manchester University Press, ch.6, 10.

KEY QUESTIONS:

i. To what extent was Margaret Thatcher the midwife of devolution and with what consequences?
ii. To what extent did the form of devolution leave important matters unresolved?
iii. In what sense can Scottish devolution be seen to have succeeded/failed?
Week 3: Policy-making under devolution

The Scottish parliament added a new dimension to policy-making. While the Scottish Office offered a distinct form of government it was accountable to Parliament at Westminster. The key change brought about by devolution was that authoritative decisions would be made and accountable to a Parliament in Scotland. This affected policy-making in a number of ways which will be discussed in this seminar. The degree and parameters of autonomy will be discussed as will changes in how policy is made.


KEY QUESTIONS:

i. To what extent have the fiscal powers of the Scottish Parliament inhibited its ability to find ‘Scottish solutions to Scottish problems’?

ii. To what extent has devolution encouraged divergence in public policy within the UK?

iii. What role has local government had under devolution?
Week 4: Parties and Elections

Scotland has long had a distinct party system that has become more evident post-devolution. The relationship between the electoral system and changed opportunity structure of having a Scottish Parliament will be explored. The extent to which political behaviour differs and explanations for this difference at Scottish and UK elections will be outlined.


Hopkin, J and J Bradbury (2006), ‘British statewide parties and multilevel politics’, *Publius, the journal of federalism*, vol.36, no.1

Hough, Dan and Jeffrey, Charlie (2006), *Devolution and electoral politics*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, especially chs. 1,3,13 but see also some of the case studies (chs.4-11).


KEY QUESTIONS:

i. Why did Labour agree to the Additional Member System for elections to the Scottish Parliament?

ii. To what extent did devolution offer the prospect of changes in the Scottish party system?

iii. How and why did the SNP win an overall majority in 2011?
Week 5: Holyrood and the Scottish Government

This final seminar is designed to provide an overview of day-to-day workings of the Scottish Parliament and Government. It will consider the extent to which devolved government ushered in an era of ‘new politics’. There will be discussion of the organisation of the Scottish Government and the influence of the ‘Virginia model’ as well as how legislation is passed by the Parliament and the roles of committees.


Scottish Government webpage
http://home.scotland.gov.uk/home

Scottish Parliament webpage
http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/index.aspx

KEY QUESTIONS:

i. To what extent has the Parliament lived up to the ideals of ‘new politics’?
ii. How was the Scottish Government reformed in 2007 and for what purpose?
iii. What roles do committees play in the Scottish Parliament?
Annexe 1:

*Note: This previous exam paper is included for your information and guidance only.*

Spring 2011

SCOTTISH POLITICS

CLASS EXAM

**SECTION A - SHORT ANSWERS**

Answer **THREE** of the following questions. Answers should be written in one paragraph, and should be no more than one page in length. *Note: if you answer question 5, you also need to answer two questions from 1, 2, 3 or 4.*

1. What impact did the Consultative Steering Group have on the way the Scottish Parliament was designed?
2. How is a Bill enacted in the Scottish Parliament?
3. How does the Additional Member System (AMS) for electing Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) work?
4. What is para-diplomacy?
5. Write brief notes (not more than three or four lines on each) on **THREE** of the following:
   - Scottish Parliament Corporate Body (SPCB)
   - The ‘National Conversation’
   - The Barnett Formula
   - Devolved Powers
   - Royal Assent
   - Lead Committee

**SECTION B - ESSAY**

Answer **ONE** of the following questions:

6. Is devolution the ‘slippery slope’ to independence for Scotland? Defend your answer.
8. To what extent and why are Scottish politics different from those in the rest of the United Kingdom?
9. Write a review of the SNP government to date. How is it likely to perform between now and the next election in 2011?
10. Should Scotland have an ‘external relations’ policy even though Foreign Affairs are reserved to Westminster?
Annexe 2

SCOTTISH POLITICS: ASSIGNMENT 1
Autumn 2014

As an intern, you may be asked to provide a short and succinct briefing paper for your MSP which clearly and cogently summarises the main arguments around an issue. The skill lies in setting out points for and against, backed up with the use of evidence. Your briefing paper should include:

• An introduction

• Key facts and up-to-date information (including sources e.g. websites)

• Key points and arguments for and against, with evidence

• Conclusion

It should be written in report form rather than essay form, and should be no more than 3 pages long. TWO copies of the assignment should be submitted to Lee Corcoran (Lee.Corcoran@ed.ac.uk) by the end of Week 3.

Write a briefing paper on ONE of the following:

1. The debate on the currency in the referendum debate.
2. The role of the media in the referendum campaign.
3. The funding of the Yes and No campaigns in the referendum.
4. The alternative proposals for ‘more powers’.
5. Explain the outcome of the Scottish independence referendum.
SCOTTISH SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Eberhard 'Paddy' Bort  
Room F3, Chisholm House  
Email: ebort@ed.ac.uk  
ph: 650 2458

COURSE AIMS
This course intends to give the interns an introduction to Scottish society and culture, tying in with aspects of politics and governance taught in the other courses. Scotland being an old country, with a long national history, means that many sociological features have been long in the making; Scotland being a small country, particularly in terms of population, affects the form and frequency of social interaction.

The course will progress from the larger context of the economic, social and cultural history and identity of modern Scotland and the examination of key institutions which shape Scottish life, on to social groupings and, finally, to expressions of culture and the arts, especially the literature of Scotland.

FORMAT
In general, the morning sessions will be in the lecture/seminar format, and the afternoon programme (led by our activities tutor) will involve visits to various Edinburgh sites (museums, galleries, etc) to provide complementary channels of learning.

Students will be asked to make presentations (based on readings) and lead specific discussions. Newspapers and other media offer a way in to topical issues of sociological and cultural importance – students are advised to make good use of these sources. Students should keep a diary of news items, particularly if there is a hint that these sociological or cultural processes ‘play out’ differently than they might do in the US (or the UK).

ASSESSMENT
Students must complete an essay (topics will be provided by lecturer) of 2,500-3000 words, which has to be submitted (two copies) by the deadline (see Time Table) to the main office of the Institute of Governance, Chisholm House. Extensions will only be granted if requested before the deadline, and in exceptional circumstances. The essay will contribute 70% towards the overall assessment. Late work will be penalised! Students will also be asked to make a short presentation in class, followed by a written summary of c.1000 words which will contribute 20% to the overall grade. The final 10% are the graded weekly Media Reports (see p.41).

Core Texts
The core texts for the course are:


Additional Essential Reading


LECTURE PROGRAMME

| Week 1: | Tue 2 Sep | Scottish History & Identity |
| Week 2: | Mon 8 Sep | Social Institutions |
| Week 3: | Tue 16 Sep | Class, Gender & Ethnicity |
| Week 4: | Tue 23 Sep | Language & Culture |
| Week 5: | Tue 30 Sep | Contemporary Scottish Culture (two sessions) |
Week 1: Scottish History & Identity

What makes Scotland tick? Who are the Scots? What do they identify with? Which are the historical events and developments that shaped Scottish identity? When was Scotland – and how many Scotlands are there?

