THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ANKARA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

'EVERENDUM': NATIONAL IDENTITY AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTTISH DRAMA

PhD Dissertation

Seçil VARAL

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

National identity and independence have long been on the agenda of the Scottish people, but these concepts have acquired new meaning and importance in recent years. This was, notably, due to the independence referendum held on September 18th, 2014 concerning whether Scotland should be free from the United Kingdom, and the Brexit Referendum held on 23 June 2016 that has no doubt inaugurated a new era for Scottish independence. Although independence debates faded for a while after the failure of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, the Brexit Referendum has revived new discussion about the Anglo-Scottish Union following the UK's vote for withdrawal from the EU irrespective of the 62 per cent of the Scottish votes against it. The Scottish National Party (SNP) signalled a second Scottish Independence Referendum – also referred to as "indyref2"- since Scotland overtly indicated its wish to remain as an EU member contrary to England and Wales. In this sense, the Brexit Referendum shows Scotland's wish to act as an independent political unit, a distinct nation with its own political policies. However, Holyrood's demand for holding a plebiscite on Scotland's independence either in Autumn 2018 or Spring 2019 was declined by Westminster. Theresa May argued that it was not a convenient time for holding a referendum since the UK would have to act as a united kingdom throughout the Brexit process.[1]

Independence debates in Scotland apparently waned due to Theresa May's refusal of indyref 2 and the Scottish people's reluctance to go through another independence referendum.[2] However, the failure of the negotiation process between the UK and the EU, the

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[1] See May, Theresa. "'Now is not the time': May on second Scottish referendum". *The Guardian*, 16 Mar 2017. www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2017/mar/16/theresa-may-second-scottish-referendum-now-is-not-the-time-video. Accessed 20 Oct 2019.

[2] According to a poll conducted in March 2017 at the time when Theresa May expressed that it was not the time for a second Scottish independence referendum 37 per cent of Scots were in favour of independence while 48 per cent were against it. See "How would you vote in a Scottish independence referendum if held now? (asked after the EU referendum)". *What Scotland Thinks*. whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-would-you-vote-in-the-in-a-scottish-independence-referendum-if-held-now-ask#table. Accessed 20 Mar. 2018.
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postponement of Brexit to 31 October 2019 at the request of the UK, and discussions on 'no-deal Brexit' or 'hard Brexit' led to a re-awakening of the desire for Scottish independence. Besides, May's failure to manage the process successfully and deliver Brexit in 2018 resulted in her resignation on 7 June 2019, and the victory of Boris Johnson as the new Conservative Prime Minister of the UK. Boris Johnson's harsh political discourse concerning Brexit and his insistence on no-deal Brexit regardless of Scotland's objections has increased the support for Scottish independence. According to a poll published on August 5, 2019, 46 per cent of Scots indicated that they would support Scottish independence in a second referendum while 43 per cent stated otherwise.[3] The result shows that "Yes" votes are in the lead for the first time since the Brexit Referendum. In this respect, matters concerning national identity and Scottish independence are at the top of the Scottish agenda. Thus, seeking independence through a second independence referendum has turned out to be an 'unending'[4] process for Scotland which gives an inspiration for the title of this dissertation: "Everendum': National Identity and Scottish Independence in Contemporary Scottish Drama".

This study will focus on national identity and independence debates in contemporary Scottish drama through a 'modernist' and 'ethno-symbolist' approach. Although they have conflicting idea about the modernity of a 'nation', they agree upon the main assumption that 'nation' is a 'construction'. In this respect, this study will regard nation as 'a discursive construction' and an 'imagined community' in which ethnic identity markers play a

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[3] See *What Scotland Thinks*. whatscotlandthinks.org/questions/how-would-you-vote-in-the-in-a-scottish independence-referendum-if-held-now-ask#table. Accessed 1 Aug 2019.

[4] To define this long-standing process some Unionists use the term 'neverendum'. The word 'neverendum' was coined by Josh Freed in 1992 after Quebec headed towards the second independence referendum. After many years Freed explains how the word first occurs in his mind in his column in *Montreal Gazette*: "Quebec was entering the angst and agony of our second referendum marathon, although we'd barely recovered from the first. [...] People were suffering from endless heartache, anxiety, anger, insomnia and soul-shattering hope and dread, so I dubbed the era the "neverendum referendum" — which I later shortened to the "neverendum". See Feed, Josh. "Josh Freed: Coining 'neverendum' has conquered the globe" *Montreal Gazette*, 22 Apr. 2017, montrealgazette.com/opinion/columnists/josh-freed-coining-neverendum-has-conquered-the-globe. Accessed 15 May 2019. Since the word has been used with negative connotations to refer to unending stress and anxiety the independence referendums have created this study uses the word 'everendum' to strip the term of negativity and underline that the Scottish independence struggle will not end until Scotland maintain independence.

significant role. On this basis, the works of Scottish playwrights of the 20th and 21st centuries, without doubt, have greatly contributed to this construction not only by raising public awareness about contemporary politics -directly or implicitly- but also by reasserting Scottish 'national identity' and 'the idea of independence'. They have frequently put emphasis on Scotland's identity as a distinct nation through the employment of Scottish history, myths, Scottish language, traditions, customs, traditional music, dances etc., even though modern political discourse concerning independence in Scotland has been dominated by conceptions of 'civic nationalism' in the light which those living in Scotland and have a sympathy for Scottish culture are regarded as 'Scots'. Within this scope, this study will discuss how pro-independence Scottish drama the 20th and 21st century has drawn upon a largely ethnic notion of the Scottish nation using markers of 'ethnic' identity such as common ancestry and history', 'language', 'myths', 'traditions', 'customs', and 'culture' a shared national, cultural and ethnic bonds. In this respect, the main objective of this dissertation is to reveal the way contemporary Scottish drama has contributed to the development of national identity and the 'unending' Scottish independence discussions using major markers of 'ethnic' identity to show that ethnic and cultural past become an instrumental ground for Scottish drama to build an independent future.

A variety of plays belonging to different periods of contemporary Scottish drama will be examined in terms of national identity and the idea of independence to trace the reflection of current political events in contemporary Scottish drama. The dissertation will be structured around a historical turning point in contemporary Scottish history- the Scottish Devolution or the establishment of Scottish Parliament in 1999 since it has played a vital role in the re-assertion of Scottish national identity, and become the driving force behind the independence debates as it is generally regarded as an essential step towards independence, especially by nationalists. Thus, the study will focus on plays composed before and after the 1979 Scottish

Devolution Referendum, Post-Devolution Period (1999) and Scottish Independence Referendum (2014). By tracing three distinct steps in the independence referendum process, the dissertation will attempt to demonstrate how national identity and the idea of independence evolved according to contemporary political events and how contemporary Scottish drama played a significant role in this evolution.

This study consists of four main chapters tracing the development of national identity and the idea of independence, and their reassertion in contemporary Scottish drama from 1973 to 2014. In this regard, the first chapter "National Identity and Scottish Independence" will provide a theoretical background to the development of national identity and the idea of independence in Scotland by focusing on concepts such as nation, nationalism and national identity by referring to the theories established by significant figures such as Ernest Renan, Anthony Smith, Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, David Miller and Caspar Hirschi. It will then continue by discussing the historical development of national identity and the idea of independence –which may or may not be directly linked– under "A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present". Within this context, the development of Scottish national identity and independence debates will traced by focusing on key historical events in Scottish history from the past to the present –the Wars of Scottish Independence (1286-1371), the Anglo-Scottish Union (1707), Devolution (1999), the Scottish Independence Referendum (2014), and Brexit process (2016 -)– and the impact of national identity on the Scottish independence referendum.

The second chapter "The 1979 Devolution Referendum and Scottish Independence Drama", focusing on the representation of the 1979 Devolution Referendum in contemporary Scottish drama, is composed of two sub-chapters: "On the Road to the 1979 Devolution Referendum: John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* (1973)" and "In

the Aftermath of the 1979 Devolution Referendum: Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (1987)". In this respect, John McGrath's ground-breaking play *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* (1973) –dealing with the Highland Clearances and the discovery of North Sea Oil- will be examined as agit-prop which triggered a national and cultural awakening on the road to the 1979 Devolution Referendum, while Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (1987) will be investigated as a representation of the national and cultural upheaval that hit the Scottish stage in the wake of the 1979 debacle. On this basis, Lochhead's play on the national figure Mary Queen of Scots will be examined in terms of national consciousness it aroused through a re-interpretation of Mary Queen of Scots' myth with a Scottish viewpoint. In the light of these considerations, this study will attempt to reveal how these plays -written at the periods marked by a national and cultural awakening- contributed to this national revival in Scotland by 're-constructing' Scottish national identity through ethnic identity markers.

The focal point of the third chapter "After Holyrood: Post-Devolution Scottish Drama": will be the outcomes of the 1999 constitutional change and its impact on contemporary Scottish drama. In this respect, the sub-chapter entitled "The Re-Establishment of Scottish Parliament: Tim Barrow's *Union* (2014)" will discuss Tim Barrow's *Union* as an epitome of Post-Devolutionary Drama since the play was originally written in 2008 after the re-opening the Scottish Parliament and before the Scottish independence referendum. Thus, the play will be taken as the mid-point of this study. Shedding light on the unknown darker side of the 1707 Act of Union and associating the Union with the current independence referendum the play reconstructs Scottish identity through ethnic and national markers, icons, symbols, and myths as well as deconstructing history. Moreover, it adopts historical frames to avoid a direct address to contemporary political discussions regarding Scottish independence and reveals that Scotland should be independent as the two nations were not meant to be

united in the first place six months before the referendum.

Finally, in the fourth chapter, "The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum and Scottish Drama" the scope of the study evolves into a more direct discussion on Scottish independence referendum. To this end, after discussing the dramatic and political landscape at the time of the referendum, the chapter will focus on Alan Bisset's pro-independence play *The Pure, the Dead, and the Brilliant* (2014) in the sub-chapter "The Referendum in Scottish Fairyland: Alan Bissett's *The Pure, the Dead, and the Brilliant*". The chapter will demonstrate how the theatre stage turns into a political arena to discuss the pros and cons of Scottish independence and how a political movement turns into a cultural movement with the involvement of the Scottish theatremakers in independence referendum debates. After taking up Bissett's full-length play within the scope of conventional plays, the next sub-chapters will deal with two innovative projects, namely Theatre Uncut Scottish Referendum Plays and David Greig's Twitter project *Yes/No Plays* (2014). To this end, in "Theatre Uncut's Scottish Referendum Plays" Theatre Uncut: Scottish independence referendum plays written in 2013 Lewis Hetherington's *The White Lightning and the Black Stag* and 2014 Davey Anderson's twin plays *Don't Know and Don't Care* and *Fear and Self Loathing in West Lothian* will be analysed. In so doing, the chapter aspires to demonstrate different opinions expressed about the right of self-determination and status-quo. Following this, David Greig's *The Yes/No Plays,* will be discussed as one of the most innovative and creative plays that reflects two sides of the current political discussions concerning Scottish independence. Elaborating on a twitter play, the chapter not only aims to discuss alternative ways Scottish playwrights developed to engage people in politics but also to reveal the impact of social media on politics. Within this frame, the dissertation will explore how contemporary Scottish drama has served as a platform to reassert national identity and the idea of Scottish independence.

CHAPTER 1

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

1.1.   National Identity in Theory

> [...] the nation is an imagined community -and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image their communion.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* **(1983)**

National identity is an important force that unifies people by providing them with a common geographical habitat, a sense of belonging to a wider whole as well as security.[5] The construction of a 'national' bond through oral literature transmitted on through the narratives of bards, travellers and pilgrims, the foundation of myths, national heroes, culture and traditions have always been instrumental in reinforcing national identity. With the advent of modern technology and mass media, it became easier to convey such values to larger masses through novels, newspaper, and journals and hand them down from one generation to another. In the 18th century, the rise of nationalism and nation states after the French Revolution was essentially realized through literary texts propagating 'equality', 'freedom', and 'solidarity'. This also played an important role in the break-up of the empires. In particular after the two World Wars and the Cold War between USSR and USA, the decolonization process gathered pace. According to John McLeod "many colonies were represented in this period as nations-in

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[5] According to the functionalist theory, national identity has various functions, and its psychological function is regarded as the most fundamental among them. In this respect, Anthony Smith remarks that "to provide strong community of history and destiny to save people from personal oblivion and restore collective faith" is the fundamental function of national identity (*National Identity* 161).

chains, shackled by the forces of colonialism, whose people had been alienated from the land which was their rightful possession, and which would be returned to them once independence dawned" (76). On this basis, some African, Asian, and European colonies declared their independence including Poland (1916), Ukraine (1922), Czechoslovakia (1918-Czech Republic and Slovakia since 1993), Vietnam (1945), India (1947), Pakistan (1947) Ghana (1957), Algeria (1962), Barbados (1962) and The Bahamas (1973) etc. In the post-colonial period[6], thus, national identity gained utmost importance. Even though it has apparently declined in importance with the new concepts globalization[7] introduced such as 'dual citizenship', 'supra-national citizenship' (e.g. European Union citizenship) and 'citizen of the world', national identity seemed to remain largely as a hidden power against the mayhem of the modern world. [8]

The world experienced a strong revival of nationalist ideals linked to contemporary political events. During the 1990s, Europe witnessed "a multiple clash of nationalities seen in the Yugoslav war" (Hirschi 7). This led to the revival of the concepts of 'nation', 'national identity' and 'nationalism'. That is, certain territories and nations endeavoured to gain

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[6] The notions of national and cultural identity are widely discussed in post-colonial studies as peripheral nations attempted to create new nation states and identities from the ruins of their colonizers in the Post-colonial period. For instance, in *No Place to Hide: Contemporary Scottish Theatre and Post Coloniality,* Babademi Folorunso takes the case of Scotland, regarding Scotland "as a composite colonial society" (47) and dwells upon the use of 'language", "national cultural institutions", "geography", "textures of contemporary Scottish life" on the stage in the re-making of Scottish cultural identity within post-colonial framework. Even though similar identity markers have been analyzed in this dissertation, they have been discussed irrespective of these post-colonial discussions as this dissertation does not regard Scotland as a 'colony'. For further information on post-coloniality and Scottish Drama see Babademi, Folorunso. *No Place to Hide: Contemporary Scottish Theatre and Post Coloniality*. 1999. The University of Edinburgh, PhD Dissertation. *Edinburgh Research Archive*, era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/28030. Accessed 12 Nov. 2019.

[7] The origin of 'globalisation' is a debated topic since there are various assertions about how and where it emerges including archaic periods and modern times. In this respect, it is possible to examine 'globalization' in five periods such as "prehistoric", "pre-modern" "early modern", "modern" and "contemporary" (from 1970s) (Steger 17). However, the most widely accepted period of globalisation is since current use of globalisation dates to the World War II. See Steger, B. Manfred. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford UP, 2003.

[8] The relationship between globalization and national identity is a matter of debate between the modernist and primordialist approach. According to modernists, since nations are the outcome of modernity, dramatic social, political and economic changes caused by another historical phenomenon, 'globalization' influences national identity. On the other hand, the primordialists assert that national identity is not overcome by globalization as nations have deeper roots and are neither modern not constructed.

independence in the beginning of the 21st century such as, Montenegro (May 21, 2006)[9], Scotland (Sep. 18, 2014)[10], Veneto (Oct. 22, 2014) and Lombardy (Oct. 22, 2014)[11], Puerto Rico (June 11, 2017)[12] and Catalonia (Oct. 1, 2017)[13]. The Catalan independence referendum in particular, which had a broad repercussion in the world press, exacerbated discussions on the independence of nations throughout the world.

In the Catalan referendum, 92.01 per cent of the voters supported the idea of an independent state and sought to gain their independence from Spain. However, the Spanish government declared the referendum illegal for not meeting the required standards. Moreover, they used violence against the Catalans, arrested Catalan government officials, and took charge of the government which caused a worldwide reaction. Sub-national governments from various parts of the world supported the right of political self-determination of Catalonia as well as other nations. Moreover, the Catalan independence movement had a tremendous impact on other 'separatist' movements in Europe.[14]In a statement, issued on the group's official website, the President of the Veneto group Plebiscito.eu (known as Plebiscite 2013) compared the impact of the Catalan Referendum to "the collapse of the Berlin Wall for Eastern Europe".[15] This statement clearly shows how the movement triggered sub-nations to

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[9] Montenegro held an independence referendum and gained independence from Serbia with the votes 55.5 per cent Yes to 44.50 per cent No. The result was recognized by the government and Montenegro became an independent country (Montenegro is the only nation among the above-mentioned nations that gains independence and recognised as an independent state).

[10] For the Scottish independence referendum, see "1.2. A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

[11] Veneto and Lombardy held referendum on the same day to be more autonomous by devolving certain powers from Rome (Italy). Even though the electorates of both referendums voted in favour of further devolved powers, Rome did not recognize the referendum results.

[12] Apart from 2017 referendum, Puerto Rico held four referendums 1967, 1993, 1998, 2012, all of which resulted with the decision to stay as a state of the US.

[13] Catalonia's first independence referendum took place on November 9, 2014. On the ballot papers there were two questions: "Do you want Catalonia to become a State?" and "Do you want this State to be independent?". Although 80 per cent of the votes were in favour of independence, Spain declared the referendum illegal.

[14] For instance, on November 4, 2018, New Caledonia held an independence referendum but 56 per cent of the voters decided to remain as a part of France. However, there will be to more referendums which will be held allegedly in 2020 and 2023.

[15] For further information see Busato, Gianluca. "Catalonia Independence Is Like The New Collapse Of The Berlin Wall."10 October 2017, blog.plebiscito.eu/news/catalonia-independence-is-like-the-new-collapse-of-the-berlin-wall/. Accessed 20 November 2018.

seek further independence.[16] As a result, Europe has been brought to the verge of fragmenting into small territories or states seeking self-rule. In this sense, new political developments have not only given a new dimension to the concept of national identity but also aroused scholarly interest in this topic.

The present chapter will be devoted to an in-depth look at 'national identity' within a theoretical framework. Although national identity lies at the heart of nation and nationalism studies, there is a lack of sufficient interdisciplinary studies on this concept. In *Understanding National Identity*, David McCrone and Frank Bechoffer suggest that "in discussing 'national identity', it is the adjective 'national' which seems to interest scholars more than 'identity'" (i.e. David Millers *On Nationality* (1991), Anthony Smith's *National Identity (*1991)) (12). So, this chapter aims to provide a background to the both sides of the concept national identity by elaborating on various approaches and arguments. However, before delving into the theory of 'national identity', it is essential to elaborate on "nation" and "nationalism" the two concepts providing the basis for the national identity studies. To this end, this section will firstly scrutinise the nation building process to explain what 'nation' is, dwell on the rise of nationalism, and finally focus on national identity, its markers and rules.

'**Nation**' is a quite disputable and ambiguous term that underwent changes and took on extended meanings in time. The word 'nation' first appeared in Genesis 10[17] which is a "genealogical interlude between the story of the Flood (Gen 6-9) and the account how the descendants of Noah were subsequently spread across the world (Gen 11)" (Joseph 95). Genesis 10 is devoted to counting the generations of each of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth and their descendants born after the flood. After the Great Flood, each descendant

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[16] It is worth nothing that the starting point of the movement was economic reasons rather than national impetus. However, it aimed to save the economic interests of the 'Catalan people' who were a distinct community united under the Catalan flag and government by living on a specific territory, sharing the same language, history, culture, customs and traditions. In this sense, the movement gained a national quality by rescuing the Catalans from oppression of the Spanish government.

[17] For further details see *Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments: King James Version*. New York: American Bible Society, 2010.

forms its own 'nation' as summarized with the lines: "By these were the isle of the Gentiles divided in their lands, everyone after his tongue, after their families, in their nations" (Genesis 10:5). [18] In Genesis, thus, nation refers to the communities that emerged after the fragmentation of humanity into distinct groups living in different territories with different languages.

Etymologically, on the other hand, the word 'nation' originated from the Latin terms *nasci* (to be born) and *natio* (belonging together by birth or place of birth). In *Nationalism,* Elie Kedourie defines *natio* as "a group of men belonging together by similarity of birth, larger than a family, but smaller than a clan or a people" (13). Kedourie, moreover, indicates that in the Middle Ages the word referred to "community of foreigners" and in medieval universities, it corresponded to the division of provenance. However, the division was not a geographical division in the modern sense. In this respect, "the *nation de France*" corresponded to "speakers of Romance languages including Italians and Spaniards"; "the *nation de Picardie"* referred to the Dutch (Kedourie 13). The word, in this respect, pointed out an ethnic unit living within a particular territory, speaking the same language but not yet organized in the political sense.[19] In "Citizen and National Identity", Jürgen Habermas elaborates on this classical usage of the word:

> […] nations are communities of people of the same descent, who are integrated geographically in the form of settlements or neighbourhoods, and culturally by their common language, customs and traditions, but who are not yet politically integrated in

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[18] In Genesis 11:1-9, the reason of the division of people is explained with the myth of "The Tower of Babel". According to the story, after the Great Flood "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech" and the descendants of Noah found the land of Shinar while migrating. There they wanted to build a city and a tower which may reach to heaven and God punished them by "confound[ing] the language of all the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth" (Genesis 11:9).This, in a way, explains why 'language' is regarded as one of the most significant markers of nation and national identity.

[19] As Habermas asserted *natio* was "goddess of birth and origin" in the ancient Rome and indeed, the Romans used the word for "savage", "barbaric" or "pagan" peoples (22). For further information see Habermas, Jürgen. "Citizenship and National Identity". *The Condition of Citizenship*, edited by Bart van Steenbergen, Sage Publications, 1996, pp. 22.

the form of state organization. (22)

As noted above, the classical definition puts the main emphasis on 'ethnicity', 'culture' and 'geographical border' (though 'geographical border' does not refer to political boundaries used today). In a similar vein, when the word nation was introduced into the English language in the late 13th century, the primary connotation was "blood-related group". However, by the early 17th century it was also used for "the inhabitants of a country" irrespective of their ethnic population (Conner 378). Even though these definitions are quite close to contemporary usage, they lack 'political association', which is an essential element in the modern conceptualization of the word.

According to certain scholars[20], 'nation' gained a political meaning with the Industrial Revolution (1760-1820), the American Revolution (1776-81) and the French Revolution (1789-93). Put at its simplest, the concepts such as fraternity, solidarity and freedom engendered by the revolutions prompted the idea that nations must have sovereign states. The members of newly-established states were bound by common laws, and people who lived in the same territory acquired the status of the citizen. Freedom of the nation gained utmost importance, such that eagerness to fight and die for one's country was regarded as the badge of national consciousness as well as republican virtue. Consequently, with the appearance of "states" (as in the "United States of America") the modern concept of "nation" as a political entity was established. Today, "nation" is defined as a "country, especially when thought of as a large group of people living in one area with their own government, language, traditions, etc." (CAD)[21] or "a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, or

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[20] This view represents the Modernist standpoint adopted by leading figures like Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012), Ernest Gellner (1925-1995), Benedict Anderson (1936-2015) and John Breuilly (1946-). According to the modernists, nationalism is also a modern term that grows with the appearance of the modern states.

[21] *Cambridge Dictionary*. dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/nation. Accessed 12.06.2016.

language, inhabiting a particular state or territory" (OED)[22].

The etymology and usage of the word reveals that to define a community as a nation in the modern sense, its members should share certain common characteristics, descent, language, culture (customs and traditions) and live in the same state or territory. Although many scholars agree on the definition and constituent elements of 'nation' to a certain extent, it has also sparked discussion among scholars because "[...] no 'scientific definition' of nation can be devised" (Seton-Watson 5). Nation is defined as: "nothing but a collection of individuals" (Hume 79); "a soul", "a spiritual principle" (Renan 26)[23]; "a community of character that grows out of a community of destiny rather from similarity of destiny" (Bauer 52); and "homogenous and collectively self-conscious ethno-cultural unit, a spiritual whole that shapes the substance and identity of its members" (Parekh 255). The variety of definitions reveals that the scholars have put emphasis on different constituent elements of a nation.

In the definitions of Hume and Bauer, sharing a common character, which may be called a 'national character', stands out. According to David Hume, the national character is composed of moral and physical features that shape the manners of community members developing habits peculiar to that community. In this regard, it is the 'national character' that gathers the individuals to build a community. Likewise, for Otto Bauer, national character is the common physical and mental peculiarities that both unite and differentiate nation from other nations. However, it is formed by 'the community of destiny', which proceeds from the natural inheritance maintained by blood ties and transmission of culture to further generations by word of mouth. Within this context, either used for physical and psychological characteristics or the common destiny, national character plays a decisive role in bringing a

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[22] *Oxford Dictionary*. www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/nation. Accessed 12.06.2016.
[23] According to Renan, the soul is engendered by two things namely "past", which is "the common ownership of a rich legacy of memories", and "present", which stands for the common will to preserve this legacy and live together. Thereby, Renan asserts that race, language, interest religious affinity, geography and military necessities do not suffice to create a nation (19). Actually, it is the 'will' that enables people to live as a community and turn this community into a nation.

community together under the roof of 'nation'. On the other hand, Renan and Parekh[24] put emphasis on the "spirituality" of the community. For Renan, spirituality refers to the combination of past inheritance and the present will to live as a community. In a lecture he gave in 1882 entitled "*Qu'est-cequ'une nation?* (What is a nation?)", Renan explains the relation between the past and the present in the nation-formation process:

> A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices one has made in the past and of those one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarised, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as the individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life. (19)

To Renan, a desire to live together as a community is developed out of sharing common memories, grieves, regrets or glories, joys, and hopes rather than sharing the same customs, language, or race. It is in fact common sufferings such as defeats in national memories that unify more than victories and joys since they allocate a kind of duty and responsibility and demand a common effort. In the lights of these ideas, Renan makes his well-known deduction that the existence of nations is a "daily plebiscite", which bases the continuity of the nation on the voluntariness of the community members.

In "When is a Nation?", Anthony Smith intermingles all the qualities mentioned above by defining a nation more specifically as "a named community possessing a historic territory,

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[24] For Parekh, "spirituality" refers to a sort of a psychological bond by which each member of the community is linked and forms the nation.

shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs"(15).[25]
In the definition he proposed, Smith attaches particular importance to the "rootedness" of the community by emphasizing "historicity" or "memory and myth" which are directly related to the history. Besides, he alludes to the present by adding "laws, duties, and economy" to the constituent elements of nation. In doing so, he reveals that past and present are indispensable components of a nation since 'past' plays a decisive role in creating a desire to live as a community, a nation in the 'present'.

In *On National Identity,* David Miller asserts that there are mainly five components of a national community: belief, historical continuity, active identity, geographical place and a common public culture. In Miller's categorization, belief corresponds to the mutual recognition of the community members, while active identity refers to 'national identity' that fosters a desire to things together. It is worth noting that geographical place, history and culture are common denominators of the definitions so far. Nevertheless, in "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group […]", Walker Connor defines a nation as "a community of people characterized by a common language, territory, religion, and the like" (377). With this definition, Connor departs from other scholars by counting religion as one of the main elements of a national community because religion plays a discriminating role as well as unifying. Even though the definition of a nation asserted by scholars share a few elements such as geographical territory and culture they differ in certain points as it is not possible to give the exact components that constitute a nation which is an imagined concept. In this sense,

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[25] In "When is the Nation?", Anthony Smith changes the definition he made in *National Identity* (1991) where he defined nation as "named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (14). In this new definition of nation, he omits "mass" and "common economy", and instead of "legal rights" he used "laws and customs". According to Montserrat Guibernau, the omission of the adjective "mass" is related to Smith's ongoing debate with Walker Connor who asserts that nation is a mass phenomenon. Moreover, he states that "common economy" and "legal rights and duties" are not compatible with Smith's conception of 'nation' as a 'cultural community'. For further information, see Guibernau, Montserrat. "Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: A Critical Assessment". *Nations and Nationalism*, vol.10 no. 1-2, 2004, pp.125-141. doi:10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00159.x. Accessed 16 Feb. 2017.

certain scholars[26] have concluded that nation exists when a group of people defines themselves as a nation.

In the light of all the definitions mentioned above, it is observed that the constituent elements or criteria of nation have been formed and varied in the course of history. Moreover, these criteria are not possessed by all members of a nation so, they are not "objective communities" (Billig 24). In this respect, Eric Hobsbawn calls them "fuzzy", "shifting" and "ambiguous" as there are not standard, clear or objective criteria, which make the 'nation' an elusive and problematic concept (6). As a result, 'nation' has been discussed from various standpoints and different approaches were developed to explain the antiquity of 'nation' and 'nationalism'. There are three major paradigms, namely primordialism[27]/ perennialism, modernism[28], and ethno-symbolism which scrutinise the root, nature and power of nation and nationalism.[29]

Primordialism, etymologically originated from Latin words *primius* ("first") and *ordiri* ("beginning from"), focuses on 'nativity' and birth and predicates nation-formation on 'blood', 'common ancestry' and 'familial and territorial attachment of the people'. The term was introduced by Edward Shils in "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties" (1975) to explain the strength of attachment in family relations, which Shils ascribed to "a certain

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[26] For instance, in *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Eric Hobsbawm defines nation as "a group that thinks it is a nation," (8). Similarly, Seton-Watson states that a nation "exists where a significant number of people consider themselves to be nation or behave as if they formed one" (5).

[27] Some scholars call primordialism as "essentialism" which predicates on the assumption that "people are normally members of one and only one nation, that they are members of one and only one race, one gender, and one sexual orientation, and that each of these memberships describes neatly and concretely some aspect of their being" (Calhoun 18).

[28] The Modernist paradigm can be divided into two as 'constructivism' and 'instrumentalism'. According to constructivism, nations are primarily social constructions which are formed by elites through inventing traditions and reinterpreting the history to collect people as communities. Similarly, instrumentalism asserts that national identity is manipulated by elites who intended to preserve their interest and statues as the high culture elites.

[29] In *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Anthony Smith embraces 'perennialism' as a distinct paradigm, so he elaborates on four main categories namely primordialism, perennialism, modernism, and ethno-symbolism. On the other hand, certain critics object to this categorization and prefer to use only the terms "traditionalism", which corresponds to the "pre-modernist" paradigms, and "modernism", which asserts that nation is the product of modernity. For example, in "Primordial Nations, National Identities, National Sentiments and National Solidarity", Azar Gat notes that instead of "primordialism" and "perennialism" he employs the term "traditionalist position" to describe the counter-modernist position since both terms sound "metaphysical" and "unreal" (32).

ineffable significance [...] attributed to the tie of blood" (142). Nevertheless, it was developed by Clifford Geertz who explains primordial attachment in his book *The Interpretation of Cultures* as "immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the given-ness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language[...] and following particular social practices"[30] (259). The primordial attachment, thus, embedded into people through biological means. In this respect, at its core, the primordialists view asserts that nation is a form of 'kinship'. It is 'natural' and 'instinctive'.[31]

Perennialism, is put forward by Anthony Smith as a "less radical version of primordialism" and derives from the adjective "perennial" meaning "continuing and enduring through the year or through many years" (Özkırımlı 68). Like primordialism, perennialism defines nation as a kind of human association, an ancient entity which evolves over the centuries yet preserves its essential character.[32] In this respect, the perennialist paradigm points out that since nations existed throughout history, modern nations are only the extension of their medieval equivalents. Nonetheless, the paradigm departs from primordialism about the nature of the nation proclaiming that it is neither a primordial nor a natural phenomenon.[33]

The Primordialist/Perennialist view is refuted by modernist scholars such as Elie

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[30] Clifford Geertz notes that: "By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the 'givens' – or more precisely, as a culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the given-ness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language [...] and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer, ipso facto; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself". (259) Primordialism, in this sense, is neither a principle that can be learned through social relations nor a qualification that is acquired by social ties but rather an 'inherent' ethnic tie to which Shils and Geertz refer with the words "given-ness" and "the tie of blood".

[31] According to primordialism, a nation is formed when people sharing the same cultural features such as traditions, customs, religion and history, etc. came together (Ichijo and Uzelac 51). In this sense, for the primordialists, the primordial attachment can be found in every era of history as it is an inextricable part of human beings and thus the existence of nations and nationalism dates back to distant past. Nationalist discourse 'awakening nations to self-consciousness' derives from this claim.

[32] For further information see, Smith, D. Anthony. *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Polity Press, 2000, p.67.

[33] Anthony Smith divides perennialism into two as "continuous perennialism" and "recurrent perennialism". The former points out the long-standing existence of the nations by stressing the cultural continuities and identities over centuries, whereas the latter scrutinises the appearance and disappearance of nations, or in other words, the recurrence of the nations in different forms throughout the history.