We’ll be looking at stereotypes, myths, and the mapping Scottish history

Key Readings:
- Devine and Finlay (1996) chaps 1, 2, 7, 8 & 9
- Harvie (2002)
- Pittock (2008)
- Houston (2008)

Suggested Readings:
- Paterson et al (2001), ch.7

Discussion:
Mapping Scottish History/Identity; the Union of 1707, its reasons and its consequences; Highlands and Lowlands; Enlightenment, Kailyard, Scottish Duality, Renaissance, industrialisation and de-industrialisation, the Devolution & Independence debates.

Activity:
Visit to The People’s Story and the Edinburgh Museum – both museums of Edinburgh (and Scottish) social history – located on the Royal Mile.
Week 2: Social Institutions

In the Union, Scotland maintained a degree of autonomy, mainly based on its institutions of law, religion, education and local government. How have they developed over the centuries and what effect does devolution have on them?

Key Readings:
Devine & Finlay. Chaps 12, 13, & 14
Paterson, chaps 1 & 2

Suggested Readings:

Discussion
The ‘Estates’ – we will focus on key social institutions in three major areas: religion, education, and law – often viewed as the pillars of Scottish civil society.
Week 3: Class, Gender and Ethnicity

The sociology of Scotland - all Jock Tamson's Bairns or class-divided society? How important is social class in Scotland? What has been the role of women in Scottish society? Ethnic minorities, racism and 'multi-cultural' society?

Key Readings:
Devine & Finlay, chaps 6 & 10
Breitenbach, E. and F, Mackay (2001), Introduction & Sections I & III Scottish Affairs 56 (Summer) 2006 Public Policy and Equality: Mainstreaming Equalities

Suggested Readings:
McCrone, chaps 4 & 5
Breitenbach, E. and F, Mackay (2001), Section II.
Maan, B (2008), The Thistle and the Crescent, Glendaruel: Argyll Publishing.

Discussion
Social class and ethnicity; social structure, social groups and their significance; gender issues and issues of ‘race relations’.
Week 4: Language and Culture

What is the historical and contemporary relationship between Scotland's languages? What have been the most significant cultural movements/periods in Scotland? Enlightenment, Kailyard, Renaissance. Have the 'big three' – Burns, Scott, Stevenson – still relevance today?

Key Readings:


Robert Burns


Suggested Readings:

McIvanney, L (2003), *Burns, the Radical: Politics and poetry in Late Eighteenth-century Scotland*, East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
Discussion
Language and Culture; Gaelic, Scots, English; Scottish Enlightenment, Kailyard, Scottish Renaissance, Folk Revival, a 'new renaissance'?

Activity: Visit to the Writer’s Museum and the National Gallery.
Week 5: Contemporary Culture Parts I & II)

How are the arts and culture in general doing under devolution? A 'new renaissance' or a 'barren land'? A closer look at the arts – literature, music, visual arts, theatre, TV and film – in contemporary Scotland.

Key Readings:
Devine & Finlay, chaps 11 & 15
McCrone, ch. 7
Brown et al., ch. 9

Suggested Readings:
Alexander Moffat and Alan Riach, Arts of Resistance: Poets, Portraits and Landscapes

Discussion
Contemporary Culture, the Arts and Scottish identity; a contemporary Scottish renaissance?

Activity: Visit to the National Portrait Gallery
Essay Writing Guidelines

Essay Requirements
When submitting course work students are encouraged to present typed essays that include a cover page listing the course, title of essay, name of students and date. Pages within the essay should be numbered. Essays should be written in clear concise English, with attention to correct spelling, punctuation and grammar. Essays should contain an introduction to the topic, an original analysis of the research material and a conclusion summarising the main points of the essay. It is important to engage with the essay question and the relevant literature on any chosen topic – web sources need to be treated with caution! Course lecturers are available for advice on essay structure and research. If in doubt please consult a member of the teaching team. Please submit two copies of your essay and please note that late submission will result in lower marks.

References and Bibliographies
Essays must confirm to acknowledged academic referencing and bibliographic style. References to ideas that are not the author’s own must be acknowledged within the text, either with a parenthetical reference listing the original author’s name, date of publication and page number, or with an endnote or footnote. All works referenced within the essay must be included in a bibliography at the end of the essay. All ideas that are not the student’s own must be referenced. Failure to do so results in plagiarism, which is treated as a serious academic offence by the University.

Research Bibliography
When researching for courses or for the internship report, students may consult a number of resources contained within the major libraries in Edinburgh. The journal Scottish Affairs, published by the Institute of Governance (and of which a full set is available in the interns' offices in Chisholm House), is a useful starting point. Students may also wish to consult copies of The Economist, New Statesman, Spectator and Prospect and early copies of the Scottish Government Yearbook for background information. The following academic journals may also provide useful information:

British Journal of Political Science
British Journal of Sociology
Ethnic and Racial Studies
Nations and Nationalism

Parliamentary Affairs
Political Studies
Regional and Federal Studies
Scottish Review of Books

The British Social Attitudes series is also a useful source of information on changing attitudes and values within Britain.
Select Bibliography

The following books – some of them already mentioned in this course handbook – may provide help for students when researching essay topics.


Brown, Tom and Henry McLeish (2009), *Scotland: A Suitable Case for Treatment*, Edinburgh: Luath


Referendum

Iain Macwhirter, Road to Referendum, Glasgow: Cargo, 2013.
Alex Bell, The People We Could Be, Edinburgh: Luath, 2014.
Angus Reid and Mary Davis, A Modest Proposal for he agreement of the people, Edinburgh: Luath, 2014.
John H McKendrick, Gerry Mooney, John Dickie, Gill Scott and Peter Kelly (eds),

Activities Programme

Internship tutor: Deborah Menezes
E-mail: S0900283@sms.ed.ac.uk

Your activities tutor is Edinburgh University postgrad Deborah Menezes.

Most of the activities take place in the afternoon and following activities have been scheduled:

- Introduction to the University Library
- Tour of the National Library of Scotland
- Visit to the Scottish Parliament (Plenary Session)
- Attending a Parliamentary Committee Meeting
- Visit to Edinburgh City Chambers and meeting with Parliamentary Liaison Officer Councillor Kate Moulin
- Meeting with a Scottish journalist
- Meeting with the Head of the European Parliament Office in Scotland
- Meeting with the Media Relations Officer of the Scottish Parliament
- Meeting with a Scottish MP

Deborah will distribute the full activities programme (including time and places to meet) at our first meeting in January. Attendance is compulsory and forms an integral part of the internship programme.
**WEEKLY MEDIA REVIEW**

You are required to undertake a weekly media review, and submit a one-page summary each Monday afternoon (Weeks Two to Six) during the 5 week teaching course. This review will complement the lectures, and is intended to provide you with an insight into the role of the media in channelling news events and shaping public opinion in Scotland.

Each week, you should choose a single politically relevant topic in the news that week, and compare and contrast the reporting of this topic in two newspapers. In conducting the review, the primary focus should be on the manner in which the issue is reported (i.e. not so much on the details of the issue itself). You should seek to identify the editorial bias, the style adopted (e.g. sensationalist, serious, etc.), the prominence given to the topic, the intended audience, the sources of information, etc.

You should choose a different topic each week. In addition, you should also choose a different combination of newspapers each week in order to develop your understanding of the media in Scotland.