Keudorie, Ernest Gellner, John Breully, Eric Hobsbawn, and Benedict Anderson[34]who argue that nation is a relatively recent phenomenon.[35] The **modernist view**, apparently the most dominant paradigm in the nationalism studies,[36] in this respect, regards nations and nationalism as modern concepts originated in the aftermath of the French and Industrial Revolutions, especially because of the socio-political changes such as outgrowth of industrialism, capitalism, urbanization and secularism. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Ernest Gellner associates the rise of nations and nationalism with the industrialization. According to Gellner, rapid changes occurred as a necessary consequence of social and economic developments. The growth of industry required the maximization of human resources which in return created the need for social mobility. For Gellner, social mobility, in other words, the transition of uneducated non-literate low culture to the refined and well-educated high culture, gave rise to nations and nationalism (57). Thus, in Gellner's approach, which is widely accepted among the modernist scholars, elites play a decisive role in the construction of the nation and national identity.

For modernists, elites maintain a sort of national continuity by 'inventing traditions' through through myths, heroic stories, rituals, traditional costumes and symbols. The term "invented tradition[37]" was first introduced in *The Invention of Traditions* (1983), which Eric Hobsbawm edited in collaboration with Terence Ranger. Hobsbawm defines the term as "a set

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[34] Benedict Anderson is also labelled as a "postmodernist" scholar since he not only advocates that nation is a modern concept but also puts forward that it is a discursive formation. However, in this study he will be accepted as a modernist since this part mainly focuses on the major paradigms irrespective of minors.

[35] John Breuilly, a vigorous advocate of the modernist approach, objects to the assumptions of the primordialist view claiming that nation is a modern concept. In "Approaches to Nationalism", he calls primordial view "impractical" since major institutions such as "parliaments, popular literature, courts, schools, labour markets etcetera", which build, protect and transmit national identities, are modern (154).

[36] However, in "Vanishing Primordialism", Andrew Hadfield claims that many of the modernists are perennialists who suggest that nations might have existed for many ages though not in the same form. See Hadfield, Andrew. "Vanishing Primordialism". *The Roots of Nationalism*: *National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, edited by Lotte Jensen, Amsterdam UP, 2016, p. 49.

[37] According to Hobsbawm, one should keep in mind that tradition and custom are not the same things. Traditions, including the invented ones, are invariant, fixed and repetitive; whereas, customs are more flexible. For the sake of clarity, he explains the difference with an example by likening 'custom' to a judge's work while 'tradition' (in particular the invented ones), in this case, is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial actions" (3)

of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (1). The need for inventing traditions, in this sense, arises from the necessity to provide "continuity with the past" that is the outcome of novel situations, in particular, revolutions and "progressive movements" breaking with the past. Inventing traditions, in this respect, is an attempt to preserve cultural life and social patterns unchanging in the face of the change and innovations of modern life. To this end, either existing old practices are modified for the new purposes or entirely new symbols and devices (i.e. national flag, anthem, costumes like kilt and tartan) are created.[38] As a result, national identities are created through the 'inventions of traditions' as if they were a 'necessity' for human existence, which mostly arises from the psychological need of belonging somewhere (Billig26).

For Benedict Anderson, however, print technology that he termed as "print capitalism" started the construction process of modern nations not only through increasing the impact of the Reformation and Enlightenment, but also through the standardizing the language. That is to say, owing to the success of the Reformation and Enlightenment in the 18th century, the power of traditional religion waned.[39] As a result, Latin lost its significance as written language, and other languages became available in print which, in return, increased literacy. Since language plays a crucial role in communication and in the formation of an ideology, people come together around a common ideology that led to a kind of unity. This is regarded as the birth of the nationalism and national identity. In the course of time, nationalism rapidly spread among people as an answer to feelings of mortality, triviality and blankness in the

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[38] The Scottish Highland myth which was mainly created by Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott to prevent Anglicization of the Scottish culture after the Union of Parliaments, is the very embodiment of what Hobsbawm means with the concept "invented tradition". For further discussion see "1.2. A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present.

[39] In this respect, Anderson calls the 18th century as "the dawn of the age of nationalism", "the dusk of religious modes of thought" in Western Europe (11).

modern secular world. Traditional religious thoughts and beliefs, the concepts of heaven and hell, redemption and salvation vanished with the secularization and identity crisis prevailed among the people of the post-revolution epoch. Nationalism and national identity, in this sense, served as the "'religion surrogate' of modernity" by providing the necessary unity and solidarity to the post-industrial society which would otherwise dissolve (Smith *The Problem* 377).

According to the modernist, '**nationalism**'[40] plays a central role in shaping the lives of people not only in the political sense, paving the way for the formation of a nation, but also in the emotional sense, generating a sort of national attachment and identity. The term, thereby, has been used within various contexts and meanings, which Anthony Smith summarizes as follows:

1. the whole process of forming and maintaining nations [...];

2. a consciousness of belonging to the nation[...];

3. a language and symbolism of the 'nation'[...];

4. an ideology including a cultural doctrine of nations and national will [...];

5. a social and political movement to achieve the goals of the nation and realize the national will. (*National Identity* 72)

Modernist scholars such as Anthony Smith and Ernest Gellner mostly embrace the fourth and fifth definitions since the first two are too general and the third is regarded as an "elite phenomenon", started and manipulated by the intelligentsia through symbols, slogans, and

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[40] Nationalism goes into division as 'ethnic' and 'territorial' nationalism. In the ethnic nationalism, nation is regarded as "a community of genealogical descent, vernacular culture, native history and popular mobilisation" (Smith "Real or Imagined?" 41). In this respect, for the ethnic nationalist, nation is a "fictive super family" (Smith *National Identity* 12). On the other hand, the territorial nationalism which is also termed as 'civic' nationalism asserts that nations must have well-defined territories, a historic land which their citizen can call "homeland".

ceremonies. Anthony Smith defines nationalism as "an ideological movement to attain and maintain autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'" (31), whereas, Ernest Gellner explains the term as "the striving to make culture and polity congruent, to endow a culture with its own political roof, and not more than one roof at that" (43). As noted in the definitions of Smith and Gellner, for the nationalists to maintain a kind of unity, autonomy and identity is the goal of a nation.

Despite being accepted as a modern term, doctrine or ideology, nationalism suggests that nation is not a modern concept since peoples are 'naturally' divided into distinct nations as distinct political units or states. This nationalist assertion is mainly supported through the myths of origin, invention and reinterpretation of the national history and above-mentioned 'invented tradition'. However, the fact that these are only 'inventions' must be forgotten lest nation is perceived as 'arbitrary' and 'shallow' (Billig 37). As a result of this conscious act of forgetting which Michael Billig terms "collective amnesia", people see nation as a natural and ancient entity and "the nation which celebrates its antiquity, forgets its historical recency" (38). The nationalist discourse, in this sense, paves the way for 'forgetting' by recurrently expressing the belief that nations are given, natural and ancient. On the other hand, Ernest Gellner refutes this nationalist assertion pointing out that "it is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way round" (55).[41] Nation, in other words, is the product of nationalism which utilizes pre-existing cultures by reviving dead languages, customs and traditions to create nations. The modernist paradigm, thereby, suggests that nations are neither natural nor ancient; on the contrary, nation is a constructed modern concept. In "Inventing Tradition", Eric Hobsbawm states that "much of what subjectively makes up the modern

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[41]The idea that nations are the inventions of nationalism prevails among the modernists such as Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm since they believe that nations appeared after the French Revolution. For instance, in *Nations and Nationalism since 1780,* Hobsbawn echoes Gellner stating that "nations do not make states and nationalism but the other way around" (10). In a similar vein, Benedict Anderson stress that nationalism "invents nations where they do not exist" (6).

"nation" consists of such constructs and is associated with appropriate and in general fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourse (such as "national history") (14). To put it another way, the nation is a discursive construct created in history with the reinterpretation of the past, myths, symbols and traditions which generates a kind of national identity and provides unity and solidarity among people by revealing their deep roots.

Nation, in this sense, is an abstraction, a discursive and social construction. In his ground-breaking book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Benedict Anderson explains this social construction by defining nation as "an imagined political community" (7). According to Anderson, it is imagined because it is not possible for the members of even the smallest nation to know all other members of the community or meet them. Thus, they actually live the image of their communion on their minds. However, to name a community 'nation', the image constructed in the minds of the community should be recognized by each of the community members. In his epoch-making study *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Ernest Gellner presents a similar argument:

> Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations maketh man; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members. (7)

As Gellner states, what transforms a group of people into a 'nation' is their mutual recognition of each other as 'compatriots' rather than sharing common peculiarities.[42] The recognition is mainly achieved through the claims of the compatriots which, according to Craig Calhoun, manifest themselves discursively "by the way of talking and thinking and acting" (6). These claims, in this respect, constitute a nation by fostering a 'collective identity' and paving the way for mobilization of people for collective projects. Even though there are not 'objective' criteria for the 'recognition of each other as compatriots', elements such as common territory, language, culture, traditions, habits and ancestry, without doubt, are quite influential in fostering a collective identity which also enable the construction of the "nation image" in the minds of community members.

Broadly speaking, the assumptions of the modernist paradigm are mostly acceptable; however, according to **the ethno-symbolist paradigm** the modernist view neglects the pre-modern background of the nation by dating the foundation of nations to the post-French Revolution period. At this point, one may agree with the ethno-symbolist assumption. Since it is paradoxical to associate nation with something as unrestrained as "imagination" "mind" and yet still to fix its origin to the modern period. If there were no nations before the French Revolution, this means that there were no national identities either. Then, one might ask how nations such as the Scots fought an independence war against the English in the Mediaeval Age without developing a sense of national identity.[43] Although some may argue that a variety of factors such as common interest, ethnic unity or common kinship were the unifying

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[42] In a similar vein, David Miller also puts emphasis on 'fictitious' nature of nations, and states that "nations exist when their members recognize one another as compatriots and believe that they share characteristics of the relevant kind" (22).

[43] A similar argument can be found in Andrew Hadfield's article "Vanishing Primordialism" which addresses questions such as: "can we imagine a time when nations did not exist? Were people ever able to think in a way that has no relationship to national identity? What would it mean not to have a national identity?" (49). According to Hadfield, a life without national identity cannot be imagined and to show its continued existence he gives Virgil's description of Britons 'toto divisos orbe Britannos' ('wholly sundered from the world') as a sign of national identity. In the same vein, Ardis Butterfield mentions Anglo-French identity in the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) and reveals that a sense of national identity developed in the Medieval Period. See, Butterfield, Ardis. *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War*. Oxford UP, 2009.

forces behind the independence wars, these factors are what make up a nation. Thus, there were nations and national identity though not existed in the same form and had "the same boundaries", "the same inhabitants" (Hadfield 49). Within this context, to limit nation within the barriers of modernism not only makes the modernist view problematic but also undermines the profound roots of nation and national identity. In this regard, the ethno-symbolist view aspires to bring the historical perspective that the modernist view lacks and explains nation within a wider historical scope.

The ethno-symbolist paradigm mainly elaborates on the ethnic basis of nations. John Armstrong is regarded as the forefather of the ethno-symbolism with his book *Nations before Nationalism* in which he aims to explore the "intense group identification", namely 'nation', through an "extended temporal perspective" dating back to antiquity (3). However, the term 'ethno-symbolism' was proposed by Anthony Smith who combined primordialism and modernism by emphasising on the significance of 'symbols, memories, myths and values' of *ethnies* (ethnic communities) in the modern nation-building process.[44] Smith believes that the rise of nations should be discussed within a broader historical perspective. Thus, unlike the modernist critics, Smith includes the pre-modern era by elaborating on common memories, values, traditions, myths and symbols which have been maintaining their existence since the ancient societies. As Smith stresses "for ethno-symbolists, what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritages" and the ways the modern nationalist intellectuals rediscover and reinterpret "a popular *living past*" (*Myths and Memories* 9). In this respect, it is the elements of the myths, memories, traditions and symbols which render the reconstruction of the modern national identities possible in each generation. Ethno-symbolist approaches dwell upon eight main claims and themes namely 'la langue

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[44] Azar Gat propounds a similar approach stating that nations and nationalism are neither primordial nor modern, yet they embedded in human nature as "primordial human sentiments of kin-culture affinity, solidarity and mutual cooperation" (31). For further information see Gat, Azar. "Primordial Nations, National Identities, National Sentiments and National Solidarity". *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, edited by Lotte Jensen, Amsterdam UP, 2016, pp. 31-47.

duree', 'national past, present and future', 'the ethnic basis of nations', 'cultural components of ethnies', 'ethnic myths and symbols', 'ethno-history', 'routes to nationhood' and 'the longevity of nationalism'.[45]

Briefly stated, the first theme 'la langue duree' stands for the existence of the nations over long periods of time. According to this claim, existence and formation of nation cannot be tied to a specific era or modernization. In a similar vein, within the theme of 'national past, present and future', ethno-symbolists scrutinise the claim of recurrence, continuity and reappropriation of the nations. That is to say, even though the majority of nations and nationalism emerged in the modern era, they may have "premodern precursor and can form around recurrent ethnic antecedents" (Smith *Myths and Memories* 11). In this regard, while continuity and recurrence correspond to present and future, reappropriation stands for the past since it refers to the endeavours of the intelligentsias to maintain authentic materials for the modern nation by delving into the ethnic past.[46] The third essential theme dwells upon the assumption that ethnic groupings have existed in every epoch and everywhere people believe in sharing common ancestry and culture. The fourth and fifth claims predicate the persistence of the ethnic communities and nations on the myths, memories, values and traditions of an ethnic community. In other words, the pre-existing components and long-term continuities of ethnic communities and nations are cultural and symbolic rather than demographic (Smith *Myths and Memories* 14). On the other hand, the sixth theme focuses on *ethno-history* which corresponds to the ethnic community members' understanding and interpreting the past. Put it another way, the historical discourse, *ethno-history,* is subjective, open to change, globally

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[45] For further information see Smith Anthony. Myths *and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford UP, 1999, pp.10-19.
[46] At this point, Miroslav Hroch's approach to the modern nation-building process in "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: Nation Building Process" can be given as an example. He divides the nation – building process in Europe in three phases namely Phase A, B, and C, and stresses that Phase A starts with the "collection of information about the history, language, and customs of the non-dominant ethnic group" (84). In the second phase, Phase B, a new group of activists emerge to prevail on their ethnic group to create a future nation by fostering national consciousness. Finally, in Phase C, a mass movement was launched with a kind of national identity. See, Hroch, Miroslav. "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: Nation Building Process". *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1999, pp.78-98.

uneven. The seventh major theme concerns the manner the nations have been formed by utilizing the identifying patterns such as *lateral* or *vertical ethnies*[47]. Finally, within the scope of the eighth theme, ethno-symbolists concern with the impact and durability of nations and nationalism. They concede that although the aspirations of nations and nationalism belong to pre-modern era, they become powerful and widespread in the modern. However, their persistence is not maintained because of their intensity and frequency in the modern era but because of their ability to derive force from the pre-existing myths, memories, values, and traditions of ethnic communities.

The ethno-symbolist view, in this respect, accepts "nation" as a modern concept but bases the constitutions of the modern nations upon pre-modern *ethnies* which Smith defines as "a named community of shared origin myths, memories and one or more element(s) of common culture, including an association with a specific territory" ("When is Nation?" 15). However, there are certain points that modernist scholars object to in the ethno-symbolic approach. According to the modernists, the ethno-symbolists undermine the distinction between nation and ethnie by taking ethnic communities as the earlier equivalents of nations. Nevertheless, the modernists miss the point that for the ethno-symbolists ethnies are not taken to be equivalents to the modern nations but regarded as the precursor of them. Besides, the definition of ethnie Smith has put forward evidently reveals the difference. At this point, the modernists come up with the argument that ethnic traditions the ethno-symbolists asserted to have inherited are not inherited but reproduced and adopted under the new circumstances. Therefore, the meanings, morals and the lessons drawn from them may change. Within this context, they criticize the ethno-symbolist scholars for underestimating the unstable character of the ethnic communities.

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[47] According to Anthony Smith, the lateral ethnies "are aristocratic and extensive, their boundaries are ragged, and they rarely (seek to) penetrate culturally or socially the middle or lower classes", whereas vertical ethnies are "demotic and intensive, their boundaries are compact, barriers to entry are relatively high, and their culture spreads across all classes, if unevenly at times" (*Myths and Memories* 18).

Similar to the ethno-symbolists, Jaspar Hirschi's *The Origins of Nationalism* (2012) challenges the assumptions of the modernist paradigm by providing a plausible counter-theory against the 'modernity' of the nations. According to Hirschi, nationalism is the "inevitable but accidental legacy of the Roman Empire" in the Middle Ages Europe (2). He explains the preconditions for the development of nationalism:

a vast space inhabited by a single high culture and split into several polities; while the overarching culture enables an intense exchange between the educated elites within the whole space, the political landscape ensures a multiplicity of powers. [...] The discrepancy between the imperialist ideal of single hegemonic power and the reality of many polities launches a competition for political supremacy. [...] Over time, their political competition develops its own dynamics; it expands to a cultural and moral competition, and finally continues independently of its original imperialist impulse— in other words, it transforms into nationalism. (p. 40)

Although nationalism is the outcome of these "cultural and moral competitions", the concept of the *natio* (nation), which Hirschi defines as "a political, cultural and a linguistic community, inhabiting a territory of its own and sharing an exclusive honor among its members", was almost fully developed in scholarly literature of the Renaissance Humanists by end of the 15th century (3). In this respect, he puts forward the significance of intellectuals in creating a discourse for the emergence of nationalism. This makes Hirschi's theory of nationalism 'constructivist' though he criticizes Benedict Anderson's constructivism for attributing "arbitrariness" to 'nation' with his catchword "imagined community" because "all forms of communities are imagined" (25). Moreover, he refutes Ernest Gellner's treating industrialism as a prerequisite for nationalism as well as Eric Hobsbawm's functionalist

theory by showing the existence of nation states in Europe, America, Africa and Asia before their societies were industrialized (33). Within this context, Jaspar Hirschi deconstructs modernists by disclosing certain weaknesses of the modernist paradigm. In the light of these arguments, it can be concluded that none of the approaches is comprehensive enough to explain the origin and nature of nations and nationalism alone.

Elaborating on the development of nation and nationalism so far, this part has sought to establish an understanding of the roots of national identity since to comprehend the term, first the question of 'what nation is' must be clarified. Besides, as discussed earlier, most scholars accept nation and national identity as the product of nationalism and its proponents, besides, "its significance and celebration too is the handiworks of nationalist" (Smith *National Identity* 92), while "the strength of nationalism derives above all from its ability to create a sense of identity" (Guibernau 142). In this respect, there has been an undeniable reciprocal link among nation, nationalism and national identity since the emergence of the nations. The study has aimed to shed light on this link until now by probing into the scholarly debates about the origin, nature and formation of the nations and nationalism which explains the 'national' part of the term "national identity". From now on, "national identity" will be discussed with a particular attention on the 'identity' part of the term. Within this context, the definition and the components of the term, which spark off debates because of its problematic and arbitrary nature, will be examined. Moreover, identity markers and rules will be discussed. Finally, the predominant theories of identity namely 'essentialist and constructivist' as well as 'ethnic and civic' identity dichotomy will be discussed.

National identity is an ambiguous abstract term which generates definitions among the scholars of identity politics. In this respect, it is defined as "a sense of belonging to a geopolitical entity" (Verdugo and Milne 2); "the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, and traditions that compose the distinctive

heritage of nations and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage" (Smith *The Cultural Foundations* 19); "a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that made it distinct from others" (Guibernau 11). Broadly speaking, the definitions mainly focus on a geographical territory and sharing certain characteristics that differentiate the given community from other communities. However, in "The Concept of National Identity", Bhikhu Parekh describes national identity as a "collective identity of a polity" which attributes the term 'a political meaning' by defining it as the identity of a political state. He, moreover, considers it as an umbrella term that encapsulates a wide range of elements such as community's disposition, inclination, values, memories, etc. defining national identity as "the way a polity is constituted" (257). It refers to the elements that designate what kind of community it is including:

> the central organising principles of the polity, its structural tendencies, characteristic ways of thinking and living, the ideals that inspire its people, the values they profess and to which its leaders tend to appeal, the kind of character they admire and cherish, their propensities to act in specific ways, their deepest fears, ambitions, anxieties, collective memories, traumatic historical experiences, dominant myths and collective self-understandings. (257)

Within this context, having a national character, similar interests, ideas and way of life are as significant as sharing the same values, memories, historical experiences or myths in the formation of a national identity. Parekh's definition, in this regard, is much more comprehensive than others. Nevertheless, his emphasis on the "polity" or "state" makes the definition problematic. That is to say, 'state' cannot be a prerequisite for national identity

since there are nations without state such as Quebecois, Scots or Catalans that have developed a strong sense of national identity. In the light of these definitions, national identity can be defined as 'a sentiment, an emotional attachment people living in the same territory feel for the nation that derives from sharing idiosyncratic characteristics such as, language, history, memories, traditions, values, symbols and culture.

There are various views about what constitutes national identity as the term has different facets. According to certain scholars, objective indicators such as territory, language, religion, and ancestry, etc. are fundamental criteria for developing a sense of national identity. For instance, in *National Identity*, Anthony Smith enumerates the elements of national identity as; a "political community" "bounded territory/historic land", "the idea of a patria", "common culture and a civic ideology", "common historical memories", "myths", "symbols" and "traditions" (10-11). Other scholars lay emphasis on subjective elements such as the perception of nation, the strength of emotional attachment to the nation or national identity, and the embracement of a unique identity. Among these scholars, Walker Connor is in the lead with his ground-breaking ideas. In "Beyond Reason: The Nature of Ethnonational Bond", he invokes Sigmund Freud's term *inner identity* in the description of national identity and asserts that national bond is not conscious and rational but subconscious and emotional in inspiration (384). It is, in this sense, 'beyond reason' because the members of the nation are linked by kinship and common ancestry. For this reason, an emotional bond is established among fellow nationals and the belief of sharing common ancestry augments national identity.

However, objective and subjective elements are two facets of national identity, to which Montserrat Guibernau added three more. In *The Identity of Nations*, Guibernau demonstrates five dimensions of national identity combining these two elements as psychological, cultural, territorial, historical and political (11). Stated briefly, the 'psychological' dimension echoes Walker Connor's above-mentioned ideas by putting stress

on the sentimental identification with the nation. The emotional sentiment mainly derives from the 'closeness' felt for the members of a group which unites them to form a national community. The 'cultural' aspect of national identity arises from the values, beliefs, customs and habits that create solidarity bonds and a distinct culture among the members of a community. This is achieved not only by making them recognize each other as fellow nationals but also distinguishing them from others.[48] The territorial aspect regards territory as the source of a strong sense of national belonging since it is the embodiment of traditions, culture and history shared with the ancestors. On the other hand, the historical dimension focuses on the role of a shared history in the construction of national identity among the nationals. Finally, the political aspect of national identity elaborates on the state's action to create a unified society by employing different strategies such as standardizing a national official language, founding a national education system and media, and promote a particular culture. Within this scope, there are various parameters which not only form national identity but also make it a multidimensional concept. These are namely, a shared territory, common language, common history, collective memory, common culture, and shared myths.

For certain scholars, having national identity firstly means having a territory with certain borders (Smith 1991; Herb 1999). Territory, thereby, is regarded as vital to national identity and sentiment since "only territory provides tangible evidence of the nation's existence and its historical roots and a nation needs a clearly demarcated national territory to demand its own state" (Herb 17). Within this context, the boundaries of the territory not only weld people together within a common area but also reinforce their solidarity by distinguishing them from other people outside the borders. However, what transforms a territory from a piece of land into 'homeland' is the physical, legal, and emotional attachment one develops for the land. In other words, it is national identity that ascribes the meaning of

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[48] Furthermore, in cultural aspects, these elements of values, beliefs, conventions, customs, language and habits are also regarded as significant transmitters of national identity to the new members and generations. See Guibernau, Montserrat. *The Identity of Nations*. Polity Press, 2007.

"homeland" to a territory which is the prerequisite for the formation of a national identity.

In a similar vein, 'language'[49] and 'a common history' are frequently accepted as two central elements of national identity (Billig 1995; Miller 1995; Anderson 2006). Language is the emblem of nationhood. In the world of diversities, it is the tangible badge of differences through which a nation manifests its distinction from other nations (Kedourie 62). Apart from this, it also unifies people creating a common ground to communicate. In this regard, sharing a common language, on one hand provides a basis for political autonomy and distinction for a nation; on the other hand, it paves the way for developing a sort of national bond among members of a community.[50] Besides, language is one of the most significant vehicles to encode values, culture and history. Since language is the storehouse of a common culture and collective memory, which are transmitted through myths it also renders the collective imagination of a unique identity and a unified community possible.

The national bond fostered by a national language is strengthened with a common 'culture' and 'history' that generate a sense of uniqueness and rootedness as well as give a promise for future continuity. In particular, being a symbolic representation of certain values and traditions, culture is regarded as a principle source of national identification. In "The Question of Cultural Identity", Stuart Hall uses the terms 'cultural identity' and 'national identity' interchangeably due to the decisive role culture plays in the formation of national identity:

A national culture is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves […]. National cultures

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[49] See Anderson, Benedict. R. O. G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1991, p. 145.; Williams, Lynn. "National Identity and the Nation State: Construction, Reconstruction and Contradiction". *National Identity,* edited by Keith Cameron. Exeter Intellect, 1999, pp.7-19.; Kedourie, Elie. *Nationalism*. Hutchison, 1961, p.62.

[50] It is worth noting that contrary to the nationalist expectation, the assumption that language underpins political distinction is modern. In "Approaches to Nationalism", John Bruelly remarks that language has acquired political importance when it gained institutional significance in the three modern components of nationality namely law, polity and economy (152).

construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and imagines which are constructed of it. (613)

For Hall, as seen, national identity is a discursive construct since identification with a nation begins with the 'narration of nation' told and retold through history, literature, media or popular culture. Within this context, what attribute meanings to the nation are national stories, national symbols, rituals, traditions and myths which organize people around the idea of nation. In so doing, "the idea of the nation is linked with the idea of its destiny" (Bauer 62). As Duncan Bell has argued in "Mythscape: Memory, Mythology and National Identity", "memory acts as a powerful cohesive force, binding the disparate members of a nation together: it demarcates the boundary between Them and Us, delineating the national self from the foreign, alien Other" (70). Within this context, the memories of shared experiences, victories, defeats or disasters sow the seeds of collectivity and solidarity among those who experienced joy or trauma together while differentiating those who do not as 'others'. Furthermore, adjusting and modifying itself to the new circumstances and contexts, collective memories not only reconstruct the national history but also serve present and future goals. In this respect, the past is continuously reconstructed through narratives, memories and myths in order to serve changing purposes, society, and politics.

Like a common history and shared memory, myths, in this sense, are quite instrumental in promoting a particular national identity both through reinterpreting and reconstructing the past events, traditions or even a work of art and embellishing them with various narratives. In particular, nationalist representations mythologize the historical events mainly to recreate the heroism, glories and victories of the past so-called 'golden ages'. According to Duncan Bell, a nationalist myth refers to "a story that simplifies, dramatizes and

selectively narrates the story of a nation's past and its place in the world, its historical eschatology: a story that elucidates it contemporary meaning through (re)constructing its past" (75). In other words, it interprets history in a particular way by "amplify[ing] the significance of some events and diminish[ing] the significance of others" (Miller 33). For instance, nationalist myths usually polish the victories or sacrifices made for the sake of the nation whereas great losses are mostly ignored and forgotten. In particular, 'the myth of origins'[51] provides legitimacy to nations by enabling their citizens to forget the fact that the nation is an invented phenomenon. In this respect, as Billig remarks every remembering is simultaneous act of a collective forgetting (38).

Apart from these components and parameters, national identity has various markers and rules that indicate the identity claim of an individual. In "Constructing National Identity: Arts and Landed Elites in Scotland", Frank Bechhofer et al. define '**identity markers**' as "those characteristics which are perceived to carry symbolic importance either as a person's national identity, or which might be mobilised by the individual themselves in support of an identity claim" (528). To put it another way, identity markers are the features or elements that support the national identity claims of an individual. Within this frame, elements such as ancestry, birth place, accent, physical appearance and etc. individuals use to attribute national identity are regarded as identity markers. On the other hand, identity rules are "probabilistic rules of thumb whereby under certain conditions and in particular contexts identity markers are interpreted, combined or given precedence over one or another" (Kiely, et al. 36). In this sense, identity markers can vary with respect to the different times and contexts which, in return, makes national identity vary from time to time, society to society, or even person to

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[51] Myths form a significant part of Anthony Smith's ethno-symbolist system which he divides into six common elements as "the myth of temporal origins (when we were begotten)", "the myth of location or migration (where we came from and how we got here)", "the myth of ancestry (who begot us and how we developed)", "the myth of the heroic age (how we freed and became glorious)", "the myth of decline (how we fell into a state of decay)", and "the myth of regeneration (how to restore the golden age and renew our community as 'in days in old')". For further discussion on myths see Smith, Anthony. *Myth and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford UP, 1999, pp.65-68.

person owing to the environmental and personal factors. As a result, various theoretical approaches have been developed about the origin and nature of national identity. The national identity debates, as is the case with the nation and nationalism, revolve around two conflicting approaches namely essentialist/primordialist and constructivist/modernist.

According to "essentialist/primordialist" theory, national identity is a 'natural' and integral part of human beings. As mentioned earlier, it is assumed to be primordial "there, in the very nature of things" (Gellner 48), and therefore persists without any change in its nature. In other words, for the essentialists, national identity exists from birth, and it is continuous and eternal as well as fixed and stable. In the essentialist view, nation is based on the idea of 'pure', 'original' people or 'folk' while national identity is based on elements such as common "ancestry, language, history, ethnicity and world views" (Verdugo and Milne 4).

Constructivist/modernist scholars, on the other hand, refute essentialist assumptions proclaiming that national identity is a constructed and negotiated term of which reproduction and reconstruction proceed throughout a life. To constructivists, national identity is neither 'natural and given' nor 'fixed and stable'. As Nadine Holdsworth points out in *Theatre and National Identity: Reimagining Conceptions of Nation*:

Nations and manifestation of national identity are clearly not fixed but shifting entities subject to the forces of history, power and politics, which reconfigure notions of the "us". They are affected by changing socio-political realities caused by, amongst other things, colonization, decolonization, civil war and its aftermath, economic collapse, devolution, natural disasters and political realignments to the left and right. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries many nations have also been dealing with the impact of migration and the creation of increasingly diverse multicultural communities. (6-7)

Within this frame, in the mayhem of the modern world, a variety of factors, including social, political, or environmental, have great impact on national identity. For this reason, national identity is an unstable and flexible phenomenon and the identification of individual with its nation may change in different times and spaces. For instance, it is widely accepted that national identity gains strength at the time of either national crisis or national celebrations.[52] However, it is not in the continuous state of flux, as it can be salient at certain cases and times. As David McCrone puts forward in "Who Do You say You Are? Making Sense of National Identity in Modern Britain": "it is likely that, at certain times and in certain places, national identity is highly salient and for quite lengthy periods entirely stable across a wide variety of contexts, to the extent that it is unproblematic or constantly reinforced" (307). To put it another way, national identity is mostly salient and stable because it is taken for granted with either everyday symbols or social interactions.

National identity, thereby, should not be restrained within the boundaries of history, myths, and traditions since it also emerges through the daily practices of ordinary people. It is in the process of continuous reproduction with everyday "flagging" or "reminding of nationhood" which Michael Billig terms "banal nationalism". In Banal Nationalism, Billig points out that the term is introduced to encompass the ideological habits which render the reproduction of established nations of the West possible. These habits are indispensable parts of everyday life because "daily, the nation is indicated, or "flagged", in the lives of its citizenry" (Billig 6). That is to say, nationhood is recalled with banal indicators such as national flag, coins and banknotes, national anthems which Billig calls "forgotten reminders" (8). They are forgotten because they are embedded in routines of life and people, who engage

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[52] In "Indifference towards National Identity: What Young Adults Think About Being English Or British", Steve Fenton states that national identity is "evoked in response to highly visible events such as sporting occasions, deaths of leaders or war (327). Likewise, David McCrone points out that since national identity is defined in contrast to 'the other', at times of national crisis such as war "the other" is so clearly branded as the 'enemy' as to weld people together as a nation (307).

in daily business, do not pay attention to them.

Apart from these banal reminders, there are various ways to produce and reproduce nationhood and national identity in everyday life. For instance, similar to everyday routines, everyday discourse in social interactions as well as in media or politics promote national identity. National identities, in this sense, are "special forms of social identities, are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, *discursively*" (Wodak, et al. 3-4). National identity is not only shaped by daily speeches, attitudes and behaviours but also shapes them and it changes according to the audience, context or setting which evidently reveals that there is not one stable identity.