These assignments are compulsory. **They also account for 10% of the assessment in Scottish Society and Culture.**

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**NB!**

Weekly media reviews are due in the interns’ post box in Chisholm House by Monday afternoon!

Alternatively, you can email them (preferably copied into the email itself and not as an attachment) to Deborah (email as above)
Resources

Libraries
University of Edinburgh Main Library, George Sq
Europa Library, Old College, South Bridge
National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge
Edinburgh City (Central) Library, George IV Bridge

Web Links
Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party – www.scottish.tory.org.uk
Scottish Labour Party – www.scottish.labour.co.uk
Scottish Liberal Democrats – www.scotlibdems.org.uk
Scottish National Party – www.snp.org.uk
Scottish Green Party – www.scottishgreens.org.uk
Scottish Socialist Party – www.scottishsocialistparty.org
Scottish Parliament – www.scottish.parliament.uk
Scottish Executive – www.scotland.gov.uk
Westminster – www.parliament.uk
Northern Ireland Assembly – www.nihouse.gov.uk
European Union – www.europa.eu.int
Centre for Research into Electoral and Social Trends (CREST)
www.strath.ac.uk/other/CREST
Scotland Europa – www.scotlandeuropa.com/private
Commission on Local Government and the Scottish Parliament
www.lg-scot.com
Scottish Affairs – www.scottishaffairs.org
Parliamentary elections since 1983 – www.qmw.ac.uk/~laws/election/home.html
BBC Scotland – www.bbc.co.uk/scotland
Scottish Politics Links – www.netmedia.co.uk/links/default.html
Scottish Media – http://www.pr-scotland.com/national.html

Think Tanks
Centre for Scottish Public Policy
www.cspp.org.uk/
Scotland’s Futures Forum
www.scotlandfutureforum.org/
Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations
www.scvo.org.uk/
ReformScotland
www.reformscotland.com/
The Policy Institute
65 Queen Street
Edinburgh
EH2 4NA
ThinkScotland
www.thinkscotland.org/
The Jimmy Reid Foundation
www.reidfoundation.org
**Newspapers**

Most newspapers are published six times per week. Separate Sunday papers are published by the same organisations but retain different editorial staff and journalists. Past issues of the following newspapers, and major English and international papers, may be found in the University Main Library in George Square.

*The Scotsman* (Edinburgh) – [www.scotsman.com](http://www.scotsman.com)
*Scotland on Sunday*

*The Herald* (Glasgow) – [www.theherald.com](http://www.theherald.com)
*Sunday Herald*

*Press and Journal* (Aberdeen) – [www.pressandjournal.co.uk](http://www.pressandjournal.co.uk)

*Daily Record* (Glasgow) – [www.record-mail.co](http://www.record-mail.co)
*Sunday Mail*

**Other Primary Resources**

In addition, students may wish to consult the following sources. Address and phone numbers are located in the phone book or at the web site:

- Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) – [www.cosla.gov.uk](http://www.cosla.gov.uk)
- Church of Scotland – [www.cofs.org.uk](http://www.cofs.org.uk)
- Scottish Trade Union Council (STUC) – [www.stuc.demon.com](http://www.stuc.demon.com)

**University Resources**

Edinburgh University Students’ Association (EUSA) – Bristo Square
- For clubs, associations, student government, student services

Accommodation Service – Pollock Halls
- Manages student housing

International Students’ Centre – Buccleuch Place
- Runs day trips, coffee groups for international students

International Office – George Square
- University administration of international students

University operator – 650 1000
Conferences/Seminars

Politics and Sociology at Edinburgh University are running a series of public seminars during term-time; please get in touch with the departmental secretaries.

Other Events

**Edinburgh Life**

For non-academic events students may wish to consult *The List*, a fortnightly publication which contains information on clubs, movies, theatre, music events, book signings and all other social events occurring in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

**Central Cinemas:**
Cameo, 38 Home Street. 258-4141
Filmhouse. 88 Lothian Road, 228-2688
UCI, Kinnaird Park, 669-0777

**Museums and Galleries:**
City Art Gallery, Market Street
Dean Gallery, Belford Road
Fruitmarket Gallery, Market Street
Modern Art Gallery, Belford Road
National Art Gallery, The Mound
Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street
Royal Museum, Chambers Street
National Portrait Gallery, Queen Street
Stills, Cockburn Street
Talbot Rice Gallery, Old College, University of Edinburgh

**Theatres and Concert Venues:**
Edinburgh Playhouse, Greenside Place
Festival Theatre, Nicolson Street
King’s Theatre, Leven Street
The Pleasance Cabaret Bar, 60 The Pleasance
Queen’s Hall, South Clerk Street
Royal Lyceum, Grindlay Street
Traverse Theatre, Lothian Road
Usher Hall, Lothian Road
The Hub, Castle Hill

**Edinburgh Folk Club**
The Pleasance Theatre/Cabaret Bar, 60 The Pleasance
Every Wednesday, 8pm Tickets £10 (students £9)
[www.edinburghfolkclub.org.uk](http://www.edinburghfolkclub.org.uk)

**The Wee Folk Club:**
The Royal Oak, 1 Infirmary Street, ph 557 2976
Every Sunday, 8.30pm - Tickets £5
[www.royal-oak-folk.com](http://www.royal-oak-folk.com)
Scotland at a Glance


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency / Regional List / Seats</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
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<td>34.6 / 29.3 / 50</td>
<td>32.1 / 29.2 / 46</td>
<td>31.7 / 26.3 / 37</td>
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<td>23.8 / 20.9 / 27</td>
<td>32.9 / 31.0 / 47</td>
<td>45.4 / 44.0 / 69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lib Dem</td>
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<td>15.4 / 11.4 / 17</td>
<td>16.2 / 11.3 / 16</td>
<td>7.9 / 5.2 / 5</td>
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<td>Con</td>
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<td>16.6 / 15.5 / 18</td>
<td>16.6 / 13.9 / 17</td>
<td>13.9 / 12.4 / 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>----- / 3.6 / 1</td>
<td>----- / 6.9 / 7</td>
<td>0.1 / 4.0 / 2</td>
<td>----- / 4.4 / 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.7 / 7.7 / 2</td>
<td>9.6 / 15.6 / 10</td>
<td>2.1 / 10.6 / 1</td>
<td>1.1 / 6.8 / 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basic Statistics

- **Population (2001):** 5,064,200 (UK: 58,836,700) [8.6%*]
- **Size:** 78,133 km² (32%)
- **Density:** 64.8 people/km²
- **Time Zones:** 1
- **Unemployment (August '03):** 5.7%
- **Average income per week (1998-2001):** £419 (UK: £480) [87.3%]
- **Ethnic minority population:** 2% (1991: 1.3%)
- **Religion:** Church of Scotland, established Church, Presbyterian 42%, Catholic 15.9%
- **Language use:** English 93%, Gaelic 1%

Official Language: English
Share of seats in House of Commons: 59 of 646
Distribution of Westminster seats: Lab 41, SNP 6, LD 11, Con 1 (election result May 2010 – next election in May 2015)
Share of seats in Upper House: information not collected by House of Lords
Distribution of Seats: Scottish Parliament (129), SNP 69, Lab 37, Con 15, LD 5, Green 2, Ind 1 (May 2011)
Electoral system: Additional Member System (73 FPTP + 56 list)
Date of last election: 5 May 2011
Date of next election: May 2016

* ) refers to percentage of total in UK
Scotland in numbers

The people of Scotland are being asked to consider whether the nation should become independent from the rest of the United Kingdom. But how much do you know about the country? Here we break down some of the key figures.