In "Everyday Nationhood", Jon. E. Fox and Cythia Miller-Idriss focus on four ways of constructing nationhood. The first, named "talking the nation", embrace nationhood as a discursive construct (like Calhoun and Wodak et al.). According to Fox and Miller-Idriss, implicit nationhood becomes explicit in the interactions of ordinary people through which national identity is reproduced in everyday contexts. The second way, "choosing the nation", corresponds to the national choices people make in everyday life. For example, "reading a nationalist newspaper" or "sending one's child to a minority language school" is regarded as a national choice which underpins nationhood as "a salient idiom of belonging" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 542). The third way of construction, "performing the nation"[53], elaborates on the collective act of performances, rituals, sport activities or national competitions, etc., which constitute national bonds by means of the songs sung, flags weaved, or anthems sung together. Finally, "consuming the nation" refers to the consumption of national products in daily life which in return engenders a kind of national sensibilities, conveys national meaning,

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[53] Performance is a significant way of enacting national identity through using metaphors and symbols prevalently. Within this context, similar to Fox and Miller-Idriss, in *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Tim Edensor devotes a chapter to the discussion of how national identity is performed in national dramas, ceremonies, and rituals. He concludes that the performances of national identity, either in everyday routines, or cultural events such as ceremonies and rituals, maintain a common understanding that "the nation is important and central to belonging" (102). For further discussion see Edensor, Tim. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life.* Berg, 2002.

and augments national pride. For the sake of clarity, national dishes, nationalist literature, and music can be given as examples to the commodification of nation.

Finally, civic identity theory is added to discussions of the essentialist and constructivist scholars in later years. It can be defined as a form of identity where membership in a geopolitical entity is based on "a set of shared values about rights and the legitimacy of state institutions to govern" rather than ethnicity or culture (Verdugo and Milne 5). In this respect, engendering an attachment to a specific geographical location through citizenship and legal rights, civic identity stands in binary opposition to ethnic identity which is based on sharing ethnic characteristic with a group of people. In *Nationalism and the Moral Philosophy of Community*, Bernard Yack explains the conceptual difference between ethnic and civic in terms of consent and descent dichotomy:

The myth of the ethnic nation suggests that you have no choice at all in the making of your national identity: you are what you inherited from previous generations and nothing else. The myth of the civic nation, in contrast, suggests that your national identity is nothing but your choice: you are the political principles you share with other like-minded individuals. (30)

While the ethnic view of national identity evokes the primordialist view by laying emphasis on 'inheritance' and fixed identity, civic identity alludes to territorial nationalism which asserts that inhabitants of a territory should have a common national identity irrespective of their ethnic, religious or other differences. In this respect, restricting national identity within boundaries of territory regardless of other parameters makes the civic view of identity a quite limited theory, whereas, regarding national identity as "fixed" and "stable" is the main flaw of the ethnic view.

In the light of these discussions, as none of the approaches mentioned earlier alone is sufficient to explain nation, nationalism and in particular national identity this study will mainly adopt modernist/constructivist and ethno-symbolist approaches merging certain assumptions of both approaches. Within this frame, this study regards nation as 'an imagined community' and 'a discursive construct' as claimed by the modernists and underlines the significance of ethnic markers such as history, language, symbols, myths, culture and traditions in this construction as asserted by ethno-symbolists. Even though components of nation such as 'language' and 'culture' are also considered as 'civic' elements, they are regarded as inherited 'ethnic' elements in this study taking an ethno-symbolist approach.

This dissertation aims to attract attention to the role of drama in the construction (mainly in Chapter 2) and reassertion (in Chapter 3 and 4) of national identity elaborating on the case of Scotland. The dissertation will elaborate on the fact that although Scotland adopts a firm civic identity –as declared on the official website of the Scottish Government[54]– contemporary Scottish drama exhibits an ethnic approach to the Scottish national identity with its emphasis on a shared history, language, culture and traditions. To this end, the study will take the mentioned components of a nation such as 'common history', 'memory', 'myth', 'geographical territory', 'common language', and 'public culture/traditions' as the basis. In so doing, this study will focus on to what extent ethnic markers are used in the Scottish plays not only to reconstruct Scottish identity in the 20th century plays written in the periods of national awakening like *The Cheviot* and *Mary Queen of Scots* but also to reassert national identity and respond to the discussion concerning Scottish independence in the 21st century plays like

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[54]On its official website Scottish Government notes that "Scotland's national and cultural identity is defined by our sense of place, our sense of history and our sense of self. It is defined by what it means to be Scottish and to live in a modern Scotland in a modern world". As observed the government puts emphasis on sharing the same territory and willingness to take part in Scottish society by sharing social ties as well as duties rather than ethnic or national ties, symbols, and figures. For further information on Scottish government's national identity policy see SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, n.d., "National Identity: We Take Pride in a Strong, Fair and Inclusive National Identity". 21 June 2012, www2.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms/outcomes/natIdentity. Accessed 3 Jan. 2017.

Union and *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant*. Since most of the plays that will be examined in this study turn back to history to reassert national identity as well as to allude to contemporary politics, the following chapter will mainly elaborate on the development of national identity and the idea of independence in Scotland from medieval times to the present.

1.2. A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present

> "Lay the proud usurpers low!
> Tyrants fall in every foe!
> Liberty's in every blow!--
> Let us do or dee!"

Robert Burns "Scots Wha Hae"[55]

'National identity' and 'independence' are two delicate notions for Scotland, which has achieved to preserve its distinct identity and culture since the Ango-Scottish Union in 1603 through its distinct institutions as well as distinct literature and languages. Although the idea of independence changes according to socio-political developments, gaining support or losing favour Scottish independence was reinvigorated with the current Brexit debates and the 'indyref 2' discussions recent. However, 'independence' is not a current issue for the Scottish people since it is possible to trace the independence struggle of the Scottish nation back to the medieval period, mainly to the Wars of Independence or even to the advent of the Scottish nation. Likewise, as national identity is an ideological construction, Scottish national identity has been constructed through history, replete with national myths, traditions, symbols, heroes, and victories. The past, therefore, is quite instrumental in the formation of the Scottish national identity and comprehension of the contemporary independence debates. Within this frame, this section will mainly focus on the development of national identity and the idea of Scottish independence from the past to the present to provide insight into the way of their representations in the plays examined in this study. To this end, this part mainly scrutinises four major periods which have a dramatic impact on Scottish national identity and

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[55] The poem is a song written in Scots language in 1793 that has been become one of the unofficial national anthems of Scotland. Composed in the form of a speech Robert the Bruce gave in the Battle of Bannockburn in 1324 to encourage Scottish soldiers, the poem is a manifestation of freedom and independence. In this respect, it is of great significance for Scottish nation reminding the great victory won in the battlefield that brought independence to Scotland, and thus galvanizes national sentiment of Scots.

independence matter: Wars of Scottish Independence (1286-1371), Anglo-Scottish Union (1707), Devolution (1999), Scottish Independence Referendum (2014), and Brexit (2016).

Since the advent of Scottish 'nationhood' in the year 843 with the union of the Picts and Gaels under the leadership of Kenneth MacAlpin, Scotland has been struggling to preserve a sense of national identity and independence.[56] However, England's claim over Scotland which dates back to the medieval age has especially sparked an unending disagreement between the two neighbours for centuries. In this regard, the continual territorial conflicts between medieval Scotland and England posed a great threat to Scotland's independence which strengthened the national bond among the Scottish people. However, with the death of Margaret – the granddaughter of Alexander III (1241-1286) King of Scots – without an heir, the territorial conflicts turned into a sovereign problem in Scotland. Using this situation to his advantage, the king of England, Edward I (1239-1307), claimed his lordship but was met with resistance by the Scot. Upon Edward I's attempt to invade Scotland the resistance turned into Scotland's 'Wars of Independence (1286-1371) composed of a group of battles including The Battle of Stirling Bridge (1297) –the first victory of the Scottish forces led by notably William Wallace and Andrew de Moray.

The victory won by the army of untrained, outnumbered Scottish volunteers had utmost importance for the independence struggle, because it not only prevented the English from advancing further but also flourished a sense of national identity among the Scottish commoners. In this regard, it encouraged more commoners to fight for their freedom and an independent Scotland. It also paved the way for launching counter-raids on the north of England and increased the popularity of William Wallace who was declared the 'Guardian' of

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[56] Scotland had been composed of 17 tribes in the 5th century, which later united in four main tribes as the Angles, Britons, Picts and Gaels. However, it was MacAlpin who used the Gaelic word "Alba" after establishing the kingdom of Scotland by uniting the Picts and Gaels. According to Rab Houston, the rulers did not call themselves as the "king of Scotland" untill the 12th century and Scotland's borders became more stable during the 13th century (6). Within this frame, even if the first step of becoming a nation had been taken in the 9th century the nation of Scotland was established in the 13th century and evolved into its final form with the Wars of Independence in the 14th century. For further information see Houston, Rab. *Scotland: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford UP, 2008.

the headless Scotland. However, Wallace relinquished the Guardianship[57] with the defeat of The Battle of Falkirk (1298), which was waged by King Edward I in response to the victory of the Battle of Stirling. Until the year 1305[58], Scotland was under the control of England. In 1306 Robert the Bruce took the Scottish throne and defeated the English army of Edward II at the Bannockburn in 1314. Bannockburn was considered as the "landmark in the formation of an independent Scotland" ending the chance of Edward's "overlordship" (Houston 11).[59] Thus, the triumph achieved by Bruce at The Battle of Bannockburn strengthened both Bruce's position as the King of Scotland and independent status of Scotland.

The Wars of Independence underpinned national identity with the victories won owing to the struggle of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. In particular, William Wallace became a national myth being the very embodiment of bravery, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. However, as is the case with other myths, the Wallace myth was used for different purposes "serving ideological needs that varied from generation to generation" (Kidd and Coleman 73). In *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*, T. M. Devine states that the interpretation of the Wallace cult mostly varied according to class division in Victorian Scotland. For instance, to middle-class liberals, Wallace was the saver of the nation while the aristocracy had betrayed it, and to working-class Chartist, he was the symbol of "the common man striving for freedom

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[57] After Wallace, Bruce and John Comyn were chosen as the Guardians of Scotland but this guardianship did not last long. Even if there were divisions among the Scots on the succession issue, they always managed to unite showing a strong sense of national identity in order to protect their country against England. In doing so, they won the War of Independence and secured their independence.

[58] 1305 was also the year of William Wallace's execution in London. Wallace's martyrdom because of the Scottish cause was another factor that reinforced his status as a national hero.

[59] Scotland's one of the most preferred unofficial anthems "Flower of Scotland" was written by Roy Williams in 1967 on the Bannockburn victory. The poem depicts how the victory was won in the past and urges the Scottish people to rise and become a nation again for Scotland's future:

> Those days are past now,
> And in the past
> they must remain,
> But we can still rise now,
> And be the nation again,
> That stood against him (against who?),
> Proud Edward's Army,
> And sent him homeward,
> To think again.

against oppression" (12).[60] It even served Unionist part of Scottish society who believed that the union with England in equal terms was achieved due to the great valour William Wallace showed at the battlefield.[61]Although the myth of William Wallace gained different perspectives in time dependent on political mainstream, patriotism and devotion to freedom were their common ground; therefore, it is still part and parcel of national identity and Scottishness.

This struggle for freedom and independence was further enhanced with the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 which combined the concepts of Scottish "nation" and "independence" in a written text for the first time. The Declaration was a letter to Pope John XXII, written on behalf of Scottish nobles and "the whole community of the realm of Scotland" (*The Declaration*). The letter, originally written in Latin, demanded Pope's recognition of Bruce's kingship[62]and his intervention to the ongoing war between Scotland and England. The letter, primarily, emphasized how Scots had been keen on their freedom since the advent of their nationhood and how they would defy anybody who attempted to subdue them or posed a threat to their freedom:

Yet if he [Bruce] should give up what he has begun, seeking to make us or our kingdom subject to the King of England or the English, we should exert ourselves at once to drive him out as our enemy and a subverter of his own right and ours, and

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[60] Without doubt, the Wallace myth was not limited to the Victorian Period or class issues. According to James Coleman, there are other versions of the Wallace myths such as "Radical Wallace, Chartist Wallace, Free Trade Wallace; Unionist Wallace, Nationalist Wallace or Unionist nationalist Wallace; Jacobite Wallace and Presbyterian Wallace" (39). In this sense, the use of the myth mostly to manipulate different groups of different periods evidently reveals that its popularity has not vanished in time.

[61] In "Three Hundred Years of the Anglo-Scottish Union", T.M Devine remarks that the Wallace myth did not pose a threat to the Union. On the contrary, the unionist benefitted from the myth in the expansion of the imperialist Britain to increase the number of Scottish soldiers by reminding them that they were the descendants of heroes like William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. See Devine, T. M. "Three Hundred Years of the Anglo-Scottish Union". *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History,* edited by T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, Oxford UP, 2012, pp.1-22.

[62] Bruce was excommunicated by the Pope since he had killed one of his rivals, John Comyn, at Greyfriar's Kirk. Within this frame, in order to be acknowledged and recognized by Europe as the rightful King of Scotland, Bruce had to be recognized by the Pope at first.

make some other man who was well able to defend us our King; for, as long as a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours that we are fighting, but for freedom alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself. *(The Declaration)*[63]

This declaration serves as an oath of independence ensuring that the Scottish nation would not submit to the English. They would go as far as deposing their king if he did not fight to preserve their freedom. This declaration also reveals that they had the right to choose the king of Scotland (as they had already chosen Bruce).[64]

The Declaration of Arbroath was a manifestation of Scotland as an independent nation and, without doubt, it flourished national identity by evoking the deep roots of the Scottish nation. The letter was successful in gaining papal recognition for the independence of Scotland and Bruce's sovereignty in 1324. Furthermore, Pope wrote a letter to Edward to ensure his withdrawal from Scotland, yet England persisted in assaulting the Scottish lands and Scotland continued to struggle for independence. Even though England had recognized Scotland's independence with the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton in 1328, Edward III abrogated the Treaty. Edward Balliol, the former Scottish King John's son, ascended to the Scottish throne with the help of Edward III between 1332 and 1336. However, Edward Balliol was dethroned, and his several attempts to gain the Scottish throne were thwarted by the Scottish nobles. Within this context, a king who submitted to the English king regardless of Scottish nation's independence struggle was dethroned in line with the Declaration. David II,

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[63] See *National Archives of Scotland* – Declaration of Arbroath, www.nas.gov.uk, Apr 2009. www.nas.gov.uk /downloads/declarationarbroath.pdf. Accessed 10 Oct 2017.
[64] Unlike England, there was no divine right of kings in Scotland after the loss of Scottish monarch line. In other words, the king did not derive his right to rule directly from God but from the people of Scotland.

son of Bruce, was enthroned and ruled Scotland till in 1371, yet his death without an heir resulted in the change of dynasty.

 The Stewart[65] dynasty, which reigned over Scotland from 1371 to 1714, sowed the seeds of the Anglo-Scottish union by ending the ongoing war between England and Scotland with the marriage of James IV of Scotland and Princess Margaret Tudor of England in 1503.[66] This first family ties established between the two opponent kingdoms signalled further political unions such as union of crowns and parliaments. Being the descendant of Margaret Tudor and James IV Mary Stewart or Mary Queen of Scots, was the first claimant of the English throne and thus, was supposed to be the first person who would unite the crowns.[67] However, Mary's forced abdication from the Scottish throne and Queen Elizabeth I's death without an heir resulted in the enthronement of her son James as the King James VI of Scotland and I of England. On the other hand, this made Mary a legendary national figure as 'the last queen of the independent Scotland' and as the 'mother of a nation'[68].

James took the English throne as King James I of England in 1603, when he had been the king of Scotland for 18 years, thus, united England and Scotland under one crown. Being the king of Scotland in the first place, James reversed the medieval claim of English overlordship by becoming the ruler of the 'auld enemy', England. In this sense, Scottish

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[65] The family name "Stewart" was replaced with "Stuart" in the sixteenth century due to French influence on the Scottish court. For further information see Middleton, John. *World Monarchies and Dynasties*. Routledge, 2005, p. 902.

[66] William Dunbar wrote a dream allegory called "The Thrissill and the Rois" (The Thistle and the Rose) to celebrate the peace environment that was achieved owing to the marital bond between James IV and Margaret Tudor. James IV was represented by the "thistle" –the national flower of Scotland– and Mary Tudor was the "rose", national emblem of England, which had red and white petals after the Wars of Roses (1455-85). In this respect, their matrimony came to be known as 'the marriage of the thistle and the rose'.

[67] The private life of Mary Queen of Scots and the social, political and religious conflicts of her period will be explored in Chapter "2.2. The Aftermath of the 1979 Devolution Referendum: *Liz Lochhead's Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped off* (1987)".

[68] It is worth noting that similar to William Wallace, Mary Queen of Scots was one of the most mythicized figures in the history of Scotland. She was mostly regarded as the mother of a nation since she gave birth to the future king of Scotland and England. However, the interpretation of her myth varies since Mary's reputations were "always mere puppets of ideology" (Lewis 48). For further information see Chapter 2.2. "The Aftermath of the 1979 Devolution Referendum: *Liz Lochhead's Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped off* (1987)".

national identity strengthened during this period. On the other hand, after the union of crowns, King James based himself in London and barely visited Scotland. As Daniel Defoe stated in *The History of the Union between England and Scotland,* the English began to get the advantage of this new governance with "the common sovereign choosing to take up his residence among them [English]" (8). Throughout his reign, James intended to unite two kingdoms under one monarch, one parliament and one law evoking the idea of 'Great Britain', his aim was ultimately realized in 1707 – several decades after James's death.

Contrary to James I, Charles I who succeeded him in 1629 dealt with problems related to the Parliament. His only interference in Scotland was the introduction of a new Book of Common Prayer in 1637, which as Kristen Post Walton has noted, was an attempt to "bring the Scots more into line with his other subjects", "a process of Anglicization", thus, was a threat to Scottish identity and independence (125). However, his intervention in the Scottish church, 'Kirk' proved to be a big mistake because aroused strong opposition, known as Covenanters.[69] The Covenanters were the supporters of the Covenant, a bond between God and people on the protection of the true religion against all kinds of idolatry. The Scottish National Covenant (1638), which was a solemn agreement rejecting the implementation of English liturgical practice on the Scottish church, was signed by many Scots. In this regard, the Covenant was a 'national' movement that fostered a kind of national identity by preserving the national religion of the Reformed Church of Scotland. With the National Covenant, Presbyterianism was reasserted denying new liturgical implementations on the Scottish church. The long-standing disagreement between the King and the Covenanters culminated in Bishops' Wars and the defeat of Charles I in 1639 and 1640.[70]

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[69] Unlike his father, who was acquainted with Scottish society, culture and traditions, Charles I was unfamiliar to the Scottish society and traditions as he grew up in London. In this sense, Charles I, probably, was unaware of the fact that he posed a threat to Scottish identity with his intervention to the religion which lied at the heart of the Scottish society.

[70] Within this context, Charles I's attempt to Anglicize the Scottish church failed when Scots collaborated with the English parliament against the king with the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. According to Jenny

Wars between England and Scotland continued in the Commonwealth Period upon Scottish Covenanters' attempt to restore the Stuart dynasty proclaiming Charles II as the successor of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell responded to this claim with the Battle of Dunbar (1650) ending with Scotland's defeat and the occupation of Edinburgh. As a result, Scotland became a part of the Commonwealth in 1652 and Scotland was united to England under the Cromwellian Republic till 1660. For Scotland, the loss of independence with the forced union of the Cromwellian regime meant the loss of their national institutions. On the other hand, during the Commonwealth Period, Scotland gained certain advantages such as having the equal rights with England and liberty of worship which they had been struggling to obtain for years (Fry and Somerset 176). Thus, it can be said that the Kirk maintained its existence to a certain extent even though other national institutions such as law and Parliament were abolished.

With the restoration of Charles II in 1660, Scotland became an independent state again. Under Charles II's rule, Scotland regained its independent system of law, parliament, and Kirk, so-called "holy trinity", which paved the way for the maintenance of the Scottish national identity even after the union (Davidson 52). However, similar to the previous kings, Charles II who believed in 'the divine right of the kings' did not visit Scotland or consult the Scottish Parliament about his decisions. Moreover, Charles II signed the covenant as the new king, but like his father conflicted with Covenanters since he did not fulfil his promise during his reign. In 1685, a mass execution of the Covenanters took place by his troops, which was infamously known as "the killing time".[71]Upon Charles II's death in 1685, James VII of Scotland (James II of England) took the throne, who was Catholic and a supporter of Highlands that was mostly inhabited by Catholics at the time. Thus, James VII covertly tried

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Wormald, however, this document was not only made for the protection of the Kirk but also an attempt to "Scotticize the English church" (213).

[71] During this period, seventy-eight people were killed without any trial while others were executed following their trial (Rosalind 207). For further information see Mitchison, Rosalind. *A History of Scotland*. 3rd ed., Taylor &Francis, 2002.

to re-establish Roman Catholicism by demanding a religious toleration to Presbyterians, Quakers, and Roman Catholics. However, he was succeeded by his daughter Mary and William of Orange in 1688 due to his Catholic regime (Rothbard 413). Furthermore, England passed the Declaration of Rights (1689)[72] which restricted the absolute power of the king to the consent of Parliament. In a similar vein, the Scottish Parliament enacted The Claim of Right (1689)[73] to ensure that the king became answerable to the Parliament, subjects had the right to petition the king and the Parliament, and no Roman Catholic could become sovereign or public officer. In this sense, the Claim of Right -similar to the Declaration of Arbroath- forms the constitutional tradition of Scotland.

In Scotland, the early years of William and Mary's reign (the 1690s) were termed as "ill years" due to political, social and economic disasters which, no doubt, strengthened national identity by fostering a sense of solidarity among the Scots. In particular, the slaughter of MacDonald clan in 1692, which was executed because of their inability to pledge allegiance to King William I and Mary before the deadline, caused a national outburst of anger. Labelled 'the massacre of Glencoe', the slaughter broadened support for the Stuart dynasty and, in a way, formed a basis for the Jacobite Uprisings in 1715 and 1745. Apart from this, many people died due to the famine[74] that stroke Scotland in the late 1690s. Scots attempted to establish a Scottish colony[75] in the isthmus of Darien between 1698-1700, to

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[72] According to this act, the king could not make any legislation, raise an army in peacetime and levy tax without consent of the parliament.

[73] The Claim of Rights is still legally valid today, and poses a challenge against Brexit. According to *The Guardian*, lawyers asserted that triggering article 50 to exit the European Union without a parliamentary vote would violate Scottish law within the frame of The Claim of Rights which states that "a monarch was always answerable to the law and the people" and thus to the parliament. In this regard, as the representative of the people, each of the devolved parliaments of the UK are required to deliver an opinion about the Brexit and their opinions should be taken account. If these arguments reach a conclusion, the Scottish Parliament and other devolved parliaments may have the right to vote the Brexit. For further information see Carrell, Severin, Owen Bowcott. "Scottish claim of right to be used in Brexit case against UK government". *The Guardian.*21Nov.2016. www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/nov/21/scottish-claim-of-right-brexit-case-against-uk-government-artical-50-supreme-court. Accessed 4 May 2017.

[74] According to the Jacobites the famine was "God's punishment" for "the illegitimate Revolution and the abolition of episcopacy" (Raffe 263).

[75] The colony was named 'Caledonia' firstly used by Romans for the northern part of Scotland. When Romans came to the northern region called Borderline around 120 AD, they encountered Pictish inhabitants whom they

recover from the deteriorated social and economic situation caused by the famine. However, it had disastrous effects since many people died due to harsh climate conditions, food shortage, and various diseases. The failure of the Darien Scheme placed a heavier economic burden on Scotland. Within such as chaotic atmosphere, the Anglo-Scottish union started to be discussed as the only practical solution to these predicaments.

While the debates on the union were gathering pace in Scotland, Queen Anne succeeded William in 1702, who had been ruling alone after Queen Mary's death in 1694. However, the fact that the thirty-seven-year old Queen lacked an heir, Anne's succession to the throne would bring about the succession problem to England and Scotland. For fear of a Catholic Stuart accession to the English throne, England claimed a Protestant Hanoverian king as the successor of Anne with the Act of Settlement (1701)[76]. On the other hand, the Scots who were committed to the Stuart cause, passed the Act of Security (1702) in order to guarantee that she was succeeded by the members of the Stuart dynasty. They wanted James VIII, 'the Old Pretender', to be their king. Furthermore, there were three more acts passed by the Scottish Parliament in response to the Act of Settlement, which evidently demonstrates that Scotland was an independent state. To this end, the Act anent Peace and War was enacted in 1703 after Queen Anne's death to proclaim that Scotland had the right to adopt an independent foreign policy regarding whether or not to go to other countries. Subsequently, the Wool Act and the Wine Act were introduced to enable Scotland to import wool and wine to other countries regardless of England's preclusion.

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called Caledonia. Within this context, the name 'Caledonia' is still used for Scotland with poetic purposes. For further information see Dendinger, Roger. *Scotland.* Chelsea House Publishers, 2002.

[76] According to the act, all future monarchs must be an adherent of the Church of England. If the monarch was not native English, he could neither go abroad nor raise an army to defend territories out of England without the consent of Parliament. Finally, judges would be assigned for life, and they not be removed without any cause. For further details see "Appendix 3: Essay on the Act of Settlement C.1758." *Parliamentary History (Wiley-Blackwell)*, Oct. 2013 Supplement, pp. 330-337. EBSCO*host*, doi:10.1111/1750-0206.12041. Accessed 05 May 2017.

The acts were an overt manifestation of Scotland's independence, an assertion of its right to choose its own king and decide its foreign policy and trade with the other countries without any restrictions. This declaration of independence, nevertheless, had serious consequences for the Scots when the English Parliament passed the Alien Act (1705). The act prohibited Scotland's trade with England or any of English colonies declaring "Scots" as alien, thus, resulted in the collapse of Scottish economy, which had been already damaged due to the failure of Darien Scheme. In this regard, union with England became almost inevitable for Scotland which, as already mentioned, was devastated by both environmental and economic problems.

The Anglo-Scottish Union, however, was not only the result of Scotland's fiscal crisis which mainly stemmed from Darien Scheme and the Alien Act but was also a consequence of religious and political debates sparked by the Act of Settlement. Within this context, the union would serve the benefits of both England and Presbyterian Scotland through securing a Protestant succession to the throne. Apart from this, the union would also relieve Scotland of the economic burden to some extent since Scotland would regain the right to trade with England and her colonies as well as other trade privileges. In 1707, Scotland left its status as an independent nation to be ruled by the Parliament of Great Britain based in London with the Act of Union which laid the foundations for more than 300 years of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Independent Scotland, which had been damaged by the forced union of the Cromwellian Commonwealth, got the final blow with the union of the parliaments. The fact that the Scots relinquished their independence after years of struggle evidently shows that the idea of Scottish independence changed its medieval form which means saving the Scottish territories and people from English attacks. For Scots, the importance of 'independence' and 'freedom' waned with the benefits of being part of the Empire. The fervent support of independence gave its way to concern for the welfare of the country. In this sense, the

significance of Scottish independence began to fluctuate in line with the Scottish interest. On the other hand, Scottish identity always flourished in the time of crisis and under every circumstance manages to preserve its existence. After the union, Scotland lost its political identity, yet it evolved into "cultural nationalism" (Walton 113). In this regard, Scottish identity was mostly constructed through 'culture', which paved the way for the formation of a collective consciousness. The Anglo-Scottish Union, thus, could not annihilate Scottish national identity since Scotland was still an independent nation even though it left its independent 'statue' by dissolving its parliament.

The Treaty of Union was composed of 25 articles mainly on such issues as economics, politics, religion, and law. According to the Treaty, Scotland and England would be united as the Great Britain and represented by the same parliament; new taxes such as "new land tax" and "duties on coal, cinders, etc.," were implemented on Scotland; and the number of Scottish representatives at the parliament was reduced. In this respect, the 'voluntary' loss of independence against the "auld enemie" and English-biased treaty terms sparked the rumours that Scottish MPs had accepted bribes to pass the Act of Union.[77] Moreover, public protests in the aftermath of the union evidently demonstrate that the Act of Union was ratified in defiance of public opinion. The chaotic atmosphere created by the newly formed Union, in a way, was an indication of how insecure and fragile the Union would be for the future. The Jacobite Risings, in this respect, was the main reason of the Union's insecure position and posed an obstacle in the path of consolidation of the Anglo-Scottish Union for a long time.

The Jacobite Risings which started with the accession of William and Mary in 1689 and repeated at intervals in 1708, 1715, 1719 and 1745 had a "dynastic cause" rather than

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[77] In the song "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation", Robert Burns famously declared that Scottish MPs had accepted bribe from English spies with the lines: "Bought and sold for English gold- what a parcel of rogues in a nation". Even though most of the Scots are of the same opinion with Burns, there are, no doubt, different voices. For instance, in "The Treaty of Union: Made in England", Allan I. Macinnes states that the Scottish politicians were not "parcel of rogues bought and sold for English gold" rather, they were incompetent (67). According to Allan, their ineptness was evidently revealed in the negotiation process which ended with partially secured colonial access, reparation and investment. For further discussion on the union see Chapter 3.1. "The Re-Establishment of Scottish Parliament: Tim Barrow's *Union*".

national. The Jacobites, firstly, intended to re-establish the Stuart dynasty. After the union, however, the Stuart cause turned into the "Scottish cause" as Daniel Szechi asserted in his article "Scottish Jacobitism in its Internal Context" and many Jacobites gave priority to being "patriotic Scots" whereas loyalty to the Stuarts came second (357). Apart from this, when George I, the Hanoverian King, took the throne in 1714, the loss of the Stuart Dynasty which had been serving the Scottish nation since 1371 triggered a kind of national sentiment. With this 'national' incentive, the Jacobite Risings became a national movement as well as a dynastic one. It is also worth noting that the Highlands where the Risings took place were the very embodiment of Scottishness, the prominent marker of Scottish national identity since they manage to preserve their traditions, culture, and language. In this sense, when a variety of acts passed in the aftermath of the failures of the Risings[78] to annihilate the spirit of Jacobitism, it posed a threat to Scottish national identity.

The Disarming Act of 1716, which prohibited carrying weapons in the Highlands, was the first of the body of laws. However, the major attack on the Scottish culture and tradition was the Acts of 1746. The acts were passed mainly for Highland clan chiefs taking part in the Rising of 1745 which is considered to be "the most serious crisis that an eighteenth-century British Government had to face" (Roberts 71). Within this frame, firstly, an amendment was made in the Disarming Act of 1716 to forbid two fundamental signifiers of the Highland culture: 'kilt' and 'tartan'. Moreover, on the basis of the Disarming Act the highlanders were required to swear an oath to show that they would conform to the act:

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[78] When William III was crowned after James VII had been deposed the first rising took place in Killiecrankie in 1689 between the supporters of James VII and the government forces. The Battle of Killiecrankie was the only battle ended with the Jacobite victory though it cost them many lives including their leader Viscount Dundee's. On the other hand, other major battles of the Jacobite cause culminated in defeat of the Jacobites. In 1708 James VIII, the Old Pretender, attempted to invade Scotland with the French navy but was repelled by the English forces. The Rising of 1715 which took place in the aftermath of George I's accession to the throne ended with defeat at the Battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1719 the Old Pretender attempted to get the crown with the help of the Spaniards but failed again. Finally, with the Rising of 1745 "Bonnie Prince Charlie", the Young Pretender attempted to regain the crown. However, the rising ended with a heavy defeat of Jacobites at the Culloden after which the Jacobite movement lost its effect. The movement gradually vanished until the death of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1788 due to the implementations of strict laws against the Highlands.

I do swear, as I shall answer to God on the great day of Judgment, I shall not, nor shall I have, in my possession a gun, sword, pistol or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family and property - may I never see my wife and children, father, mother or relations - may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie buried without burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath. (Roberts 193)

As stated above, the Highlanders were forced to swear upon what they held sacred such as their 'family', 'kinship', and 'ancestors' that they would not wear the Highland dress or possess a weapon. The oath was an attempt to prevent another possible Jacobean revolt as well as to suppress the Highland identity and culture. The suppression of the Highland culture, identity, and feudal system further increased with the Act of Proscription 1746 and the Heritable Jurisdiction Act of 1747. As a result, to weaken the unity among Highlanders Highland culture was degraded, regarded as barbarity, certain cultural signifiers such as kilt, tartan, and bagpipe were strictly forbidden, and Gaelic language was banned.