Scotland is the second largest country in the United Kingdom. Smaller than England but larger in terms of area and population than Wales and Northern Ireland combined. Scotland accounted for 8.3% of the UK population (5.3 million) in 2012. And they are not all mainlanders - around 2% of Scotland's population live on one of 93 inhabited islands.

National accounts

If oil revenues are included in GDP figures, Scotland is shown to generate more per head of population than the UK as a whole. For Scotland, it is £26,424 per head compared with £22,336 per head for the UK, according to Scottish government estimates.

If you do not include oil and gas revenues then there is little difference in the figures - GDP per head in Scotland was £20,571 in 2011 and for the UK it was £20,873.
Looking at the headline figures, public expenditure per capita in Scotland is higher than the UK average. In 2011, Scotland’s public spending per head was £12,100 and for the UK it was £10,900.

**Oil revenues**

There are wide-ranging figures on the North Sea gas and oil industry. UK oil revenue has ranged from £1.5bn in 1991-92 to £27bn in 2011-12. It is estimated that 10/20% of Scotland's tax revenue would be based on oil, whereas that figure is 1.5% in the UK.
Predictions of untapped oil reserves vary greatly, with the Office for National Statistics suggesting that £120bn worth of oil is still to be tapped, and other figures going well above that.

The Scottish government's oil and gas analytical bulletin of March 2013 estimated that there was £1.5 trillion in wholesale value left in North Sea oil and gas.

**Taxes**

As a percentage of the UK, Scotland contributes 8.2% in taxes, which reflects the fact the country accounts for 8.3% of the population. The Government Expenditure and Revenue Scotland (GERS) report shows a breakdown of the percentage contribution Scots make to the UK tax receipts.
Total current revenue (excluding North Sea revenue)

£46.3 billion

- Income tax £10.8bn
- VAT £9.6bn
- NI contributions £8.4bn
- Others £15.4bn
- Climate change levy £64m
- Alcohol £981m
- Tobacco £1.1bn

Source: GERS

Debt estimates

Scotland’s Share of National debt

- £92 billion 62% of estimated GDP using a population share
- £56 billion 38% of estimated GDP using an estimated fiscal balance

Source: GERS, SNAP
It is very difficult to say what Scotland's debt would be. However, GERS has estimated, with a population share, Scotland's share of debt would be £92 billion which is 62% of estimated GDP, but using an estimated fiscal balance, the debt would be £56 billion, which is 38% of Scotland's GDP. Many different totals can be calculated using different assumptions.

### Unemployment

(%, March - May 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Midlands</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire and The Humber</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Midlands</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of England</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ONS

As a percentage of the economically active population, Scotland has 7.5% unemployed; the UK figure is 7.8%.

### Weekly pay

Full time, 2012

- **£506** UK
- **£512** England
- **£498** Scotland
- **£459** Northern Ireland
- **£453** Wales

Source: ONS
A typical weekly (gross) pay packet in Scotland is £498 - less than England but more than in Wales and Northern Ireland.

**Household expenditure**  
Living Costs and Food Survey 2011

- **£200**
  average weekly expenditure per person

  Compared to the rest of the UK, Scots spend on average:

  LESS  
  on food, housing, transport, recreation and culture

  MORE  
  on tobacco and alcohol

The Living Costs and Food Survey shows that, on average, Scots spend less on food than the rest of the UK, but more on alcohol and tobacco.

**Health**

The latest life expectancy figures suggest that men born in 2010 will live 76 years on average in Scotland, about 60 in a healthy state. Women born in 2010 would expect to live 80 years on average in Scotland, and 64 years being healthy. The life expectancy estimates are lower than for the UK as a whole. Scotland has among the shortest life expectancies in Western Europe.
### Men's Life Expectancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Life Expectancy at Birth</th>
<th>Life Expectancy at 65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Women's Life Expectancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Life Expectancy at Birth</th>
<th>Life Expectancy at 65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
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<td>86</td>
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<td>Wales</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
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<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ONS, NRS, NISRA

Source: [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-24866266](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-24866266)
Scottish History – A Brief Sketch

Paddy Bort

Picts, Gaels, Angles & Vikings

The novelist William McIlvanney (*Laidlaw*) has called Scotland “the mongrel nation”, reflecting on the coming and going of tribes and peoples. The enigmatic Picts in the North, the Gaels who formed Dalriada, the Kingdom of the Isles, encompassing most of West Scotland and North-Eastern Ireland, the Angles who pushed up from Northern England, and the Vikings who came, initially, to raid, but who soon settled, founded towns and added to the mongrel blend.

Only towards the end of the first millennium can we speak of a country called Scotland, or Alba, or Caledonia – when, in the 9th century, Kenneth MacAlpin united Gaels and Picts under his rule.

Braveheart & Co

The 1995 Holywood blockbuster *Braveheart*, starring Mel Gibson as the Scottish ‘freedom fighter’ William Wallace, put the focus on the Scottish War of Independence at the turn of the 14th century, when Wallace and Robert the Bruce defended Scotland’s independence against the English forces of Edwards I and II, culminating in the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 and producing the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), arguably the first document enshrining the doctrine of popular sovereignty. This period also saw the beginning of the ‘Auld Alliance’ between Scotland and France.

John Knox and the Scottish Reformation

The 16th century saw the Reformation taking root in Scotland, not as a superficial state-led exercise as in Henry VIII's England, but as a Calvinist upheaval, led by the fiery preacher John Knox (c.1514-72), and the rivalry between Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots (still the stuff of drama and romance). The year 2010 marked the 450th anniversary of the Scottish Reformation, 2011 the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible.

Union of Crowns

After the death of Elizabeth I, the English crown fell to James VI of Scotland who, in 1603, became James I of the newly united Kingdom. Repeated attempts to forge a union of parliaments failed in the 17th century.
Darrien and the Acts of Union

Several factors contributed to the eventual Act of Union, signed by the English and Scottish Parliaments in 1707, not least the disastrous Scottish attempt at establishing a trading post at Darrien (Panama) which ended in a total fiasco, having wasted a huge proportion of Scotland's revenue. Those debts were to be written off should the Scottish Parliament sign up to the Union, which it did, thus abolishing itself. The Union was very unpopular, and it took half a century, till well after the Battle of Culloden (1746) where the Jacobites (fighting for the Stuart line in the succession to the British throne) were finally beaten, before the benefits of the Union became manifest – as best seen in the project of Edinburgh's New Town – a celebration in stone of the Union and the rising British Empire.

A Cradle of Genius

Did the demise of the Scottish Parliament contribute to the flourishing of the Scottish enlightenment? Was it the vacuum left by the political elite's move to London, which left the intelligentsia, and the well-educated Scots, to devote their energies to philosophy and the sciences? Anyway, from the mid-18th century to the early 19th century Scotland – not just Edinburgh, but also Glasgow and Aberdeen – became a leading centre of the Enlightenment in Europe, with Adam Smith, David Hume and Robert Fergusson among a whole host of highly influential thinkers and founders of academic disciplines.