With these acts, the Highlands became more vulnerable to English persecution, and the destruction of the Highlands and Gaelic culture continued. The clan system was the vital force behind the Highland life as well as the Jacobean Risings, so it posed a great threat to the government. With respect to this, the clan chiefs were stripped of all kinds of power such as jurisdiction, hereditary sheriffdom and were deprived of their estates which not only force them to move to Lowlands or immigrate to the British colonies but also hastened the destruction of the Highlands. However, in the 1780s the forfeited lands were restored, and new land owners began to evict their tenants in order to establish sheep-farms which were

much more profitable. According to Eric Richards, the evictions were often executed by "estate officials" and "a posse of police" with brutal methods "including manhandling, the destruction and burning of houses and outbuildings" (52-3). The evictions were named "Highland Clearance"[79] in the nineteenth century, and the intentional use of the word "clearance" instead of its synonyms "eviction" or "displacement" evidently reveals the tragedy the Highlanders experienced. The Highland Clearances, which might be considered as a kind of 'ethnic cleansing', lasted a long period from 1785 to 1820. In the light of these, the gradual and continuous loss of Gaelic Highland culture and the national agony caused by the cruel displacement of the Highlanders in the late 18th early 19th century had an enormous impact on the creation of Scottish national identity.

The suppression of Highland culture was indeed an act of repression of Scottish national identity since the Highlands became the very embodiment of Scottishness. Especially in the 18th century, the Highlands image was created as the image of Scotland in the modern sense owing to prominent literary figures Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott. In this regard, the constituents of the Highland culture such as bagpipe, tartan, and thistle acquired a national perspective in their works. Robert Burns mainly exalted the distinct national character of Scotland, its society and culture through his poems. In doing so, Burns intended to construct a sense of national identity and prevent Anglicization of Scottish culture. On the other hand, as Rob Houston has asserted in *Scotland: A Very Short Introduction*, Scott "manufactured an acceptable Scottishness […] appreciating the hybrid nature of Scottish society and inviting his post-Jacobite, post-Enlightenment readers to embrace diversity in a unified identity" (93-4). In this sense, the 18th-century literary world began to utilize the national symbols mainly composed of the Highlands images to construct Scottish identity. Furthermore, they have been

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[79] Highland Clearances and its impact on nation and national identity will be examined in depth in the following Chapter 2.1. "On the Road to the 1979 Devolution Referendum: John McGrath's *The Cheviot, The Stag and The Black Black Oil* (1973)".

still an essential part of Scottishness which will be evidently revealed through the contemporary plays examined in the following chapters of this study.

Contrary to the conflicts, revolts and traumatic incidents that served as a medium to foster a Scottish national identity in the Georgian Period, the expansion of the empire in the Victorian Period paved the way for the integration of the Scots with the British Empire. The identification with the empire and being loyal to the imperialist cause, nevertheless, did not result from the loss of Scottish identity or national peculiarities of Scotland. To a great extent, it stemmed from Scotland's overt imperial claims of expansion which, according to Rob Houston, has existed from James III onwards (120). In particular, after the failure of the Darien Scheme, being a part of an empire gained utmost importance. With such an incentive, the Scots willingly fought for the empire and "revelled in its benefits" (Houston 121). Thus, the Scottish people embraced British identity as they were proud of being a significant nation of a powerful empire. However, as noted earlier, the works of Burns and Scott also played a major role in the preclusion a total Briticization of Scots, reminding them their national identity, culture, and traditions. British identity, in this respect, did not prevail over Scottish identity. The British Empire was mostly used as a means of strengthening Scottish national identity by expanding religion and culture of Scotland to other nations.[80]

In the late nineteenth century, economic and political circumstances began to displease Scotland. To express and eliminate this discontent, various associations were established such as the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (1853)[81],

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[80] Using the union for the Scottish benefit was termed as "unionist nationalism", a movement represented mainly by the Unionist Party. Although the movement was quite dominant during the rise of the British Empire, it gradually lost influence with the decline of the empire. As W. C. Miller has noted in "The Death of Unionism", the public support for the unionism declined especially in the 1970s when Margaret Thatcher "defined unionism in opposition to Scottish nationalism" (190). For further details see Miller. W. C. "The Death of Unionism". *Scotland and the Union: 1707-2007,* edited by T.M. Devine, Edinburgh UP, 2010, pp.175-195.

[81] The association aimed to show that England violated the Treaty of Union with its unequal treatment towards Scotland. The NAVSR discussed a number of topics including that England paid more attention to Ireland and its problems than Scotland; England spent disproportionate amount of money compared to Scotland and the taxes raised in Scotland; Scottish MPs were fewer in number than the English MPs; the United Kingdom was not composed of only England and thus, it should be known as Great Britain rather than England, etc. (Kidd 270).

the Home Secretary for Scotland (1885)[82], Home Rule Association (1886- 1914)[83]. These associations demanded equal treatment for Scotland within the UK. Likewise, The Scottish Unionist[84] Association was founded in 1912 by the Scottish Conservatives and Liberals. However, all these organizations were devoted not only to protecting Scotland's interest within the Union but also to preserving Scottish identity by restoring their national pride and prestige within the Union. In this respect, the Union was regarded as necessary for the progress of the Scottish nation, and there was not much support for independence in the late 19th, early 20th century. Moreover, various wars including the war with France the First World War laid the groundwork for the integration of the nations in the UK creating a kind of British identity against a common foe (Devine 17).

The nascent British identity, however, gradually lost its influence since Scotland was suffering from economic depression after the World War I ended. Furthermore, with the emergence of The Scottish National Party (SNP)[85] on the political arena, the debates on constitutional autonomy and Scottish independence gained a different dimension. The disintegration of various nations with the influence of nationalism aroused by the French Revolution and loss of certain British colonies as a result of this also led Scotland to question being a part of the UK. Between 1945 and 1967 the British Empire lost more than 26 colonies

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Within this frame, the association intended to remind England that Scotland and England were equal partners in the Union, so they should have the same privileges on the basis of the Treaty of Union.

[82] For Scots, the need for a Scottish Home Secretary arouse in the late 19th century from England's disregard for Scotland's distinctiveness. As James Mitchell has noted in *Devolution in the United Kingdom*, Scottish Secretary "was Scotland's representative in the cabinet" and was expected to give voice to Scotland's interest irrespective of having legal jurisdiction about the matter or not (19). In this sense, Scottish Home Secretary, in a way, acted as an administrative force of Scotland.

[83] Scottish Home Rule discussion was galvanized by the Irish Home Rule debates in the 1870s, and in 1886 Scottish Home Rule Association was found with the aim of establishing a devolved parliament that would have a power to take decision about all kind of Scottish questions.

[84] In "In Bed With An Elephant: Almost Three Hundred Years Of The Anglo-Scottish Union" T. M. Devine asserts that "Union" in its title refers to the Irish Union of 1801 not the Union of 1707 since "Anglo-Scottish Union required no such vindication" (2).

[85] The SNP aroused out of the union of the Scottish Party and the National Party of Scotland. Since 1934 the party has been playing an active role in the Scottish Politics. In 2011 the SNP won a remarkable victory by winning 69 seats in the parliament and became the first party in the Scottish political history that won such overall majority. This solidified the party's claim 'to make Scotland independent' which the party still preserves as the main goal in 2019.

including India which declared its independence in 1947. Scotland lost its economic interest with the decline of the Empire; thus, 'nationalism' and 'independence' become two significant concepts on the Scottish agenda. However, independence was still not a desired choice for Scots since they believed the Union was necessary for the progress of the Scottish nation. Within this frame, devolution was the best choice for Scotland as it would both render staying in the UK possible and provide Scotland with autonomy and independence to some extent.

In basic terms, devolution can be defined as the transfer of the power to make policy on Scotland's domestic affairs from Westminster to Holyrood. The first step towards the establishment of a constitutional independence for Scotland by breaking political ties with England took place in the 1920s with the foundation of the Scottish Covenant Movement. The Covenant was not directly related to independence since it sought constitutional change rather than a sudden break from the UK. However, devolution might be regarded as a crucial move that renders future independence possible for Scotland now that it was 'the representatives of the Scottish nation' who would take decisions about the future of Scotland. In this regard, the Scottish Covenant signed a petition addressed to the United Kingdom demanding the re-formation of the Scottish Parliament in 1949:

> We the people of Scotland, who subscribe to this Engagement, declare our belief that reform in the constitution of our country is necessary to secure good government in accordance with our Scottish traditions and to provide the spiritual and economic welfare of our nation. (qtd. in *Scotland and the Union 1997-2007* 133)

The covenant evidently reveals that Scotland has a distinct national identity as a separate nation, thus, Westminster lacks the ability to serve Scottish interest or satisfy the needs of the

nation. The Covenant -signed by two million people- was a failure since it gathered only two signatures from the MPs (Steward 21). So, it was instrumental in raising people's awareness of Scottish national identity as a "distinct nation with a sense of national destiny and rights" (Leith and Soule 19-20).

The 1960s was marked by the rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) which stressed Scottish national identity and showed a deep commitment to the restoration of Scottish independence. As Richard Finlay asserts in "A Century of Pain and Pleasure", the rise of nationalism was "largely a protest at the failure of London to deliver on the economic and social front" (222). With respect to this, the rise of the SNP with matters of Scottish national identity and independence in the 1960s reveals that Scottish people were seeking for alternative solutions to the England's unjust treatment towards Scotland. Furthermore, the discovery of North Sea oil reserves in the 1970s prompted a national confidence and played a vital role in the rapid growth of Scottish nationalism generally and of the SNP in particular (Meadows 45). North Sea Oil to some extent provided Scotland with an economic assurance to show the country's ability to meet its own expense in the case of a constitutional independence. The SNP, moreover, started the campaign "It's Scotland's Oil" in 1973 which asserted that the North Sea oil belonged to Scotland and thus, in the event of independence, Scotland had the right to control it alone.

A referendum on the re-establishment of a devolved Scottish Parliament took place on March 1, 1979, and 56.1per cent of the electorates voted in favour of 'Yes' to the question "Do you want the provisions of the Scotland Act 1978 to be put into effect?". However, corresponding to only 32.8 per cent of the whole electorate the percentage could not meet the 40 per cent threshold of the "Cunningham Amendment"[86], and devolution was not enacted.

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[86] The amendment takes its name from George Cunningham, a Scottish Labour MP who imposed the requirement of high level of participants in the devolution referendum hoping that it would discourage the advocators of the Scottish devolution. The amendment passed in the House of Commons by 168 votes to 142 and

With the collapse of the attempt to re-construct a devolved Scottish parliament, winds had changed for the nationalist part of the Scotland, and the SNP lost momentum leaving its place to Labour Party. Although Labour Party was the supporter of the devolution, the victory of Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party in the general election of 1979 led to the postponement of Scottish devolution for almost two decades.

In the 1980s, the conservative Tory government under Margaret Thatcher witnessed the revival of Scottish devolution debates which had been put aside after the failure of the 1979 referendum. As "the most unpopular Prime Minister of the 20th century" who had been elected thrice successively against the will of Scottish people, Margaret Thatcher had a great role in this revival (Macwhirter 212). In particular, the socio-economic policies of the Thatcher government which was mainly based on the liberal market economy, privatization and individualism gave rise to an increase in Scottish national feelings as well as a desire for independence. Despite supporting the independence of an individual, Thatcher was against the constitutional independence of Scotland. She asserted that she aimed at preserving British national identity in doing so. Contrary to her expectation, Thatcher's policy paved the way for reinforcement of Scottish national identity against the British identity.

Even if Scottish national identity prevailed over the British identity, Scottish people were also attracted to the British identity and traditions from time to time. The Moreno Question[87], a survey that conducted first in Scotland in the mid-1980s by Luis Moreno, sheds light to the relation between the dual identities of being a Scot or being a British. The survey became a significant reference point for the identity dualities of Scottishness and Britishness with the question:

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was ratified within the frame of the Scotland Act as Section 85(2). See Deacon, Russell, and Alan Sandry. *Devolution in the United Kingdom (politics Study Guides)*. Edinburgh UP, 2007, p.55.

[87] The Moreno Question was prepared in Spain to reveal how respondents evaluated the Spanish identity and sub-state identities such as being a Catalan. However, when Luis Moreno visited Edinburgh as a PhD student in 1986, he decided to conduct the survey in Scotland at first between the dates 26 June and 1 July 1986. For further information see Rosie, Michael, and Ross Bond. "Routes into Scottishness?". *Has Devolution Delivered*?, edited by Catherine Bromley, et al., Edinburgh UP, 2006. ProQuest Ebook Central. p.144.

"Which, if any of the following best describes how you see yourself?

- Scottish, not British

- More Scottish than British

- Equally Scottish and British

- More British than Scottish

- British not Scottish. (qtd. in Jones 148)

According to the result of the 1986 survey, 39 per cent of the Scottish people identified themselves as "Scottish, not British" whereas 30 per cent claimed that they are "more Scottish than British". On the other hand, 19 per cent stated that they felt "equally Scottish and British" while 4 per cent were "more British than Scottish and finally 6 per cent asserted that they were "British not Scottish". Within this context, the results evidently show that the majority of Scots gave priority to the Scottish national identity rather than the British identity. It is an undeniable fact that the dislike the Scots felt against the Thatcherite government played a major role in these results. However, the predominance of the Scottish national identity cannot be attributed to only a few political events because similar results were obtained from the Moreno Question conducted in 1992, 1999, 2001, 2012, etc. On the other hand, as the results reveal, the British identity appealed in specific times and became on par with the Scottish identity due to certain social and political events as was the case in "2012 London Olympics and the Queen's diamond jubilee" (Jones 149). In this respect, the Scottish people do not lose their national identity since they been always aware of their distinctiveness as a nation within the UK and devolution was seen as the only way to preserve their distinctiveness.

The idea of constitutional independence, thus, gained momentum especially during the time the Conservative party was in power. The Thatcher government implemented 'poll tax' (also called the 'community charge') which forced people to pay the same amount of tax irrespective of their income levels. The fact that "a dustman paid the same as a duke" resulted in a huge social and economic crisis in Scotland since the gap between the rich and the poor was widened (Macwhirter 220). Moreover, the fact that the poll tax was levied on Scotland a year earlier than the other UK countries triggered the discussion on the necessity of constitutional change. The "Claim of Right" was reintroduced by the constitutional convention which was composed of Scottish Labour, the Liberal Democrats and some organizations in 1989. "The Claim" once more clearly underlined that Scotland's fate should be determined by the Scottish people.

The devolution referendum was planned to be carried out on September 11, 1997, at the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Stirling Bridge, the glorious victory of William Wallace against the army of England. There were four options on the ballot about whether there should be an independent Scottish parliament or not, and whether a Scottish Parliament should have the power to raise tax.[88] After the announcement of a referendum on devolution, the campaigns were organized to mould public opinion about these options. Yes supporters namely the SNP and Labour launched the campaign "Scotland Forward" for Yes/Yes[89] vote whereas No campaign supporters, the Scottish Conservatives, chose the name "Think Twice" for their campaign. In general, the two campaigns conflicted with each other on how devolution would affect the UK. Think Twice, as the campaign strategy, often put forward

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[88] The statements on the ballot were: "I agree that there should be a Scottish Parliament, or I do not agree that there should be a Scottish Parliament" and "I agree that a Scottish Parliament should have tax-varying powers, or I do not agree that a Scottish Parliament should have tax-varying powers". In this regard, Scottish people were not only expected to take decision about the constitutional change but also to decide which powers the nascent parliament should have.

[89] The press also played an important part in the victory of the Yes campaign in the 1997 devolution referendum. The BBC's Radio Scotland, the *Herald*, the *Scotsman,* the *Record and* the *Sun* expressed their support for the Yes campaign implicitly or explicitly; whereas merely the Dundee Press supported the No campaign, showing loyalty to the Unionist side. For further details see Harvie, Christopher. *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707 to the Present*. Routledge, 2004, p. 173

that the devolution would weaken the UK while Scotland Forward asserted the contrary and demand autonomy.

Devolution was realized following the 1997 public referendum, moving the nation one step closer to home rule. 74.3 per cent of the electorates voted in favour of devolution and 64 per cent voted "Yes" to the Parliament's getting tax-varying powers. Eventually, in 1998 the Scottish Parliament was re-established with the Scotland Act passed by Westminster. The act explicitly declares "reserved matters" for which the UK Parliament is hold responsible, but it does not list devolved subjects. Therefore, according to the act, the Scottish Parliament is provided with the power of taking decision about certain matters that are not within the scope of the UK Parliament's responsibility. The devolved areas included health, education, agriculture, local government, law and home affairs, social work, etc., (Deacon, Sandry 67) which developed with the Scotland Bills in 2012 and 2016. The following tables[90] display the list of the reserved and devolved matters with amendments adopted till 2015[91]:

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[90]For further details see, McGarvey, Neil. "The 2014 Scottish independence referendum and its aftermath". *Social Alternatives*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2015, pp. 34-40.

[91] In 2016, further devolved powers (mainly about welfare and taxation areas) were added under "the Scotland Bill 2015-16". According to "Citizens' Guide to Scottish Devolution", published by the Devolution (Further Powers) Committee on March 17, 2016, the topics that new powers added with the Scotland Bill 2015-16 are: "air passenger duty and aggregates levy, vat revenues, income tax, consumer advocacy and advice, crown estate, Scottish parliament elections and the local government franchise, equality requirements, onshore oil and gas licensing, additional health power (abortion), employment programmes, gaming machine licensing powers, energy efficiency and fuel poverty schemes, transport, reserved tribunals, welfare" (p.6). Further information is available in the *Citizens' Guide to Scottish Devolution*, produced by the Devolution (Further Powers) Committee of the Scottish Parliament. www.parliament.scot/images/Parliament%20Publications/Your_Guide_Mar_2016.pdf. Accessed 26 Nov 2017.

Policy Areas Reserved by the UK Parliament	Policy Areas Devolved to the Scottish Parliament
International relations	Health
Defence, national security	Education and training
Fiscal and monetary policy	Economic development
Immigration and nationality	Local government
Drugs and firearms	Law and home affairs
Regulation of elections	Police and prisons
Employment	Fire and ambulance services
Company law	Social work
Consumer protection	Housing and planning
Social security	Transport
Regulation of professions	Environment
The civil service	Agriculture
Energy, nuclear safety	Fisheries
Air transport, road safety	Forestry
Gambling	Sport
Equality	The arts
Human reproductive rights	Devolved research, Statistics
Broadcasting, copyright	

Even if the power of the Scottish Parliament was restricted within a few areas initially with the 1998 Scotland Act, the newly-devolved Parliament was an opportunity for Scotland to manifest itself to the world as a distinct nation rather than a small state within the UK. Constitutional change reinstated national pride by restoring "the symbol of national sovereignty as Scots not Briton" (Pittock and Alex 106). As a result, Scottish identity which has always retained its existence against the British identity gained strength.

In a similar vein, the foundation of a Scottish Assembly and the formation of the first SNP Scottish Government were regarded as further steps in augmenting the emphasis on national identity. However, for some Scots and the SNP, the newly established Scottish Parliament did not have enough power to save the Scottish interest within the UK and to create a better future for Scotland. They were not satisfied with the limited power of the

Parliament, demanded more rights for the Scottish government and independence became the main topic of the conversations again. In this case, there appear two options other than independence: 'devo-max' and 'devo-plus'. Devo-max, in other words 'maximum devolution', is "the proposition that the Scottish Parliament should raise the vast majority of the revenue it spends" (Macwhirter 290). Within this context, devo-max aimed to give more fiscal power to Scotland. In a similar vein, devolution plus "envisaged the Scottish Parliament raising 60 per cent of its revenue" (Macwhirter 290) and transfers income tax and corporation tax to Holyrood while national insurance and VAT remained under the hegemony of Westminster. In this respect, when compared to devo-max, devo-plus promised more limited fiscal power to the Scottish parliament. Even so, these two options were propounded as alternatives to the independence question on the ballot of the Scottish independence referendum, thus they were not expected to obviate the referendum. However, they were omitted and only the question "Should Scotland be an independent country" was asked to the electorates.

The idea of independence, which had long been the subject of debate and gathered momentum with the devolution, reached a moment of climax with the Independence Referendum[92] held on September 18, 2014. After a long struggle between the two major campaigns, namely "Yes Scotland" and "Better Together", the referendum concluded with the victory of the unionists or 'No' supporters (55.3 per cent of the votes)[93]. The results revealed that Scotland was not ready for a total break up with England as an independent state at that moment. Rejecting a constitutional independence for Scotland, however, does not signify the lack of national feelings likewise having a strong sense of national identity does not necessarily mean to support the idea of independence. In other words, people who believe that

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[92] The Scottish Independence Referendum will be discussed thoroughly in the final two chapters by scrutinizing on the contemporary plays in Chapter 4 "The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum and Scottish Drama".
[93] In the independence Referendum the 44.70 per cent of the Scottish electorates answered YES to the question "Should Scotland be an independent country?".

"Scottishness can be better realized within the Union are against independence" whereas others who consider it "is practically undermined in the Union" will support independence (Reicher, Hopkins and Harrison 33). Thus, there is not a direct reciprocal relationship between national identity and the idea of Scottish independence even though they seem to be on the same side of the coin. Within this context, unlike national identity, which has been still maintaining its existence under every circumstance even today, independence has been sacrificed for more than once for the good of the Scottish nation.

In the light of these, the results of the 2014 referendum cannot necessarily be interpreted as the loss Scottish national identity. On the contrary, it shows that independence does not serve the interests of Scotland for the time being. In this respect, after the independence referendum, especially after the Brexit, the implications mostly show that the referendum might be realized in the same manner as the devolution which was secured in the second referendum. Based on these implications, in 2016 the SNP consistently demanded to hold a second independence referendum before the Brexit negotiations end. However, the general elections held on June 8, 2017, which Theresa May called not only to strengthen the UK's position in the Brexit negotiations but also to destroy the SNP's hope of independence changed the situations both for Tories and for the SNP. With the loss of 21 of its 54 seats, including the seats of former SNP leader Alex Salmond and the SNP's Deputy leader Angus Robertson, the SNP lost great power. The results, without doubt, gave damage to independence cause and were interpreted as the death of 'indyref2' by many, notably by Conservative Scottish Party's leader Ruth Davidson. However, it is wrong to attribute the defeat of the SNP only to the independence since every vote against the SNP does not necessarily be a vote against Scottish independence. In this sense, the SNP has not given up its 'independence policy' but only delayed their plans for the time being.

The mismanagement of the Brexit Process, however, was an opportunity for the SNP to restore the deferred plans of indyref 2 immediately. This further augmented by the increasing number of pro-independence supporters who rallied in Edinburgh to take part in a pro-independence march on 6 October 2018. Moreover, the recent political developments including Therasa May's resignation on 7 June 2019, Boris Jonson's replacement of her as the new Prime Minister[94] of the UK on 25 July 2019, and suspension of the Parliament[95] from 10 September 2019 to 14 October 2019 were also other factors that strengthened hand of the pro-independence supporters. In particular, Johnson's being a 'no-deal Brexiteer' and insistence on not to grant Section 30 order, which would provide the SNP with the necessary power to hold a second Scottish independence referendum, strengthened independence cause. In this sense, the deadlocked Brexit process and political turmoil and confusion led by the new Prime Minister Boris Johnson, whom is mostly compared to Donald Trump due to his harsh political decisions and discourse, gave new impetus to the idea of Scottish independence and indyref 2. Apparently, with the future steps taken against the handicaps on the road of Scottish independence, the SNP will prove the term 'everendum' be justified and both the idea of independence and the debates on indyref 2 will not end.

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[94] In the UK's presidency contest, Boris Johnson has nine rivals including Sajid Javid, Rory Stewart, Michael Gove, Matt Hancock, Mark Harper, Andrea Leadsom, Esther McVey and Dominic Raab. In the last period of the contest, however, the number of the candidates of the presidency downed to two: Boris Johnson and Jeremy Hunt. Finally, Johnson gained the vast majority of the votes (66.4 per cent of the party members' votes), and was declared as the new leader of the Conservative Party as well as new Prime minister of the UK.

[95] The UK Parliament reopened on 25 September 2019 owing to Supreme Court's decision that the suspension of the parliament was "unlawful, void and of no effect". For further information on Supreme Court's decision see Bowcott Owen, et al. "Johnson's suspension of parliament unlawful, supreme court rules", *The Guardian*, 24 Sep. 2019, www.theguardian.com/law/2019/sep/24/boris-johnsons-suspension-of-parliament-unlawful-supreme-court-rules-prorogue. Accessed 25 Sep. 2019.

CHAPTER 2

THE 1979 DEVOLUTION REFERENDUM AND SCOTTISH DRAMA

2.1. On the Road to the 1979 Devolution Referendum: *John Mcgrath's The Cheviot, The Stag and The Black Black Oil* **(1973)**

> When the bold kindred, in the time long-vanishd,
> Conquer'd the soil and fortified the keep-
> No seer foretold the children would be banish'd,
> That a degenerate Lord might boast his sheep:
> *Fair these broad meads – these hoary woods are grand;*
> *But we are exiles from our fathers' land.*

> **Anonymous "Canadian Boat Song" (1829)[96]**

The Highland Clearances[97], the eviction of people from their lands in Scottish Highlands and Islands by force was a tragedy imprinted on the memories of the Scottish people. The lands of the Highland crofters were mostly cleared through brutal methods to make way for cheviot sheep and stag, which were more profitable in the 18th and 19th centuries. Many people died, either during the confiscation of their home or in the process of their compulsory overseas emigration to Canada, Australia and North America. For the Highlanders who managed to survive the clearances, the life awaiting them was one in which they were banished from the ancestral lands that carried their linguistic Gaelic heritage as well as their culture and traditions. Thus, the Highlanders were deprived of not only their

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[96] The poem was first published in Blackwood's Magazine in September 1829. It was a lament song for the Highlanders who were exiled from Hebrides to the Upper Canada. Since the poem was anonymously written, certain names have been proposed as the composer of the poem such as David Macbeth Noir, Sir Walter Scott, and William Dunlop. For further discussion on the authorship of the poem see Fraser, M. George. *The Lone Shieling, or, The Authorship of The "Canadian Boat Song", With Other Literary And Historical Sketches.* William Smith & Sons, The Bon Accord Press, 1908.

[97] According to Eric Richards, "Clearance" was used as a derogatory term to describe brutal evictions in the Highlands till 1840, but nowadays it has turned into an "omnibus term" to encapsulate all sort of displacement of inhabitants (even of sheep) by Highland landowners (7). For further information on the Highland Clearances see Richards, Eric. *Debating Highland Clearances.* Edinburgh UP, 2007.

homelands but also their national and cultural identity. Those who stayed in the Highlands experienced the same loss of identity with the gradual destruction of the Highland culture and language which was exacerbated by "the demise of kin and clan based social structure" (Cameron "Unfinished Business" 88). As a result, unity and solidarity among the Highlanders, which was also the part and parcel of their national and cultural identity, were annihilated. In this respect, in the background of the popular romantic Highlands image, there lies the bitter reality of the clearances.

The Clearance of the Highlands and Islands was a complicated process which encompassed a long period from 1760 to 1880, and was not simply the consequence of the landlords' desire to get more profit with the cheviot sheep and stag. There were various incentives behind these confiscations. Initially, the annihilation of the Gaelic culture and clan system which formed the basis of the Highland life started with the aim of preventing another possible Jacobite Rising. To this end, the clan chefs' lands were confiscated, and chefs were divested of any power to protect his clansmen. Moreover, the Highlanders were deprived of arms which rendered the lands vulnerable to so-called improvements[98], in other words 'the clearances', and lands were regarded as the "unit of resource rather than military power" (Devine 41). With industrialization in Britain, the feudal system gave its place to capitalism which encouraged individual ownership, resulting in a dramatic increase in rents. Many tenants were forced to leave their homes due to bad harvest and their inability to pay their rents. Thus, they left the lands to their landlords who wanted to make room for more profitable goods such as cattle[99], cheviot sheep and stag. In this respect, there were different facets of the Highland Clearances.

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[98] "Improvement" is a term generally used in the 18th and 19th centuries for the Agricultural Revolution that took place in Scotland and was regarded as the main motive behind the clearances in the Highlands and other parts of Scotland. See, Brown, Ian, and Innes, Sim. "The Use of Some Gaelic Songs and poetry in *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil.*" *International Journal of Scottish Theatre and Screen*, vol.5, no.2, 2012, p.37.

[99] Wide cattle ranches were transformed into cheviot sheep farms since cheviot sheep were able to endure harsh conditions whereas many cattle perished because of bad weather conditions in the Highlands.

At a basic level, the clearance process is examined under two phases, "the removal and resettlement of people from traditional communal township to newly laid out crafting communities with individual holding" until 1815, and "the breakup of failed crafting communities with direct encouragement of emigration" between 1846-1855 (Cameron 67). However, in "The Highland Clearances", T. M. Devine propounds a more detailed examination and expresses five phases: 'the clearances in the southern and Eastern Highlands (1780-1830)', the 'establishment of extensive cattle ranches', 'the creation of the croft system', 'the establishment of sheep farming', and 'potato famine and forced emigrations (1840-1860)'.[100] To these phases, Irish-Liverpudlian playwright John McGrath added a new one with his renowned play *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil;* the exploitation of Scottish Oil by capitalist powers and the transformation of the Highlands to a holiday theme park because of the newly-established oil rigs in the 1970s. By so doing, McGrath emphasizes that the process of the clearances still continues in contemporary Scotland.

In the beginning of the 1970s, the Scottish people once more witnessed the tragedy of the evictions with *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil[101]*. John McGrath animates the bitter memory of the Clearances by bringing the tragedy forward on the theatre scene that arouses a strong national sentiment through its plot and commitment to traditional Scottish culture and values. As mentioned earlier in the first chapter, experiences of suffering and defeat are more powerful in uniting a community than joy and success and induce sentiments of duty and responsibility in order to avoid similar traumatic experience in the future.[102] Within this framework, McGrath by unveiling the Highland Clearances, the period of great repression, exploitation, suffer, and agony, not only reinforces national identity by generating

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[100] Among these phases, however, it is the sheep Clearances during 1782-1855 that induced most displacement of the crofters.

[101] Lately, National Theatre of Scotland presented the play between the dates 12- 22 June, 2019 which evidently shows that the play still preserves its significance and popularity even today.

[102] In "What is a Nation?", Ernest Renan regards nation as a "large-scale of solidarity" that comes out of the sacrifices that has been done in the past or will be done in the future. In this respect, he asserts that "[...] indeed, suffering in common unifies more than joy does. Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort" (19).

a sense of solidarity and unity but also prompts the Scottish audience to struggle against the contemporary exploitation of the North Sea Oil by the multinationals. In this sense, by illuminating unknown historical facts about the Clearances the play raises public awareness about contemporary issues of the 1970s.

The 1970s was mainly marked by significant social, economic, and political developments that triggered national and cultural revival in Scotland. The use of the terms 'England' and 'Britain' interchangeably during the seventies underestimated the national identities and cultures of the Irish, Scots and Welsh. The degradation of Scotland as "North Britain" frustrated the Scots who regarded Scotland as the equal partner of England within the Union. Moreover, the standardization of English after the 1950s with the nascent London-based media[103] and the "restricted representation of Scottish experience mostly to stereotypical forms" in the TV programmes augmented this frustration (Stevenson "Drama, Languge" 75-76). Within this context, the disregard for 'distinctiveness" of the Scottish nation and growing hegemony of English culture and language over Scotland laid the ground for a 'Scottish' awakening.

On the other hand, industrial and economic crisis, which started after the Second World War and worsened in the 1970s, had serious repercussions on the British society. The collapse of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders[104] in 1971, the gradual collapse of industry which

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[103] Media was centralized in London in 1953 which coincided with the beginning of the new Elizabethan era. In "Drama, Language and Late Twentieth-Century", Randall Stevenson indicates that on 2 June of that year, 20.000 million people, who had never watched a full TV programme, saw the coverage of Queen Elizabeth's coronation (75). Subsequently, the sales of television sets reached peak at the time, and neither cinema nor theatre would compete against this new medium. For further information on the development of media see Stevenson, Randall. "Drama, Language and Late Twentieth-Century Literary Revival". *The Edinburgh Company to Scottish Drama*. edited by Ian Brown. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011. pp.75-76.

[104] In the 1960s the Scottish Shipyards, which were unable to compete with foreign shipyards equipped with the latest technology, went bankruptcy. As a result of this, the government founded Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) as an association of several shipyard companies in 1968. However, in 1971 most of these made loss and entered liquidation. This blossomed the idea of writing *The Cheviot*. In one of his interviews John McGrath tells the story of writing *The Cheviot*: "[...] The Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) yard had been occupied in 1971, and Richard Eyre who was working the Royale Lyceum suggested that I might write about Glasgow being cleared in the same way that Highlands had been cleared. I didn't write that, but it was the idea beginning of the idea that became The Cheviot" (151-52). See, Taxidou, Olga. "From Cheviots to Silver Darlings: John McGrath

resulted in miners' strike in 1972 and 1973 and increasing unemployment rate led to a general

discontent in Britain. These dramatic changes in the economic and social structure of Britain

led to "social fragmentation and loss of control"[105], especially in Scotland and Ireland where

the consequences of the economic crisis were more deeply felt (Kershaw 134). On the part of

Ireland, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was involved in bombing activities to express their

outrage at the unequal crisis management of British government, while in Scotland the

debates of devolution and independence came to the fore. The Scottish devolution debates

were further augmented by the discovery of the North Sea Oil in 1973. The newly-found Oil

fields in the east coast of Scotland was an opportunity for Scotland not only to achieve

economic recovery but also to gain a sort of political autonomy which the Scottish National

Party (SNP) graving ever since its establishment in 1934. As a result of these social, political

and economic instabilities, British identity and nationalism[106] left its place to intense reaction

and a national unity in Scotland. This would lead to the Scottish devolution referendum of

1979.

On the way to the devolution referendum, there was a revival in Scottish Drama that

reflected the political changes in Britain and embarked on an exploration of national identity

in the beginning of the 1970s.[107] In this state of social and political turmoil, it was essential to

foreground the uniqueness of Scottish history, language, culture, and identity, and theatre –as

interviewed by Olga Taxidou". *Scottish Theatre Since the Seventies*, edited by Randall Stevenson and Gavin Wallace. Edinburgh UP, 1996, pp.149-164.

[105] As a result of this dissolution in society various movements such as women and gay liberation movements, alternative theatre and community arts movements and campaigns like the Campaign for Real Ale (1971), which opposed to the homogenisation of the brewing industry in Britain, emerged. These liberation and opposition movements foregrounded local participatory democracy which developed new cultural approaches and types of community actions. See, Kershaw, Baz. *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

[106] As mentioned in "A Brief Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present (843-2017)" the loss of the British colonies between 1945 and 1967 was also another factor that played a significant part in the economic crisis in Britain, the subsequent loss of the British identity and the revival of Scottish culture and identity instead.

[107] It is worth noting that the gradual elimination of the Kirk's repression on the Scottish theatre, which completely ended in the middle of the 18th century, played a key role in the revival of the Scottish theatre in the 1970s. See, Stevenson, Randall. "Border Warranty: John McGrath and Scotland". *Freedom's Pioneer: John McGrath's Work in Theatre, Film and Television*, edited by David Bradby and Susanna Capon. University of Exeter Press, 2005. p.88.

a political platform- was essential in encompassing national symbols and motifs. Scottish drama of the seventies, thereby, was committed to demonstrating that Scotland had a unique national culture and was a distinct nation –particularly from England- within the United Kingdom. With the reassertion of the value of Scottish history, culture and language, the Scots, in Ian Brown and John Ramage words, "learned to speak again in their own voices, fundamental prologue to being able to vote again for their own values" (47-48). In this sense, the medium of theatre – in addition to political developments- laid the groundwork for the devolution referendum by showing the audience that "Scottishness was an asset, not liability" (qtd. in Stevenson "Drama, Language" 78).

John McGrath is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable figures of the Scottish drama of the seventies who celebrates Scottishness by cherishing Scottish cultures and traditions in his works. McGrath's crucial role in the revival of Scottish theatre has been emphasized by Michael Wade in the column published in *The Scotsman,* in which the playwright is referred to as "the architect of a Scots theatre revival" (24 January 2002)[108]. His ground-breaking plays not only heightened awareness of the Scottish audience about their trivialized, ignored history and suppressed language, but also brought contemporary social and political matters to the theatre scene. Thus, for McGrath theatre becomes a political medium to discuss the contemporary issues and develop a critical look. In "From Cheviots to Silver Darlings", an interview with Olga Taxidou, McGrath puts forward that the Scottish stage should serve to the devolution debates by making people realize that they should get rid of the submissive mood and aspire to self-determination:

Devolved sounds passive. It sounds as if it has been devolved, what theatre should do is to refuse the passive mode and make self-government into an active assertion of

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[108] Read more at "John McGrath, the architect of a Scots theatre revival, dies age 66". *The Scotsman*, 24 Jan. 2002,www.scotsman.com/news/john-mcgrath-the-architect-of-a-scots-theatre-revival-dies-age-66-1-594116. Accessed 28 Mar. 2018.

what it means to be alive in Scotland at this time. It should have a much more meaningful say in what's going on in Scotland. [...] (159)

As seen, for McGrath, who is a full-blooded activist, theatre should be politically active and prompt people to be active in the decisions made for their country and for themselves. In the light of these considerations, he established 7:84 theatre company in 1971 which was divided to '7:84 England' and '7:84 Scotland' in 1973.[109] 7:84 gave McGrath the opportunity to stage political plays with challenging subject matters, new forms and styles.

As a Marxist, socialist Theatre Company, 7:84 acquires its name from a statistic revealed by *The Economist* in 1966 that 7 per cent of the population have 84 per cent of the wealth of Great Britain. Building on this statistic, the company's main aim was to capture the attention of the working-class audience and raise their awareness concerning the inequalities, through both their company name and he issues that they tackled with a socialist perspective in their performances. To this end, 7:84 performed in venues where people from all strata, notably the working-class, used to go such as the community centres, pubs, clubs, music halls, etc. However, their socialist plays gained a nationalist dimension not only with their frequent use of Scottish vernacular language, historical events, customs and traditions but also with a specific emphasis on Scottish independence. In "The People's Story: 7:84 Scotland", Linda Mackenney asserts that "the company made a massive impact on Scottish consciousness, touching nerves hidden deep in the national psyche" (65). In this respect, with the plays, events and entertainments 7:84 Theatre Company performed, a new page was opened in the Scottish cultural and national life.

In the light of these considerations, *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil,* which was the first performance of 7:84 (Scotland), might be accepted as one of the first

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[109] As a touring theatre company 7:84 began touring the Highlands in April 1973 starting with Aberdeen, "the oil capital of Scotland", with *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* (Cameron "Unfinished Business" 85).

outstanding plays that forges national and cultural identity in the seventies. Touring the whole Highlands and Scotland as well as Ireland, the play achieved to evince Scotland's distinct culture and history both by shedding light on the Highlands Clearances and embellishing the tragic experience with ethnic identity markers such as cultural, traditional elements belonging to the Highlands and Gaelic language which are fundamental parameters of Scottish identity. Furthermore, the depiction of historical realities[110] within an agit-prop simplicity and directness heightens the audiences' awareness, whereas traditional techniques such as *ceilidh*, *music hall*, *reel, panto* and folk music played with a fiddle and accordion contributed to entertainment of the audience while reminding them their ethnic roots and cultural inheritance. Within this context, this chapter aims to provide an insight into how John McGrath achieved to promote a kind of Scottish identity in *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*, and provoke the audience to gain autonomy to be able to defend their rights against both representatives of the capitalism (including Scottish land owners) and England, their domineering partner in the Union.

The Cheviot was written in 1973 and first read at "What Kind of Scotland?" conference held on March 31, 1973 that brought different people from various professions to discuss the future of Scotland.[111] Preference of such a political gathering as the venue of the first performance manifests that the political massage the play aims to convey concerns whole of Scotland, though it focus more on the Highlands and appeals to the working class audience. At this point, it is also essential to note that Highlands is an integral part of Scottish identity as the place has an utmost importance in the nation's history with its heroic battles, the Jacobite Risings; tragic historical events as the massacre of Glencoe and the Highland

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[110] During the writing process of the play, McGrath obtained the necessary data from new researches carried out at the University of Edinburgh. See, Mackkeney, Linda. "The People's Story: 7:84 Scotland". *Scottish Theatre Since the Seventies*, edited by Randall Stevenson and Gavin Wallace. Edinburgh UP, 1996, p.65.

[111] In "The Year of the Cheviot", McGrath states that at the conference there were 450 people coming from all over Scotland including "politicians, union men, writers, social and community workers, academics, and ordinary people who cared about the future of Scotland" (v). For further information see McGrath, John. "The Year of the Cheviot". *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*. Bloomsbury, 1981.

Clearances; economic developments as the discovery of North Sea oil as well as its distinctive traditions, culture and language. In "The Landscape of Contemporary Scottish Drama: Place, Politics and Identity", Nadine Holdsworth emphasizes the decisive role the Highlands played in the construction of national identity stating that the Highlands is:

> a place associated with many of the battles and narratives of resistance embedded in the Scottish psyche in the face of the greater political and economic might of England following the 1707 Act of Union. For a nation intent on defining itself as other to its English counterpart, the Highlands serve as a useful marker of difference – geographically, culturally and linguistically. (127)

As observed, the images of the Highlands, its distinctive culture, traditions and Gaelic language have been regarded as the representative of the image of Scotland since the 18th century.[112] In this respect, the *Gàidhealtachd*, the Gaelic term for the Highlands and the islands, is "a region constituting the most profoundly mythologized component of "Scottish identity" (Śledzińska 120). As mentioned in "National Identity: Theoretical Framework", "myth" is a significant way of reconstructing national past and identity as it is adaptable to changing situations. In this sense, the Highlands myth is quite convenient for reconstructing national identity in the play as it turned the romantic Highland myth into the tragic history of the clearances and thus wipes away the romantic and idealized Highlands image by adapting it to the new developments in the North Sea.

John McGrath believes that the struggle against injustices and abuse of the Scottish nation can only be achieved with the help of the working-class. With *The Cheviot*, McGrath, as a prominent Socialist playwright, intends to satisfy the demands of the working-class by

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[112] See, Chapter 1.2. "A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

elaborating on the Highlands through a wide range of traditional techniques and styles. In this respect, vivid depiction of the history of the Highlands and Gaelic culture was quite instrumental in attracting the working-class audience to theatre since 'localism' together with 'directness', 'comedy', 'music', 'emotion', 'variety', 'effect', and 'immediacy' are the requirements of the working-class culture (McGrath *A Good Night Out* 58). However, the localism evolves into a call for a national rally when McGrath draws a parallelism between the exploitations of the Highlands in the 18th century and the North Sea Oil in the 20th century. He illuminates the injustice and exploitation that the Highlanders were exposed to with historical documents, statistics, records, and excerpts of correspondence and stresses the necessity of having an independent state to fight against the repetition of such exploitations in the ownership of the North Sea Oil. In this regard, *The Cheviot*, sparks national consciousness by creating a kind of nationalist sentiment although John McGrath frequently points out that he was against the SNP nationalism.

McGrath insistently expresses that he is a socialist rather than a nationalist. For instance, in the preface to the published version of the play entitled "The Year of Cheviot", he states that when 7:84 was received an invitation from the Chairman of Scottish National Party, Billy Wolfe, to perform the play at the annual conference of the party, their answer as that they "were not nationalists and would attack bourgeois nationalism" (xxvi).[113] Furthermore, in *The Cheviot* he enounces that "Nationalism is not enough. The enemy of the Scottish people is Scottish capital as much as the foreign exploiter" (66). However, the play is replete with nationalist discourse with its emphasis on the suppression of the national culture. Besides, even receiving such an invitation from a radical right party like the SNP implies the nationalist perspective of the play. In *Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention,* Baz Kershaw points out this paradoxical situation which he calls "ideological

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[113] McGrath indicates that they accepted the invitation after discussing it together because they wanted to stimulate discussion within the SNP. Nonetheless, they were severely criticized by their leftist comrades because of their decision despite their socialist intention.

ambivalence" and asserts that despite the overt rejection of nationalism, the play "may have been efficacious in reinforcing an ideology that it aimed to question" (161).[114] Moreover, it is worth noting that as the two dominant ideologies developed out of certain social and political changes mentioned above, 'socialism' and 'nationalism' were blended together at the time. In *The Cheviot*, thus, a socialist egalitarian perspective converges with a nationalist desire for self-determination to emphasize that the inequalities within the society and the exploitations of people are only overwhelmed by having an independent Scottish state. John McGrath, in this regard, was also a committed supporter of Scottish independence since he believes that the Scottish identity should assert itself with an independent parliament that will determine Scotland's future.

The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil explores three hundred years of capitalist exploitation, starting from the post 1746 period corresponding to the aftermath of the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden to the discovery of the North Sea Oil in 1973. As inferred from the title, the play is composed of three parts dealing with the three profitable commodities respectively the cheviot, the stag and the oil that make the Highlands vulnerable to capitalist investors. Within this frame, the first part is devoted to the depiction of how cruelly the lands were cleared to form new sheep farms which would meet the growing demand of the cheviot sheep in the beginning of the 1800s.[115] The second part takes place in the Victorian period and reveals landowners' strive to transform the living space of the Highland community into touristic forests where the upper class elites could go stag hunting. On the other hand, the final part shifts to the period the play was written and scrutinises the

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[114] Kershaw further indicates that *The Cheviot* might have taken a part in the success of the SNP in the 1974 election owing to the nationalist interpretation the play had fostered. See Kershaw, Baz. *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*. Routledge, 1992, p.161.

[115] After the Industrial Revolution and technological innovations, there was a dramatic increase in the need for wool in textile industry. The Cheviot sheep would produce fine wool and could survive in the harsh winters of the Highlands which made the Highlands the finest place to produce wool that would make much more money than old fashioned and inefficient agriculture.

control of capitalist oil companies' over the North Sea Oil and their exploitation of it regardless of the interests of the Scottish people.

The play conveys the tragic process of the clearances through *the ceilidh* tradition which is a popular form of entertainment in the Highlands. *Ceilidh*, was a narrative form used for secret gatherings with political purposes such as to conserve Gaelic traditions, to tell the stories of the Highlands oppression and history, to make plans for the future or prepare a rebellion (Hofman 59). Nevertheless, in the course of time it has evolved into interactive music-hall entertainments. Within this context, it can be defined as "an evening of songs, stories, joke-telling and dancing performed by non-professionals for their own entertainment, dealing with issues of interest and concern to the community which stages it" (Kershaw 155). In traditional *ceilidh* performances, thus, the audience have a chance to take an active part in the performance with dancing, singing or directly interacting with the actors in the company of music and alcohol. The celebratory atmosphere created with music, dances, comic and satirical characterizations, jokes and sketches may seem to be conflicting with the tragic past of the Highlands the play aims to uncover. Therefore, in "The Year of Cheviot", McGrath explains the reason why he preferred the *ceilidh* tradition to perform one of the most traumatic events in the Scottish history:

One thing I had insisted on was that we broke out of the 'lament syndrome'. Ever since Culloden, Gaelic culture has been one of lament- for exile for death, for the past, even for the future. Beautiful, haunting lament. And in telling the story of the Highlands since 1745, there are many defeats, much sadness to relate. But I resolved that in the play, for every defeat, we would also celebrate a victory, for each sadness, we would wipe it out with sheer energy and vitality of the people, for every oppression, a way to fight back. At the end, the audience left knowing they must

choose, and that now, of all times, they must have confidence in their ability to unite and win. (xxvii-xxviii)

By theatricalising the *ceilidh* tradition in *The Cheviot,* the play aims to demonstrate that the Highland history is not only composed of defeats, exiles and deaths but also victories that should be celebrated as well. The use of the traditional *ceilidh* as the basic form of the play, in this respect, encourages the Highland audiences, who have an opportunity to experience a joyful part of their suppressed culture, to unite and organize against the economic exploitation of their country. The feeling of togetherness and harmony that arises from the direct involvement of the audience in the performance is what McGrath wants to achieve in *The Cheviot* to show that 'union is strength'. The play, in the words of McGrath, is the alternative way of telling "why the tragedies of past happened: because the forces of capitalism were stronger than the organisation of the people" and he continues to explain:

> [...] the future is not pre-determined that there are alternatives, and it is the responsibility of everyone to fight and agitate for the alternative which is going to benefit the people of the Highlands, rather than the multi-national corporations, intent on profit. Passive acceptance now means losing control of the future. ("On the Situation" 77)

As McGrath emphasises that Scottish people should benefit from their resources and not multinationals, which can only be achieved through active resistance. To convey this political message in a 'direct' and 'clear' to a mostly illiterate working-class audience, McGrath utilizes the techniques of *agit-prop*[116] along with traditional ceilidh. The play entertains the

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[116] McGrath was heavily influenced by the Russian "Blue Blouse" movement, which was a popular project between 1923-1928 utilised the techniques of agit-prop within "the living newspaper format" as well as the

audience with the ceilidh but it also aims to inform them. *Agit-prop* serves to this purpose best with its alienating techniques, direct politic propaganda spread at everyday venues, agitating tone and improvised script acted by cartooned characters with photographic projections.

Agit-prop, abbreviation of the term "agitation propaganda", originated in the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Soviet Communist Party in Russia to spread information and party's ideology to the illiterate population after the Russian Revolution (Innes 73). It became a popular form in Europe and was employed by significant literary figures such as Erwin Piscator, Joan Littlewood and Bertold Brecht with didactic purposes. The form mainly aimed at releasing theatre from the monopoly of bourgeoisie. Unlike conventional middle-class theatre, which is embellished with the bourgeois values as well as theatrical abstractions and illusions, agit-props requires 'directness', 'clarity' and 'immediacy' with a presentational simplicity to reach the proletariat. Within this context, John McGrath builds *The Cheviot* on Brechtian[117] techniques of *Verfremdungseffekt* such as storytelling, narrative songs, dance, documentary records and interviews etc. to compose a socialist agit-prop and puts distance between the stage and the audience with didactic concerns. This, on one hand, detracts the audience from the realistic theatrical illusions, on the other hand, brings the audience closer to the performers as well as each other which creates the expected unity and solidarity among the audiences.

The play, to this end, is performed on a stage that is devoid of any furniture or decor. There is merely a huge pop-up book like a children's pop-up book in the middle of the stage which is made of strengthened cardboards and used to change the setting. However, the pop-

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techniques borrowed from the circus, the cabaret and review. As seen in *The Cheviot*, contemporary issues are discussed with music, song and dance in the Blue Blouse performances, but instead of fiddle they used accordion and piano and performed in amateur theatre clubs rather than town halls. For further information see Taxidou, Olga. "The Theatre of John McGrath: between Theatre and Theory, between the Local and the International". *International Journal of Scottish Theatre and Screen,* vol. 6 No. 2, 2013, pp.10-21.

[117] Despite employing the Brechtian techniques, John McGrath points out that he was much more excited by Erwin Piscator than by Bertolt Brecht since Piscator broke down the conventions of theatre whereas Brecht was trying to build new conventions of his own. For further discussion on McGrath's approach to Brecht's theories see, "From Cheviots to Silver Darlings: John McGrath interviewed by Olga Taxidou". *Scottish Theatre Since the Seventies,* edited by Randall Stevenson and Gavin Wallace. Edinburgh UP, 1996, p.150-51.

up book paves the way for projecting various historical events and settings as well as enabling to convey play's messages in a simple and direct way within an episodic structure. Besides, it provides necessary background for 'storytelling', a popular oral tradition in the Highlands. As mentioned in the previous chapter, storytelling is a significant narrative form connecting the past with the present and future. In the play, thus, it depicts the Highland Clearances of the 18th century as a warning for the similar contemporary and future threats.

Before telling the tragic story of the Sutherland evictions, a Fiddler playing Scottish and Irish fiddle comes to the stage to cheer up the audience by playing a reel which is a significant part of the music hall tradition. Music hall tradition was quite popular in the Highlands especially among the working-class. Thus, it can be regarded as "repository" of a wide range of cultural and dramatic forms from ceilidh to panto which serve to the taste of the proletariat (Folorunso 182). In a similar vein, reel and fiddle are other ethnic identity markers that of cultural and national significance. Reel is a marker of national identity as a popular Scottish and Irish folk dance whereas; fiddle became a national instrument replacing the bagpipe in public celebrations after England prohibited bagpipe in Act of 1746[118]. Since "the Scottish national identity is a matter of culture rather than politics" (McCrone 682) cultural markers such as 'fiddle', 'reel' and 'music hall' are employed to revive interest in Scottish identity in the play. After this short introduction, the story of the Highland Clearances begins and the joyful atmosphere gives its place to a sort of national sentimentalism with the first two songs of the performance: "These are my mountains" and "Mo run gael og" ("My Fair Young Love", also known as "The Lament for William Chisholm").

In "These are my mountains", a Highlander, who has arrived to the Highlands after travelling around the world, describes his joy and excitement of returning to his homeland.

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[118] None of the acts prohibited Scottish "bagpipe" directly. Yet, since bagpipe was a part and parcel of the Highland culture, certain critics agreed upon that bagpipe was unofficially banned with these acts intended to destroy the Highland culture. See Chapter 1.2. "A Historical Survey of National Identity and Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

His intense emotions convey that the Highlands belong only to the Highlanders transforming music into a "political statement" (Brown "Celtic Centres" 98). This massage is deliberately expressed through an English song delivered to render it clear for those who did not know Gaelic. These are my mountains" is the only English song sung by the Highlanders in the play, which is adapted and changed by Queen Victoria in the second part, and by Texas Jim in the final part. Beginning the play with this particular song is quite ironic, since later it is disclosed that the mountains do not belong to the Scottish people but to cheviot sheep, Queen Victoria and American oil investor Texas Jim.

The sentimentalism is further augmented by a Gaelic singer singing a Gaelic Jacobite song written by a woman who lost her husband at Culloden in 1746. With the growing influence of nationalism in the 1960s, McGrath uses Gaelic draw the audience's attention to the suppressed Gaelic language and the richness of Gaelic language and culture. In this regard, the prevalent use of Gaelic in the play can be regarded as a political act both as a direct assertion of Scotland's distinctiveness and as a way to transmit Scottish identity.[119] Moreover, the use of Gaelic (without English translations in most parts) is also a cultural act, because language, is "a cultural identifier" that can be inclusive or exclusive when negotiating the identity (Dougles 15). To put it simply, sharing the same language creates a sort of collectiveness while differentiating others. In this sense, the Gaelic elegy about the Jacobite Risings, "Mo run gael og", reinforces ethnic identity among the Scottish audience through the use of their native language and reminding them the agony of their loss.

The song takes the audience back further to beginning of the Clearance tragedy, which M.C. (Master of Ceremonies) explains: "It begins, I suppose, with 1746- Culloden and all

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[119] In "Referendum to Referendum and beyond: Political Vitality and Scottish Theatre", Ian Brown and John Ramage point out that Scots language is used with both political and fiscal purposes since a new play in Scots usually reaches a 10 per cent higher box office attendance than a play in English (55). A similar assertion can be found in David Hutchison's article "Glasgow and its Citizen", which stresses that the upsurge of the indigenous playwriting and a devotion to rewriting the Scottish history in the 1970s derived from either a "genuine commitment" or "more opportunistic reason". See Hutchison, David. "Glasgow and its Citizen" *Scottish Theatre Since the Seventies*, edited by Randall Stevenson and Gavin Wallace. Edinburgh UP, 1996, pp.57-65.

that. The Highlands were in a bit of mass. Speaking- or singing- the Gaelic language was forbidden. (*Singing stops*) Wearing the plaid was forbidden. (*SINGER takes of her plaid, sits.*)" (*The Cheviot* 2). McGrath, thereby, reveals that the events underpinning the Clearances date back the end of the Risings, during which the Highlanders were subjected to passivization and cultural repression. Ethnic and cultural markers of Scottish identity such as Gaelic language and plaid were prohibited, which was aimed to destruct the integration, unity and solidarity within the Highland community. Consequently, the lands were left vulnerable to the exploitations of the capitalist powers by disrupting national and cultural identity of the Highlanders.

After giving the backstage of the Clearances the page of the pop-up book turns and the scene shifts to Strathnaver[120] in 1813, the region where the most brutal clearances took place. Two Strahnaver girls sing another Gaelic song while a Young Highlander comes to the stage as the narrator of the story, and directly addresses the audience about the first clearance:

 [...] it was no easy time to be alive in. Sir John Sinclair of Caithness had invented the Great Sheep; that is to say, he had introduced the Cheviot to the North. Already in Assynt the Sutherland family had cleared the people off their land- and people were not too pleased about it" (*The Cheviot* 3)

The statement expressed by the Young Highlander evidently shows that the play will deal with the story of the clearances from the Scottish point of view which begins with the introduction of the cheviot sheep in Sutherland. He is depicted as a stereotype like similar to the Strahnaver girls, a Victorian Gentleman, and Sturdy Highlander etc. It is essential to keep in mind that stereotypes are frequently used to forge a national identity since they represent

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[120] Strathnaver or Strath Naver, is a river valley that extends over northwest Sutherland.

the national characters and tendencies.[121] In this respect, characters like a Young Highlander or Sturdy Highlander reflect the true spirit of Highlands and foster national identity by creating a sort of familiarity.

Scottish national identity is further fostered by the vivid depiction of the agony the Highlanders suffered in the Sutherland clearance known as the most notorious and brutal of all clearances. In the clearance process, two Scottish figures Patrick Sellar and James Loch played a leading role in the clearances in Sutherland as the factor and under-factor to Sutherland family with their cruel treatments, the savage methods they employed to dispossess the tenants. As the functionaries of the capitalists, they are only a part of a wide range of stereotypes from other dominant groups in the Highland history such as the Victorian aristocrats (Lady Phopshare and Lord Crask), English royalty (Queen Victoria), American novelist (Harriet Stow Beecher). However, these renowned historical figures are mostly portrayed as caricatures of their historical counterparts (Kershaw 160). They are satirized by the exaggeration of their actual speeches in history. To emphasize their hypocrisy and lighten atmosphere the song "High Industry" sang together by Loch and Sellar. This clearly portrays how they are satirized, parodied and caricatured:

Your barbarous customs, though they may be old

To civilised people hold horrors untold-

What value a culture that cannot be sold?

The price of a culture is counted in gold.

[...]

I've money to double the rent that you pay

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[121] In *Banal Nationalism*, Michael Billig indicates that stereotypes are quite influential in contributing to our claim of unique identity by distinguishing "them" from "us" (81). For further discussion on stereotypes see Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. Sage Publication, 1995.

The factor is willing to give me my way

So off you go quietly- like sheep as they say-

I'll arrange for the boasts to collect you today.

(*The Cheviot* 8)

The song performed after Loch and Sellar calculate their profit from the cheviot sheep in Sutherland creates a comical effect by its portrayal of culture as a commodity to sell. The comical effect is heightened even further by resembling the Highlander to sheep to infer their submissiveness. Thus, capitalism and so-called 'high' industry is criticized as a system that creates greedy individuals without values or morals. On the other hand, through the juxtaposition of the so-called "barbarous" Highlanders with the "civilised" Lowlanders, the song also reveals the attitudes of the English and Scottish ruling class, who seek justification for the Clearances of the Highlands. To this end, Loch and Sellar refer to themselves as "businessmen", who would bring civilization, comfort, industry and wealth to the estate", and to the evictions "improvements" (*The Cheviot* 10).

The evictions in Sutherland carried out by the police force with eviction orders at the door of the inhabitants, were met with local resistance. It is essential to note that the resistance was led by women since the Highlands men were fighting for the British Empire in the Napoleonic War at the time of clearances. Their resistance was suppressed with the excessive use of violence by the police. When 'Readers' from the Company read certain historical records about the resistance, the play acquires a documentary realism. The extracts give information about resistances from different parts of the Highlands namely Sollas, North Uist, Greenyards, Easter Ross, and how women were kicked, wounded and even dies. However, the resistances in Knockan, Elphin and Coigeach were successful in 1882 since they were more organized and united. These bits of information unmentioned in the books shows that along

all the agony there were also success stories and victories to celebrate. In so doing, the play suggests that the Highlanders could once again achieve such success on the condition that they organized well.

The ferocity of the evictions is further reinforced with the depiction of the well-known case of William Chisholm's mother. That is to say, Patrick Sellar gave the order to burn the houses of the tenants to banish people from their dwellings. He burnt William Chisholm's house knowing that his 94 year-old-mother in law was still at homer saying "Damn her the old witch, she's lived long enough"[122] (*The Cheviot* 16). The death of women four days later exacerbated hatred for Patrick Sellar and made him the symbol of 'mercilessness' and 'brutalism' of the clearances as well as savage capitalism. Furthermore, this case was only 'one' of many various accounts from the clearances in the North as the Reader points out. For example, Reader states that "nearly 2000 inhabitants perished in Donald Sage, Kildonan, Sutherland", "in the year 1843 the whole inhabitants of Glencalvia were evicted, and so unprovided and unprepared [...] that they had to shelter themselves in church and a burying ground", "The Island of Rhum was cleared of its inhabitants, some 400 souls, to make way for one sheep farmer and 8000 sheep" and "In 1811 Rogart in Sutherland had a population of 2,148. By 1911 it was 892" (*The Cheviot* 17-*18)* and so on. The excerpts are direct manifestations of the oppression the inhabitants faced and the increasing depopulation of the Highlands. The audience are once more informed with agit-prop directness and clarity about the harsh realities of the evictions that were considered as 'improvements' by the capitalist investors and their factors.

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[122] In *The History of the Highland Clearances*, a significant account of the Highland Clearances composed of voices of figures including Harriet Beecher Stowe, James Loch and Hugh Miller, Alexander Mackenzie draws a vivid picture of the case through the narrative of Donald Macbeath who was the eyewitness to the cruel incident. These words Sellar uttered in the play was originally the reply he gave to Donald Macbeath when he wanted him to wait before burning the house of Chisholms since there was a poor old woman within the house in a condition unfit for removal (26). For further details see, Mackenzie, Alexander. *The History of the Highland Clearances.* P. J. O'Callaghan, 1914.

The elaboration on the role Sellar played in the Sutherland clearances with James Loch illustrates that the Scottish capital were responsible for the brutal evictions as much as multinationals. Thus, to evaluate the events from a nationalist standpoint means ignoring the other side of the coin. So, the first part of the play ends with the trial of Patrick Sellar charged with the murder of people including Chisholm's mother as well as various crimes including arson, and yet he is acquitted. Satirical and comical tone McGrath employed in the court scene is an overt criticism on the verdict of the jury. The part ends with a covert message that unless people resist, nothing, including the law, can stop capitalists like Sellar and their atrocities.

The second part, however, acquires a more nationalist perspective as it is mainly devoted to showing the exploitation of the Highlands by Queen Victoria and the English upper class. However, it starts with the historical character Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which she wrote to resist the oppression of people, and yet in the play she delivers a speech defending the Clearances led by Duchess of Sutherland under the pretence of 'improvements'. Subsequently, another famous historical figure, Lord Selkirk (Thomas Dougles, 5th Earl of Selkirk) appears on the stage among "Indians" within an Indian setting. Lord Selkirk attempted to establish new colonies in the Red River region of Canada with the dislocated Highlanders. There was a conflict between two fur trading companies in the region, the Hudson's Bey Company of Canada with the help of which Lord Selkirk was trying to build a colony made up of Scottish Highlanders and the Northwest Company through which Frenchmen benefitted from the natives for their trade. Revealing this fact, McGrath draws a parallel between the exploitation of the Highlanders and natives within this war of trade: "defeated, hunted, treated like the scum of the earth, their culture polluted and torn out with slow deliberation and their land no longer their own (*The Cheviot* 29). This "discursive identification" further includes other 'wronged' people such as Aborigines in

Australia and natives in Africa who lost their ancestral right to their lands and were exposed to cultural oppression and ethnic cleansing (Śledzińska 125). This chain-reaction the clearances in Highlands caused around the world is underlined.

The setting shifts to Glendale, in 1882, another district in Isle of Skye where the local people experienced similar treatments at the hands of the landlords. In this part, Macleod, who aroused hatred among the Highlanders due to his cruelty during the evictions and dislocations, serves as a substitute for Sellar in the Victorian Age. Nevertheless, the local people come together to put an end to this oppression. Although they win a victory after a long struggle, Queen Victoria appears to deliver the last word "These Are Our Mountains":

> These are our mountains
>
> And this is our glen
>
> The Braes of your childhood
>
> Are English again [...] (*The Cheviot* 37)

The song which is the subverted version of "These Are My Mountains" sung by the Highlander at the very beginning of the play clearly shows the English hegemony over the Scottish Highlands.

The English elites in the play are represented by Lord Crask and Lady Phosphate, for whom the Highlands which they ignorantly call "north of North Britain" (*The Cheviot* 40) is merely an attractive and exotic holiday destination. Although they are ignorant of Scottish culture and language, they fancy the romantic Highland image with its tartans, kilts and plaids believing that they would make them "more Scottish than the Scotch" (*The Cheviot* 43). They arrive at the Highlands with large armoury to hunt stag and cleared the straths, paths and glens to make way for more hunting areas for the elites:

LADY PHOSPHATE: You had better learn your place,

You're a low and servile race-

We've cleared the straths

[...]