Burns, Scott & Stevenson

At the same time, two of the greatest writers Scotland ever produced, lived and wrote in Edinburgh: the poet Robert Burns (1759-96) and the novelist Walter Scott (1771-1832). While the Enlightenment was primarily a rational, empirical exercise of the mind, aiming at improvement of society and governance, Burns and Scott highlighted the Scottish past, the Scots language, and celebrated the Highlands (now that they were no longer to be feared as 'barbarian' and wild' – but rather enjoyed as 'wild-romantic'. Scott was in charge of the celebrated visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 – when the whole place was bathed in tartan. Not long after, Queen Victoria discovered her love for Scotland, and led the first wave of Scottish tourism (made so much easier by the invention of rail travel). Towards the end of the century, Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) became the third Scottish writer of world renown.

The Industrial Nation

The Enlightenment and Scottish education had been practical-minded. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Scotland became famous for its engineers and inventors who contributed to the success of the Industrial Revolution in Scotland. Trade flourished, Glasgow became the second city of the Empire, and the Clyde one of the world-
centres of ship-building. Hundreds of coal mines provided the basis for the Scottish steel industry.

Being part of the Union opened possibilities for Scottish 'Lads o' Pairts' to make a career out of the empire – the Scots were at the frontier, not only in military terms (the Highland regiments became known as 'the thin red line' of the Empire) but also as engineers and educators, to the very degree that prompted Michael Fry to call his British imperial history, with only a touch of tongue-in-cheek, 'The Scottish Empire'.

Red Clydeside

Industrial Scotland, the clearance of the Highlands (and Lowlands) at the turn of the 19th century and a shift towards the most rapid urbanisation in the whole of Europe during the nineteenth century, produced an organised working class.

It led to the formation of the Labour Party. The labour movement’s greatest moment came in the anti-war demonstrations and rent strikes during the First World War in Glasgow, led by the Glasgow schoolteacher and Marxist John Maclean, and the return to Westminster of prominent 'Red Clydesiders' in 1918.

The Caledonian Antisyzygy: MacDiarmid & the Scottish Renaissance

Out of the industrial depression after the First World War, and against a provincialism in the arts, and particularly in literature (termed 'Kailyard'), Scottish intellectuals and writers like Hugh MacDiarmid (Christopher Murray Grieve, 1892-1978) rallied and created, in the 1920s and '30s, the modern Scottish Renaissance. One of the central debates concerned the identity of Scotland, the coexistence of conflicting, oppositional forces, the fragmentation of Highlands and Lowlands, urban and rural, the three languages, Jekyll and Hyde – given the label 'Caledonian Antisyzygy' by the literary critic Gregory Smith in 1919. To make Scotland 'whole', to give it a voice and to connect it with the art avantgarde in Europe and beyond – those were concerns on the agenda of the Scottish Renaissance, with writers like Edwin Muir, Eric Linklater, Naomi Mitchison, Neil Gunn, William Soutar and Lewis Grassic Gibbon.

'It's Scotland's Oil': Home Rule & The Roots of Scottish Nationalism

Some of these concerns overlapped with the birth of Scottish Nationalism as a political movement after the First World War, which led to the foundation of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 1934, as an amalgam of different parties and movements.
In 1950, a petition for Scottish Home Rule garnered over a million signatures. But Scottish Nationalists only played a marginal role until the 1960s, when Scotland and England seemed to drift further apart in prosperity (all the classic Scottish industries – textiles, coal and steel, ship-building – were in steep decline) and electoral behaviour. A decisive boost for the SNP came with the discovery of oil in the North Sea in the late 1960s. "It's Scotland's Oil" was the SNP slogan – now Scotland would have the resources to sustain a small, independent country. In the two general elections of 1974 the SNP gained nearly a third of the vote, and returned 11 MPs (out of the Scottish 72) to Westminster.

The Labour Party – by then the dominant political force in Scotland – felt the threat. And rediscovered 'devolution'. But a referendum in 1979, despite resulting in a majority voting in favour of an Assembly in Edinburgh, 'failed' on the technicality of missing the threshold imposed by Westminster (40% of the whole electorate would have had to vote in favour, which was not the case).

The Road to the Scottish Parliament

This already explains that devolution was not an event in 1997 or 1999. It has been a process with a long pedigree, reaching back to the 19th century, when Ireland campaigned for Home Rule. Support for devolution and nationalism is often related to Scottish civil society, particularly in the immediate pre-history of Scottish home rule: the 'failed' referendum of 1979, the Campaign for a Scottish Assembly, the Scottish Constitutional Convention (1989-95), and the successful second referendum in September 1997.


The Consultative Steering Group (CSG) based the Scottish Parliament on founding principles of openness, accessibility, accountability and power-sharing even before it was elected in 1999. With its new – proportional – electoral system, the first elections in May 1999 produced a coalition government between the Labour party and the Liberal Democrats und First Minister Donald Dewar. Tragically, Donald Dewar died in October 2000. He was replaced by Henry MacLeish who in turn fell over undeclared sub-lettings of his Westminster-MP offices. In 2001, Jack McConnell became the third First Minister.

In May 2003, the second Parliament elections produced a very 'colourful' result, with six parties and four independents making up the 129-strong chamber. Features of the
new Parliament are its new electoral system and its resulting partnership government (Labour and Liberal Democrats, under First Minister Jack McConnell) and its achievements in gender balance (1999: 37%, 2003: 39.5%, 2007: 33.3%, 2011: 34.9% female MSPs). The Parliament is supposed to share its power with the people of Scotland.

By March 2007, the Parliament had passed well over a hundred pieces of legislation – among them ‘landmark’ legislation like Land Reform, free personal care for the elderly, abolition of up-front university tuition fees, the smoking ban, and proportional representation for local government elections. On 3 May 2007, coinciding with the tercentenary of the Union of Parliaments, the third elections for the Scottish Parliament were being held.

For the first time in nearly fifty years, the Labour Party came only second in Scotland. The SNP won by one seat and, as no other party wanted to enter negotiations about a coalition with them, they formed a minority government with Alex Salmond as First Minister, occasionally supported by the two Green MSPs and, crucially, by the Tories when the budget needs to be passed in Parliament.

**Scotland and the Future of Europe**

As a country dependent on tourism, the 9/11 aftermath and the Iraq war, as well as domestic crises like BSE and foot & mouth disease, left a considerable dent in this important part of the Scottish economy. But there is also EU enlargement which has added ten countries to the Union, all with lower wage levels than Scotland. In the aftermath of 2004, perhaps up to 100 000 Poles came to work in Scotland. This trend may have reversed in the current recession, which brings its own problems for the Scottish economy.