LORD CRASK: We've got the class

LADY PHOSPHATE: We've got the law

BOTH: We need no more-

We'll show you we're the ruling class. (*The Cheviot* 43)

Being the epitome of the rich English ruling class, they regard themselves superior to the Highlanders. Ending the song with a threat, they prove that they are as cruel as Sellar and Loch. Their capitalist discourse is echoed by two greedy characters Andy McChuckemup, "a Glasgow Property-operator's man" and Lord Vat of Glenlivet, a young estate owner who bargains over the lands, the mountains in order to turn them into a safari park. Lord Vat of Glenlivet is a symbolic fictional character who claims to "represent the true spirit of the Highlands" (*The Cheviot* 50). But, he sells his ancestral inheritance irrespective of the natural life and the tenants.

With the dramatic loss of land and increasing number of the English upper-class landowners in the Highlands, tenants are also exposed to cultural annihilation. Since the new ruling class has also "got the law", they imposed their culture and language on the Gaelic speaking local people with certain proscriptions. The gradual eradication of Gaelic language in the Highlands can be inferred from the apparent decrease in the use of Gaelic through the end of the play. However, MCs supply necessary information about the annihilation of Gaelic culture and language by enumerating the historical facts:

MC 1: (Master of Ceremonies) In the eighteenth century speaking the Gaelic language was forbidden by law

MC 2: In the nineteenth century children caught speaking Gaelic in the playground were flogged.

MC 1: In the twentieth century the children were taught to deride their own language

Because English is the language of the ruling class

Because English is the language of the people who own the highlands and control the highlands and invest in the highlands. (*The Cheviot* 52)

In this respect, the Scottish culture and identity have been systematically annihilated through economic power, because if the unity and sense of belonging were extinguished, then no one would resist such exploitations. These examples, thereby, allude to the debates about the ownership of North Sea Oil by implying that the Scots firstly should have economic power in order to save their lands, culture, language and identity. In other words, they should own the Scottish oil not only to reinvigorate their economy but also to protect their cultural values and national identity diminished by the capitalist exploiters.

In the final part, the significance of owning Scottish Oil is more clearly demonstrated by drawing parallelism with the current exploitation in the 1970s by multinational oil companies. It starts with Texas Jim –representing multinational oil companies– singing the song "These Are My Mountain" which evidently shows that the mountains are appropriated by the American Oil investor now. It is worth noting that his singing in company with Scottish fiddle and American hoe-down dance unveils his Scottish-American origin. McGrath deliberately shows his mixed ties to underline that the exploiters were not only multinationals but also the Scots themselves. On the other hand, the lines "Screw your landscape, screw your

bays / I'll screw you in a hundred ways-" (*The Cheviot* 59) of the song are obvious manifestations of the exploitation of the region by oil industry.

The corruption of the nascent oil industry in the Highlands is further revealed with a song Texas Jim sings with Whitehall, a civil servant, on the tune of Bonnie Dundee echoing Patrick and Sellar's "High Industry" in the first part of the play. Bonnie Dundee is an old folk the tune to which Sir Walter Scott wrote lyrics in 1825 for the defence of the royalist cause in the Jacobean Risings. The song celebrates John Graham of Claverhouse[123]who led the first Jacobite Rising. He was killed in spite of his victory (Brown and Innes "Parody" 210). Within this context, the 'loyalty' the tune evokes conflicts with the words of the song displaying the greed and disloyalty of Texas Jim and Whitehall to the Highlanders. This joyful and satirical atmosphere created through the song is cleared when the play re-adopts a documentary realism. MCs step on the stage and speak directly to the audience about the oil companies' taking control of the region. This is a clear warning to the Highlanders that "unless the population was very careful, the slogan 'It's Scotland's Oil' might as well be rewritten as 'It's the Oil Companies' Scotland'" (Stevenson 76).

Finally, another contemporary threat is taken up in the play: the transformation of the Highlands to a holiday theme park which evokes the 19th century capitalist investors' attempt to turn the mountains of Highlands into a safari park. That is to say, the region attracts a growing number of tourists with a spectacular view of the huge oil rigs. The lands, this time, is being cleared for this reason. To this end, the inhabitants have been either disseised or obliged to leave their places due to the economic difficulties. The position of the tenants is

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[123] In the song, Scott imagined Dundee (Clavers) delivering these words against the members of a National Convention who would not prevent the overthrow of the rightful king James VII:
To the Lands of Convention 'Twas Clavers who spoke
'Ere the King's crown shall fall there are crwons to be broke;
So let each Cavalier who loves honour and me,
Come follow the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.
For further details, see Brown, Ian, and Sim Innes. "Parody, Satire and Intertextuality in the Songs of *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil*". *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, vol.35, no.3, 2015, p.210.

conveyed through a Gaelic song prompting the audience to contemplate the horror of the clearances. At this point, M.C once more shows the audience that although the cast changes the scenario is still the same. Thus, the capitalist system has exploited and continues to exploit people in various ways:

> In those days the capital belonged to southern industrialists.
>
> Now it belongs to multi-nationals corporations with even less feeling for the people than Petrick Sellar.
>
> [...]
>
> The same people suffer.
>
> Then it was the Great Sheep.
>
> Now it is the black black oil.
>
> [...]
>
> Have we learnt anything from the Clearances?
>
> When the Cheviot came, only the landlords benefited.
>
> When the Stag came, only the upper-class sportsmen benefited.
>
> Now the Black Black Oil is coming. And must come. It could benefit everybody. But if it is developed in the capitalist way, only the multi-national corporations and local speculators will benefit. (*The Cheviot* 72-73)

As observed, in the final part the fragmented episodes are brought together to make a meaningful whole for the working-class audience. For this purpose, both the whole process of the Highland Clearances is explained within a few words and its relevance to the contemporary Scotland is revealed. The audience, in this way, are induced to militate against the repetition of such exploitations in the future.

The play ends with a Gaelic Song written by Mary MacPherson who experienced the trauma of clearances when her family were evicted from the Isle of Sky. However, the translation of the song is given by the M.C, the first part of which points out the riches of the lands:

M.C: The Song says:

Remember that you are a people and fight for your rights-

There are riches under the hills where you grew up.

There is iron and coal there grey lead and gold there-

There is richness in the land under your feet. (*The Cheviot* 73)

The song starts with the verb "remember" alluding to the didactic aim of the play that is to lead them to derive lesson from the traumatic Highland Clearances experience. The first part echoes "These are my mountains", the opening song of the play, with its specific emphasis on the sense of possession. In this respect, underlining the fertility and natural riches of the lands where the Highlanders were born and grew up, the first part of the song encourages people to protect their lands. On the other hand, the second part promises success in future struggle:

Remember your hardship and keep up your struggle

The wheel will turn for you

By the strength of your hands and hardness of your fists.

Your cattle will be on the plains

Everyone in the land will have a place

And the exploiter[124] will be driven out. (*The Cheviot* 74)

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[124] In "The Use of Some Gaelic Songs and Poetry in *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*", Ian Brown and Sim Innes put forward that although the Gaelic word "na' Sas'naich" was a reference to the English *Màiri*

As observed, the song illustrates that the land can be cleared from the exploiters and the Highlanders return to their homelands to live freely only if they fight for it. It is worth noting that contrary to the beginning, the play ends with the Gaelic version of the second part of the song.

To conclude, with its use of ethnic identity markers such as vernacular language, the *ceilidh* tradition, folk music, dances and songs *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* is the very embodiment of national awakening in the 1970s. Without a doubt, the discovery of North Sea Oil in the beginning of the seventies augmented Scottish confidence and identity. Within this context, elaborating on the exploitation of the Scottish Oil by drawing parallelism with the historical exploitation of the Highlands through ethnic markers in the play paves the way for re-constructing a sort of Scottish national identity as well as the idea of independence. The play, thus, had a tremendous impact on the Scottish audience with its demonstration of the exploitation of soldiers, natural life, and oil of the Highlands through a documentary realism, agit-prop directness and the ceilidh tradition. It was also quite instrumental in fostering the idea of autonomy with its overt agitation for creating a Scottish Parliament to get rid of these exploitations. Thus, it contributed to the ongoing devolution debates which culminated in the 1979 Devolution Referendum. The referendum was a great failure in terms of Scottish democracy.[125] The impotency of the Scottish people against English hegemony generated a kind of frustration. The anger caused by the failure of the 1979 Devolution Referendum turned into an intense reaction in the Scottish literary world. A cultural revival prevailed over the Scottish stage and "Scottish self-governance, refused politically, expressed

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Mhòr (Mary MacPherson) blamed for the Clearances, McGrath censored the word in the song's English Translation. He translated it as 'the exploiter' rather than 'English' because the exploiters were not only the English but also the Lowlander landowners and capitalists. Moreover, this kind of translation also paves the way for a more universal ending for the play (49).

[125] For further details on the 1979 Devolution Referendum see Chapter 1.2. "A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

itself culturally instead" (Stevenson "Drama, Language" 82). Scottish drama entered a quite prolific period with significant plays that reconstruct Scottish history and identity through alternative narratives, one of which is Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*. Within this scope, the following chapter will explore how Scottish identity was re-imagined and reconstructed after the failure of the 1979 devolution in Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*.

2.2. The Aftermath of the 1979 Devolution Referendum: *Liz Lochhead's Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped off* **(1987)**

> "En ma fin git mon commencement..."
>
> "In my end is my beginning…"
>
> -**Mary Queen of Scots**

These are the words embroidered on the clothes of Mary Stuart, the legendary last queen of independent Scotland on her execution on the 8th of February 1587. Her motto signifying an eternal presence after her death also lays bare her mythical existence and popularity in the contemporary world. Subsequently, she has managed to preserve her legendary status by being a subject to many films, TV series, and plays for over 400 years. Her tragic private and politic life as the queen of Scotland has been adapted to the screen through various films including *Mary, Queen of Scots* (the UK, 1971), *Mary Queen of Scots* (France, 2013) and *Mary Queen of Scots* (USA/UK, 2018); whereas, *Reign* (2013-2017) is one of the most celebrated TV series that depicts political and court intrigues Mary Queen of Scots faced throughout her life. As for the stage, German playwright Friedrich Schiller's tragedy called *Mary Stuart* (1800) and American Maxwell Anderson's *Mary of Scotland* (1933), a three-act play are two renowned plays among many others that portrayed Mary Queen of Scots and have been still performed today. On the other hand, it was Scottish poet and playwright Liz Lochhead who exhibits a Scottish standpoint using post-modern techniques in her portrayal the life of Mary, Queen of Scots and her era on stage.

In her renowned play *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (1987), which premiered in the four hundredth anniversary of Queen Mary's execution, Lochhead sheds light on the tragic life of Mary Queen of Scots from her arrival to Scotland to her execution.

The play mainly dwells upon the historical rivalry between female monarchs bringing Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor, the queen of England and cousin of Mary, together on the stage, which historically never takes place. Thus, it illuminates Anglo-Scottish relations in the 16ᵗʰ century as well as the Scottish Reformation led by John Knox. In this sense, the play is replete with renowned historical figures such as Henry Stuart (Mary's second husband, Elizabeth I's cousin), James Hepburn (Mary's last husband), David Riccio (Mary's Italian secretary) etc. apart from Mary Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth I, John Knox. For Lochhead, the depiction of history paves the way for revealing the nation's deep-rooted past and showing the independent state of Scotland in the earlier part of history. However, she twists the historical facts to demonstrate that *Mary Queen of Scots* is not a history play but is an alternative version of the historical story portrayed through a Scottish perspective.

For Scots, Mary Stuart is a symbolic figure, 'the mother of a nation' as she gave birth to the future king of Scotland James VI. Moreover, her national significance and mythical existence were reinforced with her title "Mary Queen of Scots" which highlighted her attachment to the Scottish 'nation' rather than the country. In *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation*, Jayne Lewis asserts that the title "Mary Queen of Scots" is a "tribal designation" as Mary is identified not with a place but people thus "acknowledge[s] her potential presence everywhere" (4). In this respect, she did not belong to any place specifically since she ruled both France and Scotland for a quite short period[126] and was mostly embraced by Catholic Italy and Spain due to her religious profession. Accordingly, the title of Mary Queen of 'Scots' may also be related to the long years she spent abroad as the Queen of Scotland. She was sent to France at the age of five, spent thirteen years there, used to speak French and signed her name as "Marrie" although she was crowned when she was an infant. Therefore, although she was the queen of Scotland, Scotland was ruled mostly by regents which, in a

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[126] Mary ascended the French throne with her husband Francis II in 1559 and ruled the country until his death in 1560. Although Mary reigned over Scotland for twenty-five years, she started to rule the country 'personally' from 1561 -the time she returned to Scotland- up to 1567.

way, makes Mary the queen of people, not a place. In this sense, she was mythicized to create a common insight that gathers every Scottish individual together. As David Miller asserted in *On Nationality*, national identity involves a considerable "element of myth[127]" to reassure that the national community has its roots in history and has continuity between generations (36). In the light of these, elaborating on a national mythical figure, a common ancestry in *Mary Queen of Scots*, Liz Lochhead not only arouses national consciousness but also ensures the national continuity for future generations. Within this frame, this chapter mainly scrutinises the way Liz Lochhead re-establishes Scottish national identity in *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off.*

Liz Lochhead mostly dwells upon politics of national identity in her works. As an acknowledged nationalist and the supporter of "Yes Scotland" campaign in the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, Lochhead has always been aware of Scotland's distinct identity as a nation. However, certain political events motivated Lochhead to elaborate on Scottish national identity. In her interview with Carla Rodriguez Gonzalez, Lochhead states that something changed about national identity after the 1979 Scottish Devolution referendum which resulted in the refusal of the devolution, although the majority of people had voted 'Yes' to a devolved parliament:

And I think I really got a fright at that point! I thought, "Oh my God, is this appalling!" And so there was gradually a cultural kind of impetus, a strengthening of identity, the kind of identity that you don't keep questioning if you accept that you've got one. If you are going to be questioning identity all the time, that is about wondering whether or not you've got a legitimate one, isn't it? But once a sort of

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[127] In *Myth and Meaning*, Levi-Strauss elaborates on the similarities between myth and history stating that both carry out the same function which is to ensure that future is shaped by past and present. In Levi-Strauss's words, "the future will remain faithful to the present and to the past" (18). Yet, history and myth are not the same since mythology is a static system in which the same mythical elements are combined many times.

cultural push went behind it, and then politically, the world followed the culture. I think that was a different Scotland that was voting the next time. (104)

As Lochhead asserted, the disillusionment of the 1979 Referendum triggered a sense of cultural impulsion which augmented national feelings.[128] In this regard, the trauma that came out as a result of the failure of the referendum firstly led to a cultural rather than political awakening.

In the aftermath of the 1979 Devolution Referendum Scottish literary landscape cherished Scottish culture and national identity such that culture became a "political surrogate" (Hames 2). As in the words of Murray Pittock: "Scotland achieved a form of cultural autonomy in the absence of its political equivalent: that Scottish identity was materially if not constitutionally becoming ever more manifest" (Pittock 114). The rediscovery of Scotland's distinctive culture in the 1980s was represented by nascent cultural organizations, prominent Scottish literary figures and their works. Moreover, new magazines[129] laid the groundwork for a desire for political autonomy as well as forged a heightened national identity. In the light of this impetus, the referendum held in 1997 on whether Scotland should devolve witnessed a strong sense of 'Scottishness' which paved the way for the establishment of a new Scottish parliament.

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[128] It is worth noting that there is an interaction between devolution and national identity as devolution obviously flourished national identity and national feelings even if Scots could not achieve to establish a devolved parliament. However, the relation between national identity and devolution does not have to be mutual as every supporter of a devolved Scottish parliament has strong national feelings whereas every nationalist does not necessarily support a devolved parliament.

[129] In his comprehensive article "Constituting Scotland", Cairns Craig dwells upon the revival of the Scottish culture after the failure of the 1979devolution referendum. Craig emphasizes the crucial role various newly-established organizations played in this cultural revival such as Scottish Poetry Library, new magazines such as *Cencrastus* and *Radical Scotland* as well as existing one *New Edinburgh Review* and new publishing house like Canongate Classics. He mentions the significant literary works such as Murray Pittock's *The Invention of Scotland* (1991), Robert Crawford's *Devolving English Literature* (1992) and Lindsay Peterson's *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (1994), etc., and points out their devotion to promoting the Scottish culture. For further details see Craig, Cairns. "Constituting Scotland." *The Irish Review* (1986-), no. 28, 2001, pp. 1–27. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/29736041. Accessed 18 May 2018.

Lochhead also puts emphasis on the 'distinct' identity that Scotland has, although it is a complicated place with its diversity of language and regional variety. She asserts that due to this Scottish identity, they united putting aside differences and managed to devolve their parliament in 1999:

> Scotland is a very mixed-up kind of place, and I think that was something that by the end people recognised that it was a mixed-up place, but there was an identity that was called "Scotland". They gathered all these other small things, and that's how people felt at the end of the nineties, I think, when they were voting. (104)

As Lochhead indicates, the central marker of the Scottish national identity is 'homeland' because the diversity of customs, ethnicity and even language (i.e. Highland speaks Gaelic whereas Lowland speaks Scots) prevents the determining role of other markers. The national identity in Scotland is, therefore, mostly civic and territorial rather than ethnic and genealogical. However, in *Mary Queen of Scots*, Lochhead, mainly lays stress on 'common ancestry', rewriting the Scottish history in her works she employs a variety of Scottish dialects[130] including Gaelic and cultural symbols in identity formation which might be counted as ethnic markers. The play aims at reviving the ancient independent spirit and Scotland's identity as a separate nation and ethnic identity markers are quite instrumental in reconstructing this national spirit by pointing out the distinct inherited cultural values and rootedness of the Scottish nation.

Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off was written at the period when the Scottish national identity came into prominence due to deteriorated relations between England

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[130] In *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and The Literary Imagination*, Robert Crawford indicates that Liz Lochhead contributed to the Scottish independence referendum by reading from *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* at the launch of Yes campaign in Edinburgh in 2012. According to Crawford, she preferred to voice this play due to its "rhetorical displaying of Scotland" believing that the use of Scots language instead of English would serve the meaning and importance of the independence launch well (208).

and Scotland under the conservative government of Margaret Thatcher. The Scottish national identity developed in opposition to the English politics in Thatcherite Britain because when Margaret Thatcher became the prime minister with the general election in 1979, she posed a great threat to Scotland's culture, politics, and economy with her socio-economic policy.[131] For Scots, Margaret Thatcher was "an undemocratic, English nationalist, antagonist towards Scotland's distinctive collectivist culture, who destroyed the nation's industrial heritage" (Stewart 1). In this sense, Thatcher's third victory in the 1987 election infuriated Scots since they voted against her. In her "Introduction" she wrote in 2009 to *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*, Liz Lochhead explains the disillusionment of the Scottish people stating that: "There was at that time a real sense of frustration in Scotland, a need for us all to tell our own stories and find our own language to tell in it" (11). Within this context, the play fulfilled this need telling the story of a symbolic national figure Mary Queen of Scots with a Scottish language and viewpoint.

Though based on certain historical facts, *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*, as Lochhead asserts, is a "metaphor for Scotland today" (qtd. in Varty 162). According to Lochhead the play "has to do with all these things between England and Scotland, male and female and civil power, like Church, some sort of democracy growing for a while" (*Interview with Liz Lochhead* 105). In this regard, Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots stand for the contemporary relations between England and Scotland, whereas John Knox represents religion, bigotry and misogyny in contemporary Scotland. Furthermore, the similarities between Queen Elizabeth I and Margaret Thatcher evidently reveal the play's allusion to contemporary politics.[132] Within this frame, in the play, Queen Elizabeth I evokes Margaret

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[131] For further information on Margaret Thatcher's economic policies and implementations see Chapter 1.2. "A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

[132] In her "Introduction" to *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*, Liz Lochhead asserts that Queen Elizabeth I in the play is not Margaret Thatcher, but "questions of woman and power- and how to hold on to it- are always there as we consider either icon" (10-11). In this respect, obvious similarities are drawn between the

Thatcher who cared more about thoughts than feelings in taking remarkable steps in administration. For instance, like the Iron Lady, Elizabeth believes that a queen should not follow the inclinations of her womanish nature but act with her reason. To this end, Queen Elizabeth does not marry Robert Dudley for fear of losing her authority and power; regardless of her strong feelings towards Dudley she intends to send him to Scotland as a suitor to Mary to make her marry a Protestant, and finally consents to Mary's execution in order to prevent Catholic plots against her Protestant reign. Within this context, Queen Elizabeth's interference to Mary's suitors, while Scotland was still an independent state, reveals English hegemony over Scotland which increased during the 1980s due to Margaret Thatcher's implementation of strict economic policies on Scotland. Nevertheless, through a Scottish past, the play not only sheds light on the present but also on the future by warning the future generations about not to repeat the mistakes of their ancestries. It further provides the future generations with the opportunity to rediscover their national identity by introducing their community's ancient customs, languages, and traditions to them. In this respect, in *Mary Queen of Scots*, Lochhead has re-constructed the Scottish nation through the reassessment of history and national myth, the use of storytelling narrative with a variety of Scots dialects, and the depiction of Scottish traditions, and customs since the idea of nation is constructed, "imagined through symbolic representations" (Anderson 292). In addition to these techniques, common cultural items such as folk dance, fiddle, Scottish ballads, and lullabies have been prevalently utilized to flourish national and cultural identity in the play.

The depiction of Mary Queen of Scots' life in the play is not a coincidence since she is regarded as the emblem of Scottish nationhood being the last queen of independent Scotland. In this respect, the play can be interpreted as the nostalgia for the independent

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two historical figures. The fact that the period the play was written corresponds to the Thatcher era lead certain critics consider Elizabeth I as the representation of Margaret Thatcher. For instance, in "Nation and Gender: The Case of Liz Lochhead", Adrianne Scullion notes that Margaret Thatcher was reworked in the portrayal of Queen Elizabeth I as an "arch-politician" (97).

Scotland. However, Mary Queen of Scots had a quite disputable and eventful life which renders her life open to interpretation. As the daughter James V of Scotland and French Mary of Guise, Mary was half French and a Catholic. She married three times, accused of abetting the murder of her second husband English Henry Darnley, she eloped with her third husband Earl of Bothwell and was forced to give her Scottish crown to her baby son James VI. Her life ended in England where she took refuge and was beheaded with the accusations of treason after nineteen years. Due to these complications, Mary has been portrayed in various within different contexts. In "The Reputations of Mary Queen of Scots", Jayne Lewis points out this variety and asserts that according to the myth, she is "the mother of a nation", for Protestants, she is a "bloodthirsty harlot", seducer, predator; whereas, for Catholics she is a "royal martyr", victim, and pray (10). In this sense, Mary is a controversial historical figure whose reputation changes in accordance with prevailing religious belief and political ideas.

Lochhead, thus, interprets and reconstructs historical Mary figure from a Scottish viewpoint by employing different techniques. In the play, she portrays a "sympathetic" picture of Mary by "reinforcing her legendary status as a victim, of Elizabeth, of John Knox and her husband, of Darnley, and his band of unruly noblemen" (McDonald, Harvie 134). This "sympathetic" portrait of Mary was mainly built up through the storytelling narrative of La Corbie. The name "La Corbie" was originally derived from the French word "le corbeau" meaning a "crow" which is the national bird of Scotland. However, Lochhead Scotticizes the word using Scottish word "corbie" instead of the French version which again reveals that Lochhead creates a Scottish frame to portray her version of Mary Queen of Scots' tragic story with her 'Scottish' narrator.

The play has a fragmented, episodic structure and is composed of two acts and fifteen scenes. The first act consists of eight scenes and mostly elaborates on the conflicting nature of the two queens, Elizabeth I of England and Mary Queen of Scots as well as touches issues

such as femininity, power and religion. In this respect, the first act juxtaposes the two queens who share nothing in common except the role of female rulers. In the portrayal of the queens, their conversations with their maids namely Bessie and Marian play a significant role not only in unfolding their opinions about each other but also revealing the motivations of their actions. On the other hand, the encounter of John Knox and Mary in the very beginning of the play displays the politics of religious sectarianism in Scotland. The first act ends with Mary's marriage to the English Lord Darnley, Henry Lenox, which Queen Elizabeth arranged to prevent other powerful Catholic matches for Mary.

The second act, which consists of six scenes, mainly focuses on the private life of Mary Queen of Scots. In this part, Mary gets pregnant with her baby boy and gives birth to the future king James VI of Scotland. Her favourite advisor Riccio becomes a victim of a conspiracy because of rumours and is murdered by the Scottish nobles represented by the mummers. Mary revenges the death of her beloved advisor by cheating on Darnley with Bothwell. Darnley dies because of smallpox, and both Mary and Bothwell are held responsible for his death. Mary takes refuge in England and the play ends with her execution by the hands of characters stripped of historicity, and all characters are transformed into the children of the twentieth century. All these events in the play are given through the narrative frame of La Corbie, a "ragged ambiguous creature" (467). Thus, the play starts with the appearance of La Corbie, in company with a fiddler on the stage.

The beginning of the play is quite symbolic since the fiddle is a significant part of the Scottish folk culture. That is to say, fiddle is a traditional instrument played in entertainments, especially in the Highlands, which is regarded as the embodiment of Scottishness after the works of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scots.[133] In this sense, using the fiddle both as a 'cultural' and 'national' marker in the case of *The Cheviot, The Stag and the Black, Black Oil*,

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[133] For further information on 'the fiddle' see, Chapter 2.1. "On the Road to the 1979 Devolution Referendum: John McGrath's *The Cheviot, The Stag and The Black Black Oil* (1973)".

keeps the national spirit alive in the play. Therefore, at every significant moment (e.g. the first and last scene, the murder of Riccio, etc.) in the play, the fiddler appears on the stage not only to revive Scottish culture but also to remind the audience that the events in the play are depicted from a Scottish perspective.

In a similar vein, the narrator of the story, La Corbie is the voice of Scottish culture and nation which, is evidently shown with her reassessment of the historical events from a Scottish perspective. In Lochhead's words, La Corbie is a "bird woman", "an immortal spirit", "a shaman", "a ghost" and a "jester" (González "An Interview" 104). In this sense, she occupies different roles as "the chorus", the narrator, commenter and the tie between the past and the present. Moreover, throughout the play, she performs all these roles through the use of Scottish dialects. As language is one of the most important national signifiers of nationhood as well as the central constituents of a national identity, by using Scots rather than English Lochhead underlines that Scots have a distinct national identity from that of England. Furthermore, titled as the Poet Laureate of Glasgow (2005) and the 'makar', the national poet of Scotland (2011-2016), Lochhead has laid great stress on language[134] believing that to nourish the Scottish language is her mission. To this end, even Mary, who preferred to speak French rather than Scots throughout her life, speaks Scots with a French accent in the play. In her note to the acting company of the play, Lochhead clearly emphasises that Mary is a Frenchwoman "speaking totally fluently, Braid Scots vocabulary and all, in Scot, not English- but with a French accent" (19). In so doing, Lochhead, in a way, makes Scottish dialects,

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[134] Language is a quite delicate subject for the Scots since England attempted to suppress Gaelic and various Scottish dialects spoken in Highlands many times. For instance, according to the clause 6 of the Statutes of Iona which were passed in 1609, all chiefs and leading clansmen were required "to educate their eldest sons in the Lowlands" (Goodare 50). In doing so, they aimed at creating a Protestant and English-speaking group in the Scottish Highlands. Moreover, the clause 8 of the same statues requires "Gaelic bards to be suppressed" (Goodare 50). These two clauses (Clause 6 and 8) are mostly regarded as an attack on Gaelic language and culture which are the two significant elements constituting the Scottish nation. Thus, any threat posed to these elements is equal to an attack on the national identity of Scottish people.

which faded in many parts of Scotland, familiar to the audience.[135]Besides, Lochhead manifests the diversity of national culture and linguistic richness of Scots by using a made-up language, composed of Gaelic, Scots and English, especially in La Corbie's narratives.

Before narrating the story of Mary Queen of Scots, La Corbie asks "Scotland, Whit Like?" giving different answers in order to indicate that the answer may vary from person to person:

It's a peatbog, it's a daurk forest.

It's a cauldron o' lye, a saltpan or a coal mine.

If you're lucky it's a bricht bere meadow or a park o' kye.

Or mibbe… it's a field o' stanes.

It's a tenement or merchant's ha'.

It's a hure hoose or a humble cot. Princes Street or Paddy's Merkit.

It's a fistfu' o' fish or a pickle o' oatmeal.

It's a queen's bahquet o' roast meats and junkets.

It depends. It depends. […] (467)

In this regard, La Corbie reveals the constructed nature of a 'nation' which is shaped by the narratives, national symbols, national icons, a collective past, and representations. She implies that this is her version of Scotland "Ah dinna ken whit like your Scotland is. Here's mines" (467):

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[135] In *Scotland,* Roger Dendinger draws attention to Gaelic's being on the verge of extinction stating that "At the turn of the 20th century, 250,000 Scots used the language; today fewer than 65,000 do so. This dramatic decline makes Scots Gaelic an endangered language, like the other Celtic tongues of Europe" (41). Within this frame, Liz Lochhead, in a way, serves to the preservation of the Scots Gaelic by using it in the play. See, Dendinger, Roger. *Scotland.* Chelsea House Publishers, 2002.

National flower: the thistle

National pastime: nostalgia

National weather: smirr, haar, drizzle, snow.

National bird: the crow, the corbie, le caobeau, moi! (467)

As stated above, La Corbie enumerates the characteristics of Scotland as a nation at the very beginning of the play. She not only describes the weather condition of Scotland but also refers to the emblems of Scotland such as "thistle" and "corbie", which are important national icons of the Scottish nation. On the other hand, La Corbie's choice of "nostalgia" as a pastime activity evidently unveils her longing for a time when Scotland was an independent nation, a free state that had a Scottish parliament to decide their fate. In this respect, nostalgia is an unavoidable result of the Union since "Scotland's present existence is 'corrosive, numbing', a matter of Continual self-repression, made supportable by culturally fake nostalgia" (Cairn 11). Thus, nostalgia becomes, to some extent, the way of coping with the predicaments for the Scottish people which they got into after the Union and still could not escape from it. This also clarifies why Lochhead preferred to depict the Scottish past through a storytelling narrative.

After defining 'her' Scotland, La Corbie begins to narrate her version of history and invites the audience to a fantastic world comprised of historical figures. Mary, Elizabeth, Hepburn, Riccio, Knox and Darnley enter the stage as circus animals with La Corbie's cracking her whip. This scene is the first implication that the play is not a historical documentation, but rather a reinterpretation of past events within a fantastic narrative. The fictionality of the historical narrative is underlined with La Corbie's storytelling, which starts like a fairy tale narration in Act I, scene i: "Once upon a time there were twa queens on the wan green island, and the wan green island was split inty twa kingdoms" (467). Within a fairy

tale narrative La Corbie delineates the 16th century Scotland and England in binary oppositions:

> For the northern kingdom was cauld and sma'. And the people were low-statured and ignorant and feart o' their lords and poor! They were starvin'. […] The other kingdom in the island was large, and prosperous, with wheat and barley and fat kye in the fields o' her yeoman fermers, and wool in her looms, and beer in her barrels and, at the mouth of her greates river, a great port, a glistening city[…] (468)

La Corbie's representation of England and Scotland in dichotomies such as rich/poor, large/small and famished/sated not only implies unending rivalry between the two countries but also display the current situation of Scotland under the Thatcher government. In this regard, unlike fairy tales with a happy ending, La Corbie portrays a darker picture of the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism, intrigues, murders, and the beheaded Queen of Scots within the storytelling narrative.

Storytelling has been quite an old tradition to transmit culture to next generations for years in Scotland. However, it has gone through a revival in the twentieth century due to its role in identity formation (Wilson 29). Within this frame, La Corbie's storytelling is embellished with cultural implications such as Scottish ballads, songs, lullabies and folk dances since "Lochhead regards them as comforting like drugs comforting" (Varty 164). They are comforting because culture is what shapes people's life-style, constructing a common characteristic for the nation and creates a collective consciousness providing a sense of becoming a part of a whole. In this respect, through the cultural narrative of La Corbie, Lochhead revives cultural items to unveil unique Scottish identity. For instance, in Act II, scene vi, La Corbie sings a west-cost lullaby when Mary gave birth to her baby boy:

Wee chookie birdie toll loll loll

Laid a wee eggy on the windae sill

The windae sill began tae crack

Wee chookie birdie, roared and grat.[136](504)

Since a lullaby is a valuable cultural inheritance that represents cultural continuity, La Corbie, in a sense, transmits the unique Scottish culture to the newly-born James, the future king of Scotland. Furthermore, Scotland's 'west-coast' is known for its preservation of Gaelic culture, thus, La Corbie's choice of the lullaby is quite remarkable. In this sense, throughout the play, Scottish voice of La Corbie is reflected through her 'songs', comments or advises but also with her 'poetic lines'. Each scene either ends or starts with her words.

La Corbie generally serves as a 'camera' moving from Scotland to England, from Mary to Elizabeth, or vice-versa to demonstrate the differences between the two queens and their realms. As noted earlier, the differences between the queens mainly stem from the different gender roles they adopted, since they cannot perform their femininity together with their role as the ruler of the monarch. That is to say, Queen Elizabeth dominantly exhibits masculine features and does not want to marry for fear of losing her absolute power over her monarch whereas, Mary Queen of Scots as a more feminine figure follows her feminine desires, which costs her crown and life in the end.[137] Thus, in the very beginning of Act I, scene iii, La Corbie touches upon the predicament the two queens confronted because of being a 'female' ruler:

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[136] Little chickie birdie toll loll loll
Laid a little egg on the window sill
The window sill began to crack
Little chickie birdie, roared and cried.

[137] Similarly, in one of her interviews, Lochhead draws an analogy between the English and Scots attributing them male and female characteristics: "The English are like a man- nonchalant and unquestioning about existing. By contrast, "Scotland is like a woman; the Scots know they are perceived from outside" (qtd. in Varty 164).

Ony queen has an army o'ladies and maids

That she juist snaps her finger to summon.

And yet...I ask you, when's a queen a queen

And when's a queen juist a wummin? (471)

As observed, La Corbie's rhymed poetic lines in Scottish dialect summarizing the following scene unveil the central point of the play with a feminist perspective. That is, femininity, like national identity, is constructed. Elizabeth and Mary experience a dilemma between what they feel and their duties, obligations, social and political pressures. The most significant discrepancy between Mary and Elizabeth is their religious sects: Elizabeth is a Protestant while Mary is a Catholic queen in a Protestant country. In this sense, religion is the hidden motive in the action of the play.[138] For instance, "The Suitors" scene (Act I, scene ii) represents the epitome of this religious sectarianism. Elizabeth's endeavour to find Mary a convenient suitor proceeds from religious concerns. Likewise, Mary is more concerned about marrying a Catholic rather than his trait as a successful king. Thus, she marries the Catholic Darnley regardless of the protest of the Scottish nobles. In this respect, by juxtaposing the two queens with different natures, religious sects, and nations, the play takes up a feminist perspective while manifesting how religion forms contemporary politics, culture and society.

Since the politics of sectarianism are part and parcel of Lochhead's politics of nation she provides an insight to the history of the Scottish Reformation (Crawford 211) by portraying Scotland in painful reformation. On the other hand, a critical distance is created between the historical events and the audience is realized through the employment of anachronism to draw attention to the misogyny, bigotry, and corruption of the time that is also

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[138] At this point, it is worth mentioning that Mary's banishment from Scotland and loss of the crown was essentially the consequence of her commitment to Catholicism and maintenance of the mass rather than the scandals in her private life.

prevalent in the current society. To this end, John Knox, is described as an 'Orange man' wearing a 'bowler hat' in an anachronistic stage direction before his appearance on the stage. "Orange man" refers to the member of "Orange order", a Protestant society founded in 1795 to defend Protestantism against Catholicism and "bowler hat" was actually created in 1849. Even though historical reality is subverted to correlate the sixteenth century with contemporary Scotland, Liz Lochhead stays loyal to the historical facts in her depiction John Knox and Mary's first encounter in Act I, scene iv. In this regard, La Corbie narrated the reformation process and the role John Knox played while reminding Mary of Knox's dark deeds:

> **La Corbie:** Corbie says by the bones of your beloved mother you must destroy this man.
>
> Knox, nox as black as nicht, nox lik' a' the bitter pousons, nox lik' three fearfu' chaps at the door, did ding her doon. Knox did lead the rebels. Knox did break yer mither's heart and Knox did laugh when she did dee. Hark at him- 'Guid Lord says, and I agree wi' him!' Hark. Cark Cark. (474)

The main cause of Mary's suffering was Knox. In his pamphlet *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*[139], he degraded Mary's Catholic-French mother Mary of Guise and Mary Tudor (also known as Bloody Mary), the Queen of England refusing their right to rule a country. Moreover, Protestantism in Scotland was initially developed by a

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[139] In his work, Knox states that women are inferior to men, so the regiment of women is repugnant to the nature as well as it is against the God's will: "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire above any realm, nation, or city is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice" (8). He, moreover, describes women as "weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish" (9), and thus he believes that they can only be subject to men by the law of nature. The pamphlet, in this sense, overtly showed his misogyny, and was anonymously published in 1558 as it was regarded as radical at the time. For more see, Knox, John. "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women". *John Knox on Rebellion*, edited by Roger Mason. Cambridge UP, 1994, pp.3-47.

small number of reformers under 'his' leadership during the regency of Mary of Guise. While Mary was still in France, the reformers used the authority gap to establish Protestantism as the national religion in Scotland against their Catholic queen. In this regard, the Reformation in Scotland started with the help of "revolutionary, anti-French Protestant nobles" who received the political support of England and an "anglophile Calvinist ministry", John Knox, who had also spent many years in England (Houston 44). Within this context, when Mary returned to Scotland in 1561 it was a Protestant country.

Religion, in this respect, became one of the most significant components of national identity in 16[th]century Scotland as it shaped the Scottish culture and politics due to the religious Reformation in 1560. At this point, it is worth noting that the significance of religion as part of national identity originates from its use to unify an ethnically and linguistically mixed Scottish nationality since the early medieval times (Pittock 85). Due to its national role religion became one of the 'holy trinity'[140] that was protected by the 1707 Act of Union. Besides, the establishment of Protestantism as the national religion gave the 16th–century Scotland autonomy not only by breaking ties with the Roman Catholic Church but also eliminating the influence of Catholic France on Scotland. The newly-established Kirk, thereby, became a significant marker of the national identity. On the other hand, the reformation also provided a sort of individual freedom by putting emphasis on egalitarianism and the personal relationship between an individual and God by abolishing the Catholic liturgy. According to Lochhead, this gave rise to an anti-royalist feeling by posing the question "what sense is there having a king or queen?" in a world of change (González "An

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[140] Religion, education, and law are regarded as three institutions that play significant role in the construction of Scottish national identity. For this reason, they were protected by the Act of Union in 1707. However, in *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, Neil Davidson asserts that only 'religion' and 'education' are preserved by the Act, education "is not mentioned in either the Act of Union or the related legislation" (53). This had serious outcomes in the long term as Scotland was deprived of a proper written history in the curriculum which was comprised of certain historical events and figure while disregarded others. In *Road to Independence*, Murray Pittock suggests that: "The school curriculum remains a major hindrance to the emergence of a proper understanding of Scotland by Scots themselves, in part because the interest in history in Scottish society – which is manifest and widespread – has a leaning towards conspiracy theory and anti-Englishness in part arguably because people have been deprived of their own history at school" (132).

Interview" 106). Arising anti-royalism in Act I, scene iv, is alluded to when Knox states that "By the richt worshipping of God men learn from their hearts to obey their just princes?" (475). However, this statement clearly shows that the Scottish people chose to obey Knox rather than their rightful queen Mary because of her Catholicism as well as due to anti-royalism to a certain extent.

The 'corruption' of the reformers is also revealed through the implicit exposition of John Knox's lechery in Act I, scene vi. That is to say, Knox is a radical religious reformer who manifests his hatred for women at every turn, yet his sexual desires are aroused by the thirteen-year-old street beggars Lizzie and Mairn -metamorphosed versions of Elizabeth and Mary.[141] The use of character shifting in the mentioned scene, as is the case with "Queens and Maids" and "Jock Thamson's Bairns" scenes (in which Elizabeth and Mary transform into each other's maids Bessie and Marian, and to little children Wee Betty and Marie) serves different purposes in the play. In "Performing Identities in Scotland: Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*", Carla Rodrígez Gonzalez bases Lochhead's use of multiple characterization on Stuart Hall's claim on the constant transformations of identities and different self-positioning within the narratives of the past.[142] Gonzales states that:

This "different positioning" of the self is emphasised by the constant interchangeability of the characters who act as representatives of stereotypical roles in the history of the nation, but simultaneously adopt opposing identities that transcend nationality, class and religious belief.[…]By making her characters interchange roles,

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[141] This reflects Knox's scandalous private life as the historical figure and rumours about of his relationship with his 16-year-old first wife's mother and marrying the a17-year-old girl, Mary Stewart -a distant relative of Mary Queen of Scots- when he was 50. Within this context, his radical religious thoughts and intolerance contradict with his personal life revealing his hypocrisy as well as the corruption.

[142] For further information on Stuart Hall's cultural identity theory see Chapter 1.1. "National Identity in Theory".

Lochhead emphasises the performative nature of identities and humanises the representation of historical characters. (97-98)

As emphasized above, through the degradation of the queens from the ruler status to maids and finally street beggars on the stage Liz Lochhead demonstrates both the constructed nature of identities and the polarities in the characters. In this respect, the split in characterization reflects the split in Scottish psyche and identity that have been prevailing since the Union of Crowns termed as "Caledonian Antisyzygy"[143]. The term is mostly defined as the "presence of duelling polarities in one entity" or "the idea of the duelling polarities that come together to make up Scotland", since the word "Caledonian" stands for Scotland or Scottish people while "antisyzygy" means "the joining together of two opposites" (Broom). It further encompasses the dualities in Scottish history, and politics, religion, culture, etc., by referring to Jacobite/Hanoverian, Highland/Lowland, Protestant/Catholic, Scottish/British etc., divisions that emerged, more or less, under the English hegemony. Within this context, almost all of the characters in the play have a doppelganger representing this split in identity.

The use of double role in characterisation, however, not only indicates a divided Scottish identity but also hints at their personalities or actions. For instance, Earl of Bothwell turns into a huntsman and an axe man. In this respect, in Act I, scene v, Bothwell is first introduced as a huntsman performing highland stag dance, "a bit of this passionate, awesome folk dance (479). Here, the folk dance represents Bothwell's brutality and attractiveness. At this point, it is worth noting that the use of such ethnic and cultural images in the depiction of Bothwell's character re-establishes national identity by reminding Scots their common heritage. Furthermore, Bothwell's transformation to a 'huntsman' alludes to his stealing

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[143] The term was coined by G. Gregory Smith in 1919. James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinne*r (1824) and Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) are regarded as the two significant Scottish literary works that epitomize the fragmentation of the identity the term Caledonian Antisyzygy defines.

Mary's heart while his turning to an 'axe-man' in the final scene evidently demonstrates his role –eloping with her– in her death.

In the "Mummers and Murderers" scene, on the other hand, Lochhead brings a different perspective to the use of multiple characterizations through employing another frame narrative in the murder of Riccio. Envious of the intimacy between Mary and her advisor Riccio, Darnley and other nobles organize a conspiracy against him. Instead of narrating the conspiracy, the murder of Riccio is portrayed through the biblical story "legend of Salome" acted by the strangers in masks. According to the story, the king of the Jews, Herod falls in love with his brother's wife Herodias and marries her in spite of John the Baptist's protestations. Herodias holds a grudge against John the Baptist since he declares their marriage unlawful. During a banquet given in the honour of Herod's birthday, Herodias's daughter Salome agrees to dance before all the guests and pleases the king so much that the king promises her anything she asks for, even half of his kingdom. After negotiating with her mother, Salome asks the head of John the Baptist on a plate, thus he is beheaded. Within this frame, when the mummers burst into Mary's room with a fiddler, they want to perform the show "The Mummers' Mask of Salome" to kill Riccio. They offer the crown, and thus the role of the king, to Darnley, but he forces Mary to play the role of the king Herod. Unaware of the planned conspiracy, Mary plays the King while Darnley plays Salome and an unsuspecting Riccio becomes the sacrificial victim John the Baptist. In this regard, the deconstruction of gender roles evidently shows "how performative representation constructs people and situations according to its own prerogatives" (McDonald, Harvie 139).

At the end of the scene, Riccio like John the Baptist, cannot escape from death. On the other hand, Mary barely escapes from being murdered by Darnley who is drunk and consumed with jealousy. In "Twa Queen One Green Island": Nationalist and Feminist Issues in Liz Lochhead's Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off", Milena M. Kostic

asserts that the mummers saved Mary Queen of Scots from Darnley, just because she was "the mother of a nation" about to give birth to the future king of Scotland (111). In this regard, the mummers pledging alliance to the king saved Mary's life to save the future king of Scotland and thus act with national motives:

Mummer 2: That's no hoo we dae things here in Scotland. [...]

Mummer 1: I've never heard of it, have you, Jimmy?

Mummer 2: Naw, Jock! (Pause) Not nice to kill a member of fair sex either.

Mummer 1: Not nice at best of times but to kill wan that's thon wey wi' a bairn...

Mummer 2: We couldnae hae it, Tam!

Mummer 1: Neither we could, Wullie. (Pause) Even though we are at your service, King Henry. (503)

The scene turns into a parody of the historical event when the mummers call each other with different names. The use of masks and various names serve to create the illusion of multiple characters on the stage. La Corbie then appears with the list of names of Scottish political figures that took part in the conspiracy at the end of the scene:

There's Ruthven and Morton and Lindsay and Lethington

Ormiston, Brunstane, Haugton and Lochlinnie

There is Kerr o' Fa'donside, Scott, and Yair and Elphinstone

There's Ballantin' and Douglas. There's Ruthven and Morton... (503)

Historical reality is obviously not subverted the in this case. The Mummers Scene is just a way of 'simplifying' a complicated story for the stage. Within this context, the use of a

Biblical story paves the way for a metaphorical depiction of the murder, thus, renders it more comprehensible for those who are familiar with the Biblical story. Besides, since many people were involved in the conspiracy, the scene requires a large number of people to stand on the stage. Lochhead has noted that since Communicado Theatre had a limited number of players she had to find a way of making them act the roles of different nobles at the same time: "then Corbie comes in with a list of the people they really were, but as we have not met them in the drama, they are just a set of nobles" (Gonzalez 6). In addition, the scene also foreshadows the execution of Mary at the hands of the English nobles in the same fashion with her closest adviser Riccio, who died at the hands of the Scottish nobles.

Mary vows vengeance against Darnley and, in a way, takes Riccio's revenge by cheating his murderer Darnley with Bothwell. Having sexual intercourse with Bothwell in Act II, scene vi, is an act of divine judgement for Mary: An' thegither we shall hae justice! Justice!" (507). Meanwhile, Darnley is portrayed in his deathbed murmuring Mary's name, and the consequence of the scene is unveiled when the smoke, which covers them during their lovemaking, clears. Mary and Bothwell have escaped due to the accusations leaving the stage to La Corbie, who ironically sings medieval Scottish Ballad "We Two Corbies"[144] as a lament for 'English' Darnley. In the ballad, two crows (or ravens) find "a newly slain knight" which is a ready meal for the crows since he is deserted by his hound, hawk and wife:

> His hound is to hunting gane,
>
> His hawk to fetch the wildfowl hame,
>
> His lady has ta'en another mate,

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[144] The ballad evokes medieval English ballad "The Three Ravens" which narrates similarly how three ravens find a dead knight while talking about where they should dine. Nonetheless the ballad differs from the "We Twa Corbies" which dwells upon the betrayal of the knight's hound, hawk and wife. In "The Three Ravens" the dead body of the knight is protected by hound and hawk and buried by dome which stands for his beloved.

And we may freely mak'our dinner sweet.[145] (508)

The ballad deals with the themes of betrayal and disloyalty. Within this context, similar to the dead knight, Darnley –left by her wife for Bothwell– has become an easy prey for his enemies[146]. Therefore, the ballad is used to imply Darnley's suspicious death Mary's affair with Bothwell. Furthermore, the Scottish ballad is used as the signifier of Scottish cultural inheritance.

Mary's liaison with Bothwell bears tragic consequences disclosed by Queen Elizabeth: "They split her from her Bothwell, drive him from their shores, they seize her infant son, strip her of her crown, lock her in a castle in the middle of an island [...]" (509). Moreover, the reformers claimed one-year-old James VI as their king to ensure that the next king would be a believer of the reformed faith. This, more or less, sowed the seeds of a new kind of religious nationalism in Scotland since the people decided the nation's fate. In "Scottish Nationalism Before 1789: An Ideology, A Sentiment , or A Creation?", Kristen Post Walton states that "Reformation, the rebellion of the Scots against French domination and the regency of Mary of Guise, and the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, thus provide the best examples of the development of Scottish national fervor in the mid-sixteenth century" (122). However, it is worth noting that this nascent nationalism was mostly unionist since the reformers believed that union with Protestant England would serve the national interest by protecting the new faith (Protestantism) in Scotland.

The last scene (Act II, scene vii) is devoted to Mary's tragic end taking place after Elizabeth's advisors convinced her that it was the only way to end the Catholic hope in

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[145] His hound is to the hunting gone,
His hawk to fetch the wild-fowl home,
His lady has taken another mate,
So we may make our dinner sweet.
[146] Because of Darnley's untimely death, Bothwell and Mary were accused of organizing a conspiracy against him.

England. The setting changes from 16th to 20th-century Scotland and all of the characters turn into children who are baptized with dirty water by John Knox. The use of dirty water in baptism ceremony symbolizes children's inheritance of misdeeds, violence, and intolerance, etc., from previous generations. In this sense, they are not innocent children but cruel imitators of their historical doppelgangers. The corrupted nature of the characters is also implied with the name of the Scene "Jock Thamson's Bairn's"[147] which ironically evokes the Scottish egalitarian myth. That is, the phase, meaning "We are all God's children", demonstrates the Scottish belief that Scots are inherently deemed equal by their national characteristics. As David McCrone explains in *Understanding Scotland* "it is as if Scots are judged to be egalitarian by dint of racial characteristics, of deep social values. Man (or at least Scotsman) is judged to be primordially equal; inequality is man-made, created by social structure" (91). In this respect, they believe that 'equality' prevails among the Scottish society. However, in the last scene, instead of 'equality', discrimination is prevailing among children since Marie is marginalized again due to her national identity and religion:

Wee Betty: What's your name anyway!

Marie: Marie

Wee Bettie: Marie? Whit school do you go to?

[…]

Wee Bettie: You a Tim?

James Hepburn: You a Fenian?

Wee Bettie: Are you a Pape?

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[147] According to *Scottish National Dictionary,* the most widespread meaning of "Jock Thomson's Bairn's" is "the human race; common humanity; also with less universal force, a group of people united by a common sentiment, interest or purpose- innocuous enough, and fitting in with its usage by Presbyterian ministers to refer to "God's children" (qtd in McCrone 91). For further discussion on Scottish egalitarianism and the phase "Jock Thamson's Bairn's" see McCrone, David. *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*. Routledge, 1992.

Marie: I' am a Catholic. Ih-hıh. (511)

Mary, like a pray, is surrendered by English predators such as Wee Betty (Elizabeth) and James Hepburn. The use of French spelling of her name shows that Mary is the only character that is devoid of her national identity. On the other hand, it is quite remarkable that instead of asking about Marie's nationality, Wee Bettie interrogates Marie about her religion. This clearly shows the significance of religion in creating a bond and collective consciousness within a group. Dissatisfied with her reply, Wee Bettie orders Marie to change her religion immediately: "Well, away and get converted! Go an' get born again" (511). She believes that Marie should do something to be saved since she is different, an outsider due to her religion. In this sense, the derogatory words such as "Tim", "Fenian" and "Pape" that Wee Betty and James Hepburn use for Roman Catholics reveal that the religious intolerance of Protestant England and newly-Reformed Scotland has prevailed in the contemporary society. The scene is a symbolic representation of both Mary's execution[148] which historically takes place in England after nineteen years of captivity[149] and Scotland's suffering under Thatcherite England's hegemony. To some extent, all characters are responsible for Mary's execution including Elizabeth, Knox, Hepburn, and even herself. Their pursuit of Mary evidently reveals their role in Mary's death. Their childhood games turn into a bloody, torture which end up with the nursery rhymes "Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off". Even

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[148] The fact that Mary was a Catholic posed a risk for the sovereignty of Protestant Elizabeth since the English Catholics as well as the Pope, Catholic Spain, and France wanted Mary to succeed Elizabeth in order to re-catholicize England. Within this context, there were many Catholic conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth I. The first conspiracy was the Ridolfi Plot organized in 1571 by a Florentine Banker Roberto di Ridolfi, and intended to enthrone Mary Queen of Scots with the help of Spanish troops killing Elizabeth. The second was the Romanist conspiracy composed of three attacks that took place in Ireland, Scotland and England (through Jesuits). All of the attacks were either planned or stirred up by the Pope, but they failed. Likewise, the Throckmorton's Plot, an attempt to assassinate the Queen, was planned by Catholic Francis Throckmorton in 1583, but it failed. The final conspiracy aimed to kill and replace Queen Elizabeth with Mary Queen of Scots was Babington's Plot (1586). It was planned by Catholic Anthony Babington. Mary Queen of Scots was accused of getting involved in the conspiracy personally, and thus was condemned to death.

[149] When Mary fled to England Elizabeth had the chance to prevent the Catholic scheme from happening by keeping Mary under her control. Mary had been incarcerated for 19 years but her involvement in the Babington plot intended to kill Elizabeth resulted in her execution in 1587.

though the characters are stripped of their historical identities by becoming children, they repeat the violent actions in the past which implies that the Scots are "stuck with all these things" (González "An Interview" 106). In other words, the Protestant and Catholic dichotomy, English oppression and misogyny present in the 16th century is still in existence in 20th-century Scotland.

To conclude, in *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* Liz Lochhead employs various narrative techniques, deconstruct history and gender roles not only to show that history, nation, femininity and identity are mere constructions but also to re-construct Scottish national identity. As the voice of the Scottish nation, La Corbie and her fairy-tale-like storytelling play the most significant part in this construction. That is to say, by defining her version of Scotland and subverting historical events with parody and different narrative techniques, she reveals that both nation and history are imagined concepts. In this respect, *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* is not a history play or documentation, but cultural narrative constructed by La Corbie. Even though the play remains loyal to the historical events, it has been reassessed with a Scottish perspective. Her version of the story is revealed with comments, songs, utterance of the lines from Scottish ballads and Scottish lullabies, each of which is an ethnic marker of Scottish national identity. Moreover, national symbols, emblems and myth of "mother of the nation" mostly employed to underline 'distinctness' of the Scottish nation. Within La Corbie's frame narrative, Lochhead makes use of Brechtian alienation elements such as fragmented and episodic structure, songs, dances, lightening, anachronistic stage directions, and metatheatre. In doing so, Lochhead aims to reveal the link between the past and the present by creating an alienation effect not only to portray the historical events from a Scottish perspective but also to question the concepts of women, religion and politics in contemporary Scotland. Moreover, through the use of another Brechtian technique, character doubling, Lochhead also reveals the division in the Scottish

identity, Caledonian Antisyzygy, which mainly came out in the aftermath of the Anglo-Scottish union.

All in all, Lochhead displays that English dominance over Scotland is still prevalent by juxtaposing the periods of pre-Union (the 16th century) and post-Union (the 20th century). Moreover, through the conflict of the two female Catholic and Protestant monarchs of the 16th century the play shows that religion plays a pivotal role in the power struggle of the queens and their countries. The depiction of radical religious thoughts, bigotry and misogyny of Knox especially in his first encounter with Mary presents the corruption in 16th century reformed Scottish society. In this respect, it is revealed how religious sectarianism became the source of hatred and discrimination with the Reformation in Scotland. However, moving to the 20th-century world, the last scene evidently demonstrates that all the struggles, conflicts and violence still rule over the contemporary world. Within this context, *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* shows that history repeats itself; thus, in order to understand today, it is crucial to look at the past.

CHAPTER 3

AFTER HOLYROOD: POST-DEVOLUTION SCOTTISH DRAMA

3.1. The Re-Establishment of Scottish Parliament: Tim Barrow's *Union* (2014)

> Let our three voiced country
> Sing in a new world
> Joining the other rivers without dogma,
> But with friendliness to all around her.
> Let her new river shine on a day
>
> That is fresh and glittering and contemporary;
> Let it be true to itself and to its origins
> inventive, original, philosophical,
> its institutions mirror its beauty;
> then without shame we can esteem ourselves.

Iain Crichton Smith
"The Begining of a New Song" (1998)

Almost 300 years after Scotland voted its parliament out of existence, it re-opened the doors of a new parliament on 1 July 1999. At the opening ceremony of the devolved Scottish Parliament Tom Fleming, –a famous Scottish broadcaster– read Iain Crichton Smith's poem "The Beginning of a New Song". On the surface, the poem reflects the beginning of a new era in Scotland marked by multilingualism, multiplicity, and plurality. However, it was written as a response to the unionist Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Seafield's words "There's ane end of ane auld sang", which he uttered after signing the treaty of Union in 1707. The words of the Earl of Seafield refer to a 'sea of changes' that would inevitably take place in Scottish politics, society, economics as well as language and culture after the union. However, his reference to an "auld sang" reflects the unionist pessimism which deemed the union vital for continuity of the Scottish nation. Scotland went through similar changes after the 1999 devolution but unlike the Earl of Seafield pointing out 'the ending of an era', Ian Smith emphasising a 'new beginning' describing Scottish devolution as "a new song". In this

respect, the new constitutional settlement is a watershed in Scottish history that heralds hope, renewal, and a better future for Scotland putting a new face on 292- year- old administrative system.

The reverberations of the constitutional change were felt not only in the political, social, and cultural world of Scotland which underwent a radical transformation, adaption and re-creation process but also in the Scottish literary landscape which evolved in various directions in the post-devolution era. Scottish theatre in particular flourished with the establishment of a devolved Scottish Parliament. Scots, who had been subjects for almost 300 years, became 'citizens' again and theatre was one of the best ways to adapt people to the changing and shifting circumstances. The significant role theatre will play in the post-devolution period is discussed by David Greig and David Harrower in "Why a New Scotland Must Have a Properly-Funded Theatre" the article they wrote for *The Scotsman*:

> Scotland has voted to redefine itself as a nation. To redefine ourselves we need to understand ourselves, exchange ideas and aspirations, confront enduring myths, expose injustices, and explore our past. The quality, accessibility, and immediacy of Scottish theatre make it one of the best arenas in which these dialogues can take place. (15)

The notion necessary to reshape the nation in this transition period had already been undertaken by the new Scottish playwrights of the 1990s including David Greig, David Harrower, Stephen Greenhorn, Zinnie Harris, as well as Rona Munro, Sue Glover and Peter Arnott. A radical change took place in forms, styles and narratives as well as the representation of national identity in the works produced in the 1990s. Scottish dramatists began to deal with "international and outward-looking" stories and "essentially and

immediately committed to work within and about Scottish society" (Scullion "Self and Nation" 388).[150] Cross-border matters became popular and Scottish matters were reflected within more global contexts and settings (i.e. David Greig's *Europe* (1994), *Damascus* (2006)). Nevertheless, a distinct Scottish voice has always been present in the works which preserve their nationalist perspective to some extent. In view of these developments, the new generation became the representative of 'variety and diversity' which marked the beginning of 'a new period' in Scottish drama.

The novelties and diversity that prevailed over the Scottish theatre stage of the 1990s[151] are termed as "new wave" by many critics (Zenzinger 1996; Holdsworth 2008, McDonald 2008) and associated with remarkable developments[152] in the theatre industry of the nineties. According to Jan McDonald a multiplicity in styles and subjects originated in eight companies that operated in Scotland in the nineties, namely the Citizens', the Tron, the Royal Lyceum, the Traverse, touring companies like TAG (Theatre about Glasgow), 7:84, Borderline, Communicado and the Repertory Companies (221-22). Moreover, international touring companies and festivals such as the Edinburgh International Festival (inaugurated in 1947) and Mayfest (inaugurated in 1983) contributed to the 'globalization' of Scottish Drama and paved the way for embracing international subject matters as well as forms and styles. In a similar vein, in "A Stage of One's Own: The Artistic Devolution of Contemporary Scottish Theatre", András Beck asserts that opening of the Tramway as a venue for theatre

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[150] Especially after devolution, Scottish playwrights embarked on redefining Scotland's identity "in the context of global changes" since Scotland was a 'nation' again that should determine its place in the international arena. See Zenzinger, Peter. "The New Wave". *Scottish Theatre since the Seventies*. edited by Randall Stevenson and Gavin Wallace, Edinburgh UP, 1996, p.126.

[151] For further information see, McDonald, Jan. "Towards National Identities: Theatre in Scotland". *The Cambridge History of British Theatre: Volume 3,* edited by Baz Kershaw. Cambridge UP, 2008, pp.195-228.

[152] A similar assertion can be found in "Introduction" Randall Stevenson and Cairns Craig wrote to the anthology *Twentieth Century Scottish Drama.* They argue that the opening of new artistic platforms such as the Tramway and Traverse created spaces for workshops on new writing, for national and international touring companies, and more importantly, for the performances of new plays. As a result of this diversity, a sort of confidence flourished generating 'the new wave' in Scottish drama. For an overview on the development of new wave in Scottish drama see, Stevenson, Randall, and Cairns Craig. "Introduction". *Twentieth Century Scottish Drama,* edited by Randall Stevenson and Cairns Craig. Canongate, pp.vii-xiv.

performances in 1988 and the premiere of David Greig's *Europe* in 1994 are the main events that laid the groundwork for the emergence of the new wave playwriting (48). In the light of these considerations, the contribution of 'the new artistic platforms' to the evolution of a new kind of playwriting in Scotland is undeniable, but a real 'theatrical' metamorphosis took place with devolution.

To reshape and reframe society during the making of the new Scottish Parliament, Scottish playwrights dealt with current social and political matters, and "change" and "reorientation" became two significant themes of the post-devolutionary Scottish drama (Zenzinger 125). Thus, interest in the past and history, which has always been a significant way to foster Scottish national identity, shifted to the present issues. Playwrights no longer revealed a direct link between the Scottish nation's past and the present in order to discuss wider issues, as in the case with John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*. National politics and identity gave its place to individualism, personal politics and identity, mostly represented through a vivid depiction of human relations and family ties. In this sense, since national confidence and pride[153] increased with the gained administrative autonomy, the endeavour to re-construct and foster Scottish identity vanished in the post-devolution Scotland. Devolution, thereby, revised everything unquestioningly accepted before including national identity.

Broadly speaking, the representation of national identity also underwent a revolutionary transformation in this new era. The devotion to create Scottish identity in comparison to English identity especially by emphasising Scotland's difference from "England" was superseded by the reflection of differences within Scotland. Without the need

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[153] In *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation*, David McCrone points out a recent survey carried out after the Scottish Parliamentary election in 1999. According to the survey, pride in national icons such as tartan, William Wallace, Scottish landscapes, and Scottish music as well as being Scottish increased. The 79 per cent of the Scots take pride in 'tartan', 76 per cent of them were proud of William Wallace, 97 per cent were proud of Scottish landscape and 82 per cent of the Scots were proud of Scottish music (McCrone 143). Within this scope, there was no need to promote national identity or spark national consciousness since they were already invigorated by the establishment of a national parliament representing the Scottish nation.

to prove their Scottishness they created a distinctive Scottish theatrical tradition and promoted national identity by employing ethnic images and markers of Scottishness, traditional forms and styles, vernacular language, historical topic or national setting. With the new devolved parliament national identity seemed to lose its significance on the Scottish agenda and became a more shifting and flexible term representing diversity and pluralism. With the influence of Globalization, it was redefined with respect to the new concepts like 'cosmopolitanism', 'multiculturalism' and 'post colonialism'. In this regard, the 'imagined' nature of Scotland shifted (Scullion 373) and Scottishness evolved into a more comprehensive identity that embraced all kinds of identities encapsulating gender, class and ethnic identities inside and outside Scotland. As a result, "a new non-threatening nationalism", "one that can accommodate both the nation's internal plurality and its ambition towards international engagement" developed in the devolved Scotland (Reid 199).