Scottish politics is framed by the UK's peculiar unwritten constitution and the ambiguous nature of the historical union between Scotland and England. But just how distinctive is Scottish politics? How does Scotland's position within an emergent pattern of territorial politics in the UK (including devolved institutions in Wales, Northern Ireland and London) compare with that of other sub-state nations? Spain and Canada provide comparative leverage here. How does Scotland relate to the enlarging and reforming European Union and to the world at large? In recent years, the Scottish Executive signed partnership agreements with Catalonia, Tuscany, North-Rhine Westphalia and Bavaria. It is also actively involved, as one of the legislative regions of Europe, in campaigning for access to the decision-making processes in the European Union. Might the question whether being an autonomous part of a strong EU member state with direct input to European policy making outweighs being a small, 'independent' member state of the EU eventually tip the scales – either in favour of the 'evolution of devolution' or 'independence in Europe'?
2007 – Year of Change

2007 was a year of massive change, perhaps a historical watershed. A new Reform Treaty for the EU (in force since 1 December 2009), change in the UK – the long good-bye of Tony Blair and, at long last, the hand-over to Gordon Brown, his subsequent summer honeymoon, then the autumn election that never was, signalling the plunge of Brown’s government in the polls and the end of the line for Lib Dem leader Menzies Campbell. In Wales, a totally unexpected coalition between Labour’s Rhodri Morgan and Ieuan Wyn Jones of Plaid Cymru; in Northern Ireland, the astonishing spectacle of Gerry Adams and Ian Paisley sharing a press conference, followed by the astoundingly good-natured partnership in government of the erstwhile ‘Dr No’ of Northern Irish politics with ex-IRA commander and Sinn Féin negotiator Martin McGuinness – soon referred to as the “Chuckie Brothers”. (Although there seems to be less bonhomie between Paisley’s successor Peter Robinson and McGuinness).

For Scotland, in the year marking both the tercentenary of the Anglo-Scottish Union and the tenth anniversary of the successful Devolution Referendum, the May 2007 elections turned out a momentous event, breaking almost five decades of hegemony of Scottish Labour at the national and, even more emphatically, at the local government level and ushering in an SNP minority government at Holyrood. Was this the death knell for devolution? Proof that devolution did not, as George Robertson had claimed, ‘kill Nationalism stone dead’, but was rather a stepping stone, or a ‘staging post’ en route to independence? In other words, does 2007 underline that devolution, pace Ron Davies, is a process rather than an event, part of what Henry McLeish calls the ‘evolution of devolution’? Or does it mark a decisive step towards regaining Scottish independence as a sovereign nation-state, as the SNP would have it?

After 300 years, the Union seems to have “moved from a constitutional fixture to a constitutional option,” (Allan Macinnes) but has it reached its sell-by date, as Tom Nairn, Chris Harvie et al. have been arguing, or can it be renewed, as Gordon Brown, Henry McLeish and David Steel would maintain? A decade into Devolution, the question whether the present constitutional arrangement is the “settled will of the Scottish people” or an unsustainable and therefore transitory ‘half-way house’ has to be reshaped. With not one, but two rival constitutional discourses on the go (the ‘National Conversation’ of the SNP government, and the ‘Constitutional (Calman) Commission’ of the Parliament), the status quo (Devolution ’99) was being consigned to history. But whether ‘Devolution plus’ (aka ‘Devolution Max’ or ‘Devolution Mark II’ or ‘Devolution Plus’) or Independence will be the outcome of the process is a question still in the balance.
Minority Government

The SNP minority government under First Minister Alex Salmond had an extended honeymoon lasting way into 2008. It benefited also from disarray in the main opposition party – Labour’s new leader Wendy Alexander never got to grips with the job of opposition leader and was replaced by Iain Gray in September 2008. The Liberal Democrats and the Greens also changed their leaders, from Nicol Stephen to Tavish Scott and from Robin Harper to Patrick Harvie, respectively.

The culminating triumph of the SNP’s honeymoon was the stunning Westminster by-election victory in Glasgow East in July 2008. It looked as if Gordon Brown was a spent force, and Labour at Holyrood incapable of mounting a credible challenge to Alex Salmond. But then the banking crisis started, marking out an autumn where the banks were falling faster than the leaves. The UK and Scotland plunged into recession. Not only did that seem to give Brown a second wind, Labour at Holyrood under Iain Gray also seemed on the verge of consolidating and making a fresh start. Everybody had expected the Glenrothes by-election in November 2008 to be another prize in the all-conquering campaign of the SNP, but Labour held on to the Westminster seat with a reduced, but comfortable majority.

After a period of consensual give-aways (tuition fees, bridge tolls, prescription charges), the nitty-gritty of minority government seemed to catch up with the SNP – with problems in replacing the unpopular council tax through a form of local income tax, and in establishing the Scottish Futures Trust as a new method of financing public infrastructure and building projects.

Spring 2009 saw the triple anniversaries of 10 years of the first elections to the new Scottish Parliament, 20 years of the first meeting of the Scottish Constitutional Convention, and 30 years since the failed referendum of 1979 which heralded in the Thatcher years. Both the SNP Government’s National Conversation and the Parliament’s Calman Commission published their findings in 2009. The Calman Commission did so in June – with proposals including extended taxation powers for the Scottish Parliament. The SNP government issued a White Paper on St Andrew’s Day and announced a Referendum Bill for January 2010 (with a view of holding that referendum on Scotland’s independence in the autumn of 2010). But then it failed to introduce the bill in Parliament.

2009 marked the 250th anniversary of Robert Burns’ birth – the inspiration behind the year of Homecoming, with a string of events from Burns’s birthday in January to St Andrew’s Day in November (www.homecomingscotland2009.com). The events were mainly geared towards generating tourism and making money. It was hailed a success in attracting visitors, but also criticised as “kitsch Saltire-wagging” (Joyce McMillan). Who would have predicted that the picture of the convicted Lockerbie bomber Abdelbasset Ali Mohamed al-Megrahi’s triumphant ‘homecoming’ to Tripoli – after his controversial release from a Scottish prison on compassionate grounds – would become one of the dominant images of the ‘Year of Homecoming 2009’?
By autumn 2009, the Honeymoon for the SNP was clearly over, as their dismal performance at the Glasgow North East by-election in November 2009 showed. Their poll ratings fell, and the opposition parties’ relentless exposure of the SNP’s ‘broken manifesto promises’ were making life tougher for the minority government. The replacement of the Council Tax was unceremoniously shelved in February 2009, and there was no Referendum Bill. Would that harm the SNP’s chances for the coming elections? Alex Salmond had repeatedly claimed that the SNP’s target was 20 seats in the 2010 Westminster election. In fact, they fell far short of that ambitious goal – not a good platform for 2011, or was it?

**The 2010 UK Elections**

In May 2010, the UK general election produced a ‘hung parliament’ – no party managed to get an overall majority. And, surprisingly, the Conservatives under David Cameron and the Liberal democrats under Nick Clegg struck a coalition deal and formed a government. They have since embarked on severe austerity measures – cuts, cuts, cuts. But they have also committed to the implementation of the Calman proposals. And they decided to hold a referendum on voting reform for the UK to coincide with the UK local and the Scottish Parliament elections in 2011. (It failed – so the Westminster Parliament continues to be elected on the first-past-the-post electoral system) In September 2010, Gordon Brown stepped down and the Labour Party elected Ed Miliband as their new party (and opposition) leader.

In Scotland, the 2010 result was nearly exactly like the one in 2005 – Labour actually gained in Scotland. And they retook the two seats lost in by-elections to the Lib Dems and the SNP, respectively.

This seemed to boost Labour’s chances for the 2011 Holyrood elections. In fact, they pulled ahead in the opinion polls. From the summer of 2010 until March 2011, they led the SNP by around 10%, sometimes they were even 16% ahead of them. But then the campaign turned everything around. Labour tried, with a ‘Westminster campaign’, anti-Con-Lib-Coalition, to establish themselves as the stout defenders of Scottish interests against the cuts from London. But so did the SNP. Where Labour was ominously lacking were policies for the Scottish Parliament, and in the direct leadership qualities – in the popularity stakes Alex Salmond was miles ahead of Iain Gray.

**May 2011: SNP triumphant**

And yet, nobody predicted the sensational outcome of the elections of 5 May 2011. The SNP managed to defy what the architects of the Scottish electoral system thought was nigh impossible – they won a massive absolute majority. They gained 22 seats, Labour lost nine. The gap, just one MSP in 2007, has become a grand canyon of 32 MSPs. The SNP’s positive campaign, their solidity, and the opposition’s wrong-
footed campaign, have lead to one-party majority government for the first time since devolution. It was also aided by the collapse of the Liberal Democrat vote – an emphatic Scottish response to their role in the London coalition.

The Lib Dems’ leader Tavish Scott resigned, and was replaced by Willie Rennie MSP; in the autumn of 2011, Ruth Davidson became the new leader of the Scottish Conservatives; and Johann Lamont replaced Iain Gray as the leader of the Scottish Labour Party.

**May 2012: SNP Juggernaut stutters**

Expectations were high – would the SNP carry the momentum of the 2011 election victory into the local elections of May 2012? Would the party take Glasgow and thus set a signal that it can win in the heartland of Labour? Would the new leaders of Labour, the Lib Dems and the Tories get something positive out of the elections?

### Summary of the 3 May 2012 local council election results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>First-Preference Votes</th>
<th>Votes %</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Councillors</th>
<th>Net Gain/Loss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>502,201</td>
<td>32.32 %</td>
<td>+4.46 %</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>+61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>487,884</td>
<td>31.39 %</td>
<td>+3.24 %</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>+46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>206,856</td>
<td>13.31 %</td>
<td>2.26 %</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>-28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The turnout on 3 May was very low – at just under 40%. And, after the votes had been counted, there were two winners and one clear loser. Labour, despite internal strife, managed to hold (or regain) Glasgow, and three more of the 32 local authorities (two more than in 2007); but the SNP became the strongest party with most votes and most councillors across Scotland. Both claimed victory.

The SNP – clearly disappointed that they could not achieve the highs of 2011 – gained, compared with 2007, but they lost nearly 15%, compared with May 2011. Labour (who had feared the worst) was jubilant. The SNP juggernaut seemed to have stalled. And some claw-back for Labour gave the new leadership hope that the darkest days of the party were over.

The Tories lost a few councillors, but remained more or less static – which is not good news if you are starting from a very weak position. For the Lib Dems, the election result was the expected disaster. The party is clearly paying a high price for its involvement in the coalition with the Tories at UK level.

**The Edinburgh Agreement**

In January 2012, Prime Minister David Cameron had offered the Scottish Government the necessary temporary transfer of powers that would allow a legally proper referendum to be held by the Scottish Parliament. The terms – date, franchise, question(s) – were still highly controversial.

While the coalition government in London passed the Scotland Bill 2012 at Westminster which will bring greater taxation powers to the Scottish Parliament, debates about the referendum, and increasingly about the terms of independence, have dominated the political discourse in Scotland. Would an independent Scotland automatically remain in the European Union? The SNP said yes, the opposition parties doubted it. EU Commission President Barroso intervened, stating that an independent Scotland, like any ‘new state’, would have to apply for and negotiate the terms of membership.
The SNP insists that an independent Scotland would remain in a currency union with the rest of the UK – i.e. it would keep the pound. In a trenchant debate at its autumn Party Conference, the SNP delegates followed their leadership into a U-turn concerning NATO membership – i.e. an independent Scotland would now remain in NATO, but only under the condition that the nuclear deterrent be removed from Scotland’s territory.

After intensive talks between London and Edinburgh, a deal was struck about the process for holding the referendum. On 15 October, David Cameron and Alex Salmond signed the ‘Edinburgh Agreement’ – “a watershed moment in Scotland’s Home Rule journey,” according to Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon.

While the campaigns for and against independence kicked off in May and June 2012 – YesScotland campaigning for a Yes Vote to the question ‘Should Scotland become an independent country?’, and Better Together campaigning for Scotland to remain within the United Kingdom – eventually, in March 2013, the date for the Scottish Referendum on Independence was, eventually, announced by Alex Salmond to be 18 September 2014.

**White Paper**

On 24 November 2013, the Scottish Government published its *White Paper* on the independence Referendum: *Scotland’s Future – Your Guide to an independent Scotland*. It lays out the SNP government's vision of an independent Scotland on nearly 670 pages. While the SNP called it the ‘most comprehensive guide’ to an independent state ever, providing ‘detailed answers’ on what an independent Scotland would look like, it was criticised by opponents for its ‘glib assertions’. They argued it ‘highlights how much is not known about independence and a whole series of black holes in the arguments of the nationalists.’

The campaigns for and against independence have been with us since the summer of 2012 – but the polls have hardly changed. If you discard the undecided, the poll of polls 2012 was 62 to 38 in favour of remaining in the union, the poll of polls 2013 came out at 61 to 39.

In the first four months of 2014, the gap between No and yes narrowed – a poll published at Easter had it down to 4 per cent (52 to 48). Overall, the gap has narrowed, but, less than a month before the referendum, the No side is still in the lead by about 14 per cent.

But one thin is clear. Whichever way the vote goes on 18 September, the campaign has already changed Scotland. It has not only ked to dozens of books and reports and papers being published on the future of Scotland and the UK, it has, more importantly, invigorated grassroots democracy – and all these activists, mainly on the Yes side, will not go away, even if there were No vote.
Both sides feel that, in the last few weeks of the campaign, there is still everything to fight for. We could be in for a nail-biting finale.

**In Favour of independence – Polling over time**

Ipsos Mori Scottish Public Opinion Monitor December 2013 - Voting over time (Ipsos Mori/STV)
Poll of Polls: 15/08/2014

The figure to the right shows the average Yes and No vote in the last six polls to have been conducted. The figure below shows how this average has shifted during the campaign. ‘Don’t know’ responses are excluded and all calculations have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Latest Average

[Chart showing the average Yes and No votes with a bar graph showing 43% Yes and 57% No]

Should Scotland be an independent country?

[Line graph showing the trend of Yes and No votes from 2013 to 2014]

Each dot on this graph represents the last reading of the average of six. Note that the spacing is not representative of the actual time between poll readings.

ScotCen Social Research www.scotcen.org.uk @ScotCen

What Scotland Thinks www.whatscotlandthinks.org @WhatScotsThink
Contemporary Scotland

Against the backdrop of the London government’s austerity programme, the political debate, when not preoccupied with the constitutional issue, has primarily been concerned with public services – the crisis in the health service, improvements in education, combating crime – and the 'sluggish' performance of the Scottish economy. The manufacturing sector has drastically declined over the past three decades, and is now totally outpaced by the service industry – Edinburgh is only second to London as a location for financial services – and therefore hit particularly hard by the nigh-collapse of the banking sector in the recent crisis.

These debates are, of course, also linked to the constitutional options. Does Scotland need fiscal autonomy to improve its economic performance? Or will, as the SNP argues, only independence 'release the full potential' of Scotland? Is it the 'brain drain' to south of the border that leaves Scotland with a lack of entrepreneurial risk-takers?

But there are other issues, as well. Has Scotland become a pagan country? What is the role of the Church, of religion, in Scotland in the 21st century? Church attendance, especially for the established Church, has drastically fallen. Yet, sectarianism is still an issue, particularly in the context of football. But is there still discrimination against Catholics in Scotland? Has the influx of Polish immigrants (most of them Catholic) changed religious attitudes?

Is Scotland, as the journalist and novelist Andrew O'Hagan has claimed, a 'barren place' for artists and writers? Or is Scottish culture in 'rude health', as other commentators contend? Despite the fact that a whole generation of writers bowed out in the 1990s – Norman MacCaig, George Mackay Brown, Ian Chrichton Smith, Sorley MacLean, there is a wave of very successful contemporary Scottish writing, from Irvine Welsh to James Kelman and Alasdair Gray, Janice Galloway, A L Kennedy and Ali Smith – not to speak of J K Rowling and Alexander McCall Smith, together with Ian Rankin the best-selling authors of Scotland.

Crime writing in Edinburgh (Ian Rankin, Frederic Lindsay, Quintin Jardine, Alanna Knight, Paul Johnson, Allan Guthrie), Aberdeen (Stuart MacBride) and Glasgow (William McIlvanney, Manda Scott, Denise Mina, Christopher Brookmyre, Louise Welsh, Liz Anderson) is flourishing. The visual arts (John Byrne, John Bellany, Elizabeth Blackadder, Pete Howson, David Mach, Calum Colvin) seem highly visible; Scottish film (still lacking a National Studio and Film Institute) has created a few ripples ('Local Hero', 'Gregory's Girl', 'Trainspotting', 'Shallow Grave', 'Ratcatcher', 'Morven Callar', 'Young Adam', 'Hallam Foe', 'The Angel’s Share'). Is Scottish theatre keeping pace? There have been recent changes in the artistic directorship of some of the main theatres in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and 2006 saw the hugely successful launch of the National Theatre (which, in 2007, had an international hit with Gregory Burke’s ‘Black Watch’). Playwrights like David Greig, Gregory Burke, Stephen
Greenhorn or Liz Lochhead are making names for themselves nationally and internationally. In 2005, Edinburgh was made the first ever UNESCO World City of Literature.

Scottish traditional and folk music is alive and kicking; (from Dick Gaughan and Karine Polwart to Shooglenifty, The Chair and the Peatbog Fairies) as is Pop & Rock (with bands like Franz Ferdinand, Belle & Sebastian, Travis, The View, Mogwai, The Delgados, Paolo Nuttini, Aberfeldy, K T Tunstall, The Proclaimers and Butcher Boy); and Scotland has, in James Macmillan and Peter Maxwell Davies, two of the most celebrated composers and conductors in contemporary classical music.

What was previously seen as 'fragmentation', as 'divisions' within Scotland, as a defect, or even a disease, tends these days to be re-interpreted in terms of 'diversity' or the 'post-modern' – arguing that Scotland has been multi-ethnic and multi-cultural long before these concepts became flavour of the day. As the rest of the world catches up, perhaps even including England, Scotland ‘the mongrel nation' feels increasingly at home and in good company...
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Kathleen Jamie's poem
For the Battle of Bannockburn site

Here lies our land: every airt
Beneath swift clouds, glad glints of sun,
Belonging to none but itself.
We are mere transients, who sing
Its westlin' winds and fernie braes,
Northern lights and siller tides,
Small folk playing our part.
'Come all ye', the country says
You win me, who take me most to heart.
For the Opening of the Scottish Parliament, 9 October 2004

Open the doors! Light of the day, shine in; light of the mind, shine out!

We have a building which is more than a building. There is a commerce between inner and outer, between brightness and shadow, between the world and those who think about the world.
Is it not a mystery? The parts cohere, they come together like petals of a flower, yet they also send their tongues outward to feel and taste the teeming earth.

Did you want classic columns and predictable pediments? A growl of old Gothic grandeur? A blissfully boring box? Not here, no thanks! No icon, no IKEA, no iceberg, but curves and caverns, nooks and niches, huddles and heavens syncopations and surprises. Leave symmetry to the cemetery.

But bring together slate and stainless steel, black granite and grey granite, seasoned oak and sycamore, concrete blond and smooth as silk – the mix is almost alive – it breathes and beckons – imperial marble it is not!

Come down the Mile, into the heart of the city, past the kirk of St Giles and the closes and wynds of the noted ghosts of history who drank their claret and fell down the steep tenements stairs into the arms of link-boys but who wrote and talked the starry Enlightenment of their days – And before them the auld makars who tickled a Scottish king’s ear with melody and ribaldry and frank advice – And when you are there, down there, in the midst of things, not set upon an hill with your nose in the air, This is where you know your parliament should be And this is where it is, just here.

What do the people want of the place? They want it to be filled with thinking persons as open and adventurous as its architecture. A nest of fearties is what they do not want. A symposium of procrastinators is what they do not want. A phalanx of forelock-tuggers is what they do not want. And perhaps above all the droopy mantra of ‘it wizny me’ is what they do not want. Dear friends, dear lawgivers, dear parliamentarians, you are picking up a thread of pride and self-esteem that has been almost but not quite, oh no not quite, not ever broken or
forgotten.
When you convene you will be reconvening, with a sense of not wholly the power, not yet wholly the power, but a good sense of what was once in the honour of your grasp.
All right. Forget, or don’t forget, the past. Trumpets and robes are fine, but in the present and the future you will need something more.
What is it? We, the people, cannot tell you yet, but you will know about it when we do tell you.
We give you our consent to govern, don’t pocket it and ride away.
We give you our deepest dearest wish to govern well, don’t say we have no mandate to be so bold.
We give you this great building, don’t let your work and hope be other than great when you enter and begin.
So now begin. Open the doors and begin.

Edwin Morgan


AULD LANG SYNE
Words adapted from a traditional song
by Robert Burns (1759-96)

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind?
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And _auld lang syne_?

CHORUS:
For auld lang syne, my dear,
For auld lang syne,
We'll tak a cup of kindness yet,
For auld lang syne!

And surely ye'll be your pint-stowp,
    And surely I'll be mine,
And we'll tak a cup o kindness yet,
    For auld lang syne!
We twa hae run about the braes,
    And pou'd the gowans fine,
But we've wander'd monie a weary fit,
    Sin auld lang syne.
We twa hae paidl'd in the burn
    Frae morning sun till dine,
But seas between us braid hae roar'd
    Sin auld lang syne.
And there's a hand my trusty fiere,
    And gie's a hand o thine,
And we'll tak a right guid-willie waught,
    For auld lang syne.

**Glossary**

- auld lang syne - times gone by
- be - pay for
- braes - hills
- braid - broad
- burn - stream
- dine - dinner time
- fiere - friend
- fit - foot
- gowans - daisies
- guid-willie waught - goodwill drink
- monie - many
- morning sun - noon
- paidl't - paddled
- pint-stowp - pint tankard
- pou'd - pulled
- twa – two