For Scots, on the other hand, as Labour leader John Smith (1992-94) expressed, devolution was an 'unfinished business' left from the 1979 Devolution referendum. In this respect, the referendum of 1997 achieved what the failed 1979 referendum intended, and was supposed to end the 'unfinished business'. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that devolution is 'a continuing process' not an event that has an end (MacLeish 2013, Blandford 2013, Sutcliffe 2017). Within this context, maintaining a partial legislative self-determination aroused a kind of hope and a wish to attain further independence. In particular, the SNP's growing political power[154] and a devotion to achieve a full Scottish independence evidently shows that the devolved Scottish Parliament of 1999 was not "the final word" but "a new stake in a longer-term process of political negotiation on the future of Scotland and the modernisation of the UK as a whole" (Sutcliffe 86). As a result of this commitment to

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[154] In the 1990s the SNP became the Second Party in Scottish politics and continued to rise in 2007 beginning to govern Scotland for the first time in the party's history as the minority government. In 2011, the SNP achieved to form a majority government at Holyrood, and since then the party has retained its title to be the first party of Scotland.

independence, Scotland embarked on a long journey including a failed independence referendum in 2014 and a probable second one (also called 'indyref 2') which turned 'the matter of independence' into an 'unfinished and never-ending business'.

On the road to the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum rediscovering the Scottish nation aroused interest in Scottish history, especially in the pre-union period, again to heighten awareness about how Scotland was before the union. As in plays such as Alistair Beaton's *Caledonia* (2010), David Greig's *Dunsinane* (2010), Rona Munro's *The James Plays* (2014) revisioning the past not only illuminated the electorate, who would determine the Scottish nation's future in the independence referendum but also revived their national identity which became "banal"[155] after the new constitutional settlement in 1999. Furthermore, especially elaborating on historical facts most of which were not taught at schools such as the failure of Darien Scheme as in Beaton's *Caledonia* and Macbeth's being a successful king who hold the throne for 17 years as in Greig's *Dunsinane,* Scottish playwrights deconstructed the romanticised history. In "Freeing ourselves from inner exile", a newspaper article he wrote in *The Herald*, acknowledged Scottish novelist William McIIvanney asserted that as a result of having been romanticised for years Scottish history was deprived of a continuity and a coherent whole:

> Not only was our history largely suppressed but those parts of it which were acknowledged were often taught in such a way that they seemed to appear suddenly out of nowhere. A sense of continuity was difficult to grasp. This was the pop-up picture school of history. Oh, look. There's Bonnie Prince Charlie. Where did he come from? And that's Mary Queen of Scots. Somebody cut her head off. Wasn't it the English? Moments of history isolated in this way from the qualifying details of context

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[155] For an overview of the term see "Chapter 1.1. National Identity in Theory", and also Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. Sage Publication, 1995.

can be made to mean whatever we want them to mean. Our relationship to them tends

to be impulsive and emotional rather than rational, since there is little for rationality to

feed on. We see our past as a series of gestures rather than a sequence of actions. It's

like looking in a massively cracked mirror. We identify our Scottishness in wilful

fragments. (*The Herald*, 6 March 1999)

As observed, Scottish history has been dominated by a few 'heroic figures' such as Robert

Bruce and William Wallace, 'royalties' like Mary Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie

or 'battles and events' like Battle of Bannockburn and the Highland Clearances. Irrespective

of cause and effect relations between historical facts and figures, the history of Scotland was

mythologized by polishing some events and characters while disregarding the others. Within

this context, Scottish playwrights started to 'demythologise' and 'de-romanticise' their history

to create a meaningful whole on the road to the independence referendum.

Starting with this idea, Scottish film producer and playwright Tim Barrow wrote his

second play *Union* which challengingly[156] dramatizes unknown historical and political events

around the 1707 Anglo-Scottish union. In an interview with Melissa Steel, Barrow states "I

didn't know anything at all. I wasn't taught [it] at school – I don't really think it is in the

national consciousness, so in 2008 I decided to have a look at it and see what this Act of

Union is about".[157] In this respect, in *Union* Barrow shows the untaught facts about the

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[156] In "Union and the Ironies of Displacement", Colin Kidd points out 'rarity' of the 1707 Union of Parliaments in the Scottish canon. He asserts that union has been ignored by Scottish critics and literary figures since the canon was mostly "product of union" as well as "unionist writers". Besides, it was "so taken for granted that it became unnoticed part of the background to Scottish public (27). In this respect, elaborating on such an untouched matter as Anglo-Scottish union especially through a Scottish eye rather than a unionist one, Tim Barrow either directly and consciously, or tacitly and unconsciously challenges the Scottish cannon. For further discussion on the 'invisibility' of the Union in the Scottish literature see Kidd, Colin. "Union and the Ironies of Displacement". *Literature and Union: Scottish Texts, British Contexts,* edited by Gerrard Carruthers and Colin Kidd. Oxford UP, 2018, pp. 1-41

[157] See Barrow, Tim. "Union Playwright Tim Barrow: 'The Drama of 1707 is Incredible'". Interviewed by Melissa Steel, 26 Mar. 2014, www.wow247.co.uk/2014/03/31/union-theatre-review/. Accessed 30 Jun. 2018.

Scottish history by examining the so-called 'marriage of England and Scotland'[158]. Developing a Scottish perspective through a striking reassessment of the Anglo-Scottish Union, the play, thus, not only arouses national consciousness but also fills the gaps in the 'fragmented narration of the Scottish history' (Steel).

According to Barrow knowing one's own history is vital "for anyone who is looking at what is going on currently politically" (Steel). In *Union,* Barrow juxtaposes two events, the 1707 Union and the current independence referendum, in terms of the decisive role they played in Scotland's future. Though written years ago, the play makes its debut on the stage six months before the Scottish Independence Referendum. With respect to the delayed premiere of the play Barrow explains that "Maybe it's good to go back to a time when Scotland was an independent country and was considering giving that up, in a year in which we may be doing the opposite" (*The Scotsman* 16 March 2014).[159]Within this scope, taking the audience back to the period when Scotland was independent was quite instrumental in raising national awareness at the time disparity between 'unionists' and 'pro-independence supporters' prevailed among Scottish society.

Since the Anglo-Scottish Union was marked by various intrigues and bribery, *Union* aims to show that relinquishing independence was not actually the desire of the Scottish nation but the result of English intrigues and Scottish politicians' greed. As a supporter of "Yes Scotland" campaign, Barrow advocates that Scotland should be independent as the two

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[158] The 'marriage' metaphor was further specified as "marriage of convenience" as both England and Scotland benefited from the union. That is to say, England used Scottish sources for political-military purpose whereas Scotland, hit by a severe economic crisis after the failure of the Darien Scheme in 1700, benefited from economic powers of its new partner. In this respect, this so-called 'marriage of convenience' was predicated on both countries' interests and lost its significance on the Scottish side when the empire lost power. For further discussion on the 'union' as "the marriage of convenience" see McCrone, David. *Understanding Scotland*: *The Sociology of a Nation*. (Second ed.), Routledge, 2001, p. 59.

[159] The Executive director of Lyceum Theatre Alex McGowan points out the importance of the play's timing and explains how they decided the time to stage *Union:* "We knew we were going to do it at some point this year, but we didn't want to do it too close to the referendum in case everyone was fed up with talking about it, and we didn't want to do it too far in advance [so] that people wouldn't be interested in it". See, McGowan, Alex. "Union Playwright Tim Barrow: 'The Drama of 1707 is Incredible'". Interviewed by Melissa Steel, 26 Mar. 2014, www.wow247.co.uk/2014/03/31/union-theatre-review/. Accessed 30 Jun. 2018.

nations were not meant to be united in the first place by demonstrates pros and cons of 'leaving the UK' and 'maintaining the status quo' in the play.[160]*Union*, in this sense, has a great contribution to the independence debates both by reasserting Scottish national identity with an emphasis on Scotland's being a distinct nation and revisiting a historical event that resonates with the current Scottish independence debates. In the light of these considerations, this idea, the chapter aims to reveal how *Union* supports the idea of independence for Scotland by reasserting Scottish identity through ethnic and national markers, icons, symbols, and myths as well as deconstructing history through a depiction of the unknown pre-union Scottish-English politics.[161]

The play comprised of three acts and twenty-two scenes begins in an unknown date while ending on 25 March 1707, the last time the Scottish Parliament convened to dissolve itself. Act I is composed of six scenes which mainly dwell upon the motives behind the proposal of the Anglo-Scottish Union, for both Scotland and England. To this end, at the very

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[160] In an article published by National Collective, a cultural movement supporting Scottish independence between 2011-2014, Barrow clearly states that "independence is an offer of hope" for Scotland. He states that he will vote Yes in the 2014 Referendum and continues: "Voting Yes means embracing the challenge, taking responsibility, fighting for our values, and sharing the bounty of our inheritance. Devolution has been an incredible success, and the natural conclusion for this process is full independence, which simply restores Scotland's rightful nationhood." Barrow regards devolution as an 'unfinished business' which will not be completed without the achievement of full independence. For him, independence is necessary for the maintenance of Scottish culture. For this reason, he encourages people to vote in favour of independence by enumerating positive sides of voting yes in the independence referendum. For further information on Barrow, Tim. "Independence is an Offer of Hope". National Collective, 29 Jun. 2013, www.nationalcollective.com/2013 /06/29/tim-barrow-independence-is-an-offer-of-hope/#disqus_thread. Accessed 25 May 2018.

[161] At this point, it is important to clarify the reason why the play was handled as a post-devolutionary play rather than as a part of the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum plays. Although it seems quite convenient to discuss *Union* in the final part of this study, the play composed in 2008 aimed to shed light on unknown part of the Scottish history which would augment national consciousness rather than "seek[ing] metaphors to deal with the dilemmas of today" (Farrell "Union Blues"). As Joseph Farrell expressed "Any connection between views uttered in 1707 and those issued now is hardly coincidental or casual, but parallels in the issues under discussion then and now are left to emerge in the audience's mind." For further discussion see, Farrell, Joseph. "Union Blues". Scottish Review of Books, 26 May 2014, www.scottishreviewofbooks.org/2014/05/union-blues/. Accessed 6 Jun. 2018. In this sense, *Union* is devoted to growing national awareness though there is an indisputable link between the Union of 1707 and the current independence referendum. Besides, unlike other experimental plays in the final part like *Theatre Uncut Scottish Referendum Plays* and *Yes/No Plays*, *Union* employs earlier dramatic traditions to revive national identity such as adopting historical subjects and setting and employing a wide range of national and culture markers as is the case with *The Cheviot*, and *Mary Queen of Scots*. Within this scope, the play will be handled as a play in transitional period from traditional plays committed re-constructing national identity to the play reflecting national identity and giving responses to the Scottish independence debates.

beginning of the play political and economic problems that England and Scotland were exposed to in the 18th century are laid bare. In this respect, in Act I, the characters reveal how Scotland was 'financially' desperate while England was heirless, vulnerable to the Catholic Jacobite threat and ruled by a politically oblivious and mentally unstable Queen. Furthermore, the corruption, hypocrisy and greed are unveiled when Defoe brings the list of the Scottish nobles who accepted to vote in favour of the union in return for money supplied by the English. On the other hand, in the Bank of England (London), English politicians Walpole, Marlborough, Harley, Halifax and celebrated playwright William Congreve hold a secret meeting to discuss the pros and cons of the union with Scotland. In so doing, two different perspectives of the same issues (Scottish and English) are presented to the audience. The act ends with the first session called to discuss the union with England in the Scottish Parliament on 3 October 1706, which remains inconclusive.

Act II shifts to November 1706, two months before the Treaty of Union was signed. Similar to the previous act, Act II is composed of six scenes, but it differs from Act I in adapting symbolic language. The act mainly elaborates on Queen Anne's private life, and the love affair between the Scottish prostitute Grace and Scottish makar and wig-maker Allan Ramsay. Within this context, the Queen's unhappy marriage and seventeen miscarriages are disclosed when Earl of Stair and the Duke of Queensberry, who come to Kensington Palace as the commissioners of the Scottish Parliament, get her drunk with whiskey. Furthermore, being intoxicated she has sexual intercourse with William (the master of her household). On the other hand, in Edinburgh Allan Ramsay takes Grace to Queen Mary's bedchamber, where they discuss Scotland's social and political circumstances more than the future of their relation. Despite mainly elaborates on the private lives, the act ends in Kensington Palace with Harley and Defoe, who derisively assess Scottish people and union with Scotland in general.

Unlike the first two acts, Act III is composed of ten short scenes and all of which, except for Scene 8 and Scene 9, take place in Edinburgh as the act switches to 15 January 1707, the final day of the debate on the union with England. Thus, the final act mainly revolves around the enactment of the Treaty of Union by the Scottish Parliament and its reverberations in Scotland. Upon the rumours that the Scottish Parliament has decided to annul itself, a riot erupts under the leadership of Macdonald. Grace dies after her abortion, yet on her deathbed gives Allan Ramsay the list of the bribed Scottish politicians who voted in favour of the union. Ramsay delivers the list to Lord Belhaven who defends the independent statues of the country in the Parliament yet fails to gain support. The setting turns to 16 January 1707, when the Treaty of Union was passed by a majority of 110 votes to 67 in the Scottish Parliament. The Act finally shifts to 25th March 1707, the last time the Scottish Parliament convened to dissolve itself. Although the final act portrays a state of turmoil marked by storm, abortion, death, and a riot the play ends with Allan Ramsay's hopeful lines reflecting his faith that a day will come when Scotland will be independent again.

As this brief overview helps to illustrate, the play has a fragmented structure. Each scene sequentially shuttles back and forth between Edinburgh and London, mostly between The Saltyre in Edinburgh and Kensington Palace in London. Tim Barrow notes that the moment he started writing, he realized that "this play had to move between Edinburgh and London, and between the classes as well, from the Palace of Kensington to the darkest tavern on the Royal Mile" (*The Scotsman* 16 March 2014). Within this context, the two different sides are portrayed by constructing an English counterpart for every Scottish character: Allan Ramsay and the Daniel Defoe, Grace and Queen Anne, MacDonald and William (master of Queen Anne's Household), Earl of Seafield and Robert Harley, Favour and Sarah Churchill, and the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Queensberry *et cetera*. In particular Queen Anne and Grace, who are used as metaphors for England and Scotland, stand in stark binary

opposition. Queen Anne was 'barren' as she had 17 miscarriages and could not produce an heir to the English throne, whereas Grace is 'fertile', though she dies during abortion process. Although Grace's "abortion" should be seen as "a symbol Scotland's thwarted ambitions[162] and the queen's miscarriages as a metaphor for England's emotional dead-end" as Mark Fisher notes, the play proved unsatisfactory in terms of developing ideas and producing scenes to justify them.[163] Furthermore it pinpoints the incompatibility of the two countries.

As the late 17th or early 18th century Scotland experienced a sequence of disasters, economic depression, upheavals and a massacre, there are a wide range of characters from renowned Scottish and English politicians, spies, literary figures to the lowest part of the society owner of pub, and prostitutes whom Barrow chooses according to their role in 18th century Scottish politics. For example, James Ogilvy, Earl of Seafield, was the Lord Chancellor who signed the treaty that ended Scotland's independence; William Douglas, Duke of Queensbury, the Privy Seal of Scotland who ordered the abandonment of the Darien Scheme; John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, responsible for the massacre of Glencoe which caused the death of many innocent Highlanders in 1692, and Sergeant Campbell the member of Campbell Clan who had a feud with McDonald Clan and played a significant role in the massacre of Glencoe. In a similar vein, fictional characters that represent the lower strata like McDonald, the owner of the Saltyre pub, and Grace, the prostitute, are portrayed to refer

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[162] This refers to Scotland's imperial ambitions to establish a colony named 'Caledonia' in the Isthmus of Darien (also known as Isthmus of Panama) between 1698-1700. As a result of the disasters and catastrophes –called "ill years" (1690-1697)– brought about, Scots embarked on an expedition to Darien to establish a colony that would reinvigorate collapsed Scottish economy. However, bad weather conditions, famine, diseases and deaths as well as England's attempts to prevent the establishment of a Scottish colony caused the failure of the expedition. That is, as the English Parliament who did not want their northern border to gain political and economic strength King William issued an edict forbidding any attempt from the English colonies in America and the West Indian Islands to supply either equipment or food to the newly-established Scottish colony at Darien (Cullen 176). In this respect, the demise of the scheme was unavoidable for the Scots which also made Union with England inevitable as Scotland's economy worsened. For further information on the Darien Scheme see Cullen, Edward. *Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal, with a Full History of the Scotch Colony of Darien ... by Dr Cullen, ... 2nd Edition*. London: E. Wilson, 1853.

[163] For further discussion see Fisher, Mark. "Union review – Costume drama meets panto in tale of UK's foundation". *The Guardian*. 26 Mar 2014, www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/mar/26/union-review-royal-lyceum-edinburgh. Accessed 1 Jun. 2018.

wider issues. For instance, McDonald belongs to the MacDonald clan of Glencoe[164] who was slaughtered as they were late to pledge allegiance to King William I and Queen Mary; whereas, Grace and Favour are a rejection on Scotland's being 'sold' for personal profits and thus, doomed to perish at the hands of her covetous politicians and auld enemy England. In this respect, both historical and fictional characters are utilized to evoke bitter collective traumatic memories and thereby are used as a significant way to reflect national identity in the play.

In contrast to the characters, each of whom promote national identity either being a symbol or reviving painful collective memories, language does not become a medium of developing national identity in the play. In other words, in *Union,* English rather than vernacular language is used in the representation of both English and Scottish figures unlike the use of a mixture of Gaelic, Scots and English in *Mary Queen of Scots* and Gaelic in *The Cheviot*. The preference to employ English rather than Scottish vernacular language might be related to the low percentage of Scots who can speak and understand vernacular languages in contemporary Scotland compared to past. In this respect, the use of Gaelic in the play might have been a handicap to the transmission of the historical facts to the audience. Besides, the influence of 'pluralism', 'multiculturalism', and 'globalism' in the post-devolution era transformed Scottish national identity into a more 'civic' identity which embraces and accepts anyone 'living and working in Scotland' as 'Scottish'. Within this scope, in *Union* language is neither used as a marker of distinctiveness nor politicized as an emblem of national identity as was used in the aforementioned two plays. National identity, thereby, is promoted mostly through 'what the characters say' rather than 'how they say' or through 'which language they say'. Thus, Scottish identity has been recreated by virtue of the characters' nationalist discourse, national markers, symbols and icons which are abundant in the play.

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[164] For further information about 'the Massacre of Glencoe' see Chapter 1.2. "A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

The play opens in 'The Saltyre'[165] in a rainy evening with Allan Ramsay's dragging an unconscious stranger to the pub whom later appeared to be Daniel Defoe, the English spy and writer. The name of the pub is quite symbolic as the 'saltyre' connotes 'the saltire', an X-shaped cross in Scottish flag, thereby, represents the national emblem of Scotland. In this sense, a miniature of Scotland is built within The Saltyre where most of the debates on the future of the nation take place. Moreover, the characters of this 'miniature' Scotland is introduced by Allan Ramsay who serves as a kind of 'narrator' interpreting events, describing Scottish politicians as well as giving background information about the previous events from a Scottish standpoint. In this sense, beginning the act with a conversation between a Scottish poet and a stranger is quite instrumental in introducing Scotland, the national character and inclinations of the Scots, as well as the clichés and peculiarities attributed to the Scottish nation:

RAMSAY: Welcome tae Edinburgh!

Beer's rough, and the locals reckless.

    [...]

Been a shocking year.

Failed harvest.

Bread extortionate. Everything goes up.

Drink. Disesase. Taxes. Riots in Glasgow. Nothing new there" (24-25).

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[165] The X-shaped cross composed of a white saltire (a diagonal cross) on a blue background is also known as St Andrew 's cross. There are various rumours about the origins of Scotland's national flag and its relation to St. Andrew, the Patron saint of Scotland. The most widespread belief is that St. Andrew was crucified on a diagonal cross in the 7th century. On the eve of a battle with the Vikings he appeared in the dream of the Pictish king, King Angus with a silver diagonal cross and guided him owing to which they won the battle and began to use the saltire as a national symbol. See, Groom, Nick. *The Union Jack: The Story of the British Flag*. Atlantic Books, 2017.

The fact that 'beer' is the first thing that Ramsay comments on reveals how Scots are keen on drinking. Besides, he touches upon another generalisation or stereotypical feature of Scots calling them 'reckless'. Ramsay's description of the Scottish nation and Scotland is reinforced by further national markers such as national dispositions, appearances, and weather condition which are frequently foregrounded throughout the play. To this end, the weather in Edinburgh is rainy throughout the play and almost all of the Scottish characters are portrayed as coarse looking, drunk people using coarse language. In this sense, the stereotypical portrayal of Scots and Scotland in the play is quite influential in reconstructing national identity since similarities strengthen the nationalistic bond among people and make them feel akin to each other by creating a 'comradeship'.

On the other hand, after introducing the Scots, Ramsay portrays the chaotic atmosphere Scotland was in the late 17th century. His vivid depiction of the 'ill years'[166] marked by financial crisis, severe famine and diseases provides the necessary background for the debates surrounding the union at the beginning of the play. Moreover, one of these 'disasters', the Massacre of Glencoe comes to the fore with the appearance of Earl of Stair and Earl of Seafield in the pub. Upon learning that the name of the pub's owner is MacDonald, Earl of Seafield interrogates him and learns that his sister died in the Massacre of Glencoe. In so doing, the play revives the bitter memory of the massacre scarring the national psyche, and thus promotes Scottish identity by reinforcing the long-lasting solidarity within the nation. Thus, like so-called narrator Allan Ramsay who manifests the Scottish political scene, the Earl of Seafield and the Earl of Stair are of great importance in terms of uncovering past events, political developments, and hidden schemes. Before the scene shifts to London, they not only discuss England's political dead-end referring to their succession problem and

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[166] For further information on the 'ill years' see "Chapter 1.2. A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

the Jacobite threat, but also unveil the ongoing secret negotiations between Scottish and English politicians over the Act of Union.

The negotiations are further revealed when the stranger, Daniel Defoe, appears with a letter from Westminster containing a list of Scottish nobility that will be bribed to vote in favour of union with England. In this respect, Defoe is the only witness to Scottish politicians' selling their country thus he could hardly convince Ramsay who has faith in their politicians:

> **RAMSAY:** Never happen.
>
> How can ye join fire and ice?
>
> Our leaders protect their nation.
>
> Mob would string them up otherwise. (70)

The metaphor of "fire and ice" evidently shows how impossible the union of the two auld enemies seems to Scots. Ramsay's remarks, in this sense, attest both to his 'idealism', which regards Scots as "the proudest nation on Earth" (70) and to the firm trust Scots blindly placed on their nobility. Nonetheless, being the very embodiment of corruption and hypocrisy, the Duke of Queensberry proves Ramsay wrong, the moment he enters the pub. His drunkenness, unpleasant manners and coarse language serve as a clear evidence of his unreliability as they contradict with Ramsay's exaltation of him with compliments such as "truest patriot", "champion for desperate times", "our noble protector" and "Hercules" (74). However, as a renowned politician, he is quite successful at manipulating people with a nationalistic speech:

> My Brothers!
>
> We shall be unceasing! Unanswering!
>
> In our efforts to drive Scotland-

THIS GLORIOUS COUNTRY-

Onwards to the new MAGNIFICENT future

BY THE BLOOD OF OUR ANCESTORS

Her Rightful Place Among Equals

In the Proud Dawn of this New Century!!!!!!!!!!! (77)

The political discourse of Queensberry is loaded with exaggerated national implications. The use of "my brothers" as the addressee serves to augment national identity by uniting everyone in a common cause. Besides, adjectives like 'glorious', 'magnificent' and 'proud' are employed to praise and extol Scottish nation while allusion to ancestors heightens national sentiments underlining the nation's historic continuity. Nevertheless, contrary to his pretension to nationalism and independence, Queensberry was there not to defend the nation's will but to sell the country for his personal benefit. In this sense, the gap between Queensberry's words and deeds creates a dramatic irony, which increases the tension in the face of the ignorance of Ramsay and Scottish people who applause him in the pub.

Act I, scene iv draws an exact correspondence to the previous scene as it is devoted to reflecting resonance of the same events in the English side. To this end, similar to their Scottish counterparts, Lord Halifax, Robert Walpole, William Congreve and the Duke of Marlborough discuss the proposed union with Scotland. They talk about Scotland and Scots foregrounding their national propensities and markers. The Duke of Marlborough, who once lived in Scotland describes Scots as "completely wild", "hunt in packs- burning, fucking, drinking everything in sight" and Highlanders as "barely human" and "terrific fighters" whereas William Congreve points out Scottish 'kilt' calling it "skirt" (101-102). Furthermore, while discussing the profits they gained from this union, they once more point out national peculiarities of Scotland which give Scotland a reputation in the international arena such as

"lace", "beef", "whisky", 'good fighters' (110). These prominent figures of England, within this context, draw the frame of Scottishness by enumerating these national parameters, markers and characters which forge national identity. However, common features and national characteristics the English characters attributed to the Scots contradict at certain points with Allan Ramsay's portrayal in the previous scene. Contrary to Ramsay's depiction of Scots as "the proudest nation on Earth" (70), they assert that Scots are "devoid of loyalty and national pride" as they willingly give away their country. In this sense, through a reassessment of the overall situation in Scotland, they also serve to demonstrate how absurd to surrender one's country to another so willingly even if it is called 'union'.

The play hitherto displays secret meetings, hidden negotiations, bribery and corruption all of which take place in The Saltyre and Ramsay's Lodging in Edinburgh alongside Kensington Palace and Bank of England EGM in London. In Scene 6, however, the setting shifts to the Scottish Parliament which was convened on 3 October 1706 to discuss the proposed union with England. The debates revolved around two factions namely 'the defenders of independence' represented by Duke of Hamilton and Lord Belhaven and 'unionists' represented by Duke of Queensberry, Earl of Stair and Earl of Seafield[167]. Firstly, Earl of Stair takes the floor and proposes union both as a solution to Scotland's economic problems and as an opportunity to "civilize" the country "from Lowland to Highland" (125). His argument is dominated by an English standpoint which extols England as the begetter of development and improvement. On the other hand, the Duke of Hamilton delivers a nationalistic speech in response to the pro-unionist assertions of Earl of Stair. He states that

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[167] In a letter he wrote to the Queen's senior minister and the Lord Treasure of England on 1 August 1705, the Earl of Seafield explains his reasons to support the union: "My reasons for conjoining with England on good termes were these: that the kingdome of England is a Protestant kingdome and that, therefor, the joyneing with them was a security for our religion. 2nd, England has trade and other advantages to give us, which no other kingdome could affoord; 3rd, England has freedome and liberty, and that the joining with it was the best way to secure that to us; and 4th, that I saw no other method for secureing our peace, the two kingdomes being in the same island, and forreign assistance was both dangerous to ourselves and England and that, therefor, I was for a treatty." For an overview of the letter see Seafield, James O. *Letters Relating to Scotland in the Reign of Queen Anne*, edited by P H. Brown, vol XI, Edinburgh UP 1915.

Scots have fought hard to save their independence against the English assaults and although they provided England with a new monarch when their enemy have no heir to the throne, they are still an independent nation:

> **HAMILTON:** We are an independent race, Lords.
>
> We take pride in our Parliament,
>
> Our Law, Church, trade, culture.
>
> True, we share a sovereign with England,
>
> But remember from whose bloodline she descends.
>
> And if we so wish, we may choose our own heir to Queen Anne.
>
> Her father had another child in lawful wedlocks.
>
> A son. (126-27)

Unlike mentioned nationalistic overstatements of the Duke of Queensberry, the Duke of Hamilton produces a more plausible nationalistic discourse. Putting emphasis on the separate 'Parliament', 'Law', 'church', 'trade' and 'culture', which are mostly counted as the fundamental components of national identity, Duke of Hamilton points out that Scotland shares same crown with England not the same rules, culture or society.[168] Apart from this, Hamilton also refers to the prevalent succession problem in England pointing out the 'son' who stands for James Francis Edward Stuart, Jacobite half-brother of Queen Anne. Coming from the Scottish bloodline James Francis, as Hamilton claims, was a 'nationalist' and deemed as the rightful heir to the throne as Queen Anne was childless. Jacobitism, in this respect, was another force that strengthened the assertions of pro-independence faction by arousing national consciousness.

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[168] At this point, it is worth noting that even though most of the Scottish MPs were willing to dissolve their parliament they bargained over the preservation of an independent Scottish 'church', 'law', and 'education', which paved the way for the maintenance of a distinct Scottish identity after the union.

As observed, the pro-independence discourse was dominated by the claims on 'independence' and 'distinctiveness' while the assertions of the unionist faction were generally predicated on the economic circumstances and sharing the same geography and language. In this respect, the Duke of Hamilton ends his speech with a motto which summarizes the whole pro-independence discourse: "Two nations. Like oil and water, they cannot mix" (127). On the other hand, Earl of Stair points out the similarities between the two inhabitants of the island and points out that 'union is strength':

> Two nations.
>
> One language.One island.
>
> A Union of Crowns.
>
> Prosperity, economic stability, and imperial ambitions
>
> Can only be achieved by a single, strong, united Parliament! (128)

The discourses of the 'unionist' and 'pro-independence' factions, in this sense, evoke to 'Yes Scotland' and 'Better Together' campaigns of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum.[169] Thus, the Scottish audience not only comes up against the same dilemma between 'union' and 'independence' which their ancestors confronted almost three centuries before but also once more faces the reality that history repeats itself.

Act II, on the other hand, starts with small talk between Ramsay and Favour about the love story Ramsay just started to write and classical works. Shifting of the focus from the politics of the two countries to the literary career of Ramsay two months before the enactment of the Act of Union foreshadows that the act is devoted to personal politics rather than

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[169] The Campaigns of 'Yes Scotland' and 'Better Together' will be thoroughly examined in the following part of this study. Thus, for further investigation on the campaigns see Chapter 4. "The 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum and Scottish Drama".

national one. However, like most post-devolutionary plays personal and national politics merge with each other in the play which is reflected specifically through broken romance between Ramsay and Grace. Nevertheless, most critics regarded this romantic sub-plot as 'unnecessary' (Ewin "Theatre review"), rather 'distracting' and 'inconsequential' (Fisher "Union Review"), and "weaken[ing] the dramatic coherence of the work" (Farrell "Union Blues"). In this respect, Act II becomes the play's major shortcoming by delving too much into the personal relations with vague historical metaphors and straying away from the primary concern of the play.

At the beginning of the act Ramsay takes Grace to the 'Mary Queen of Scot's bedchamber' in Holyrood. Mary Queen of Scots was a symbolic figure, the mother of a nation, who gets pregnant with James, the future King of Scotland as well as England in that bedchamber. The symbolic setting, in this respect, attributes a national importance to Grace who similarly gets pregnant. But her pregnancy ended with an abortion and death which serves as an indicative of Scotland's thwarted ambitions and future. Their meeting there, in this sense, is of importance in terms of carrying implications for the future of both their romantic relation and Scotland. To this end, the conversation between the two lovers dwells mostly upon how socially and politically tough times Scotland currently has gone through. Ramsay describes the Scottish politicians, in particular the Duke of Queensberry, as the savours of the Scottish nation in these hard times and with a pure idealism asserts that "Like our forefathers we'll sign Declarations and draw up Covenants –"[170] (184). The "Declaration" refers to the 'Declaration of Arbroath' (1320) which serves as an oath of independence while 'Covenants' stands for the Scottish National Covenant in 1638 which refers to liturgical independence of the Scottish church. As the national symbol of 'independence' and 'freedom' alongside the power of the will of Scottish people, both Declaration and Covenant are

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[170] For further information on the declaration see Chapter 1.2. "A Historical Survey of National Identity and the Idea of Scottish Independence from Medieval Scotland to the Present".

employed here to glorify Scottish identity by reminding the audience the determinant role the will of people played in the fate of the nation. On the other hand, Grace insists that money has enough power to buy politicians as well as a country and Scotland is being parcelled for English money. Allan Ramsay's 'romanticism' and 'idealism', in this respect, stand in a sharp contrast to Grace's realism. This lays the groundwork for unveiling incongruity between the expectations of Scottish people about independence of the country and the reality of nobility who are willing to give up independence for personal profit.

In the meanwhile, in Kensington Palace, Earl of Stair and Duke of Queensberry waits to come into the presence of the Queen as the commissioners of the Scottish Parliament to convey a message. Before seeing the Queen, they quarrel with Daniel Defoe who pays a visit to irritate them with the realities they proffered to ignore:

> **DEFOE:** England owns you.
>
> And if we buy you, shall we not tax you?
>
> And shall we not recklessly fleece you for all you've got?
>
> And once you're bled dry,
>
> We'll take your industries, your culture, your history,
>
> And make them ours.
>
> English garrisons from Edinburgh to Inverseness.
>
> Boundaries will be redrawn. Your language will disappear.
>
> There's your conquest, Lords! (148)

Throughout the play Defoe frequently lays emphasis on how England conquered Scotland by stealth. His statements above, within this context, foreshadows that this is not the union of equal partners but a sort of invasion which will end up with loss of national language, culture

and even history. He further points out to the threat the essential components of Scottish identity would face after the union. Thus, the play aspires to forge national identity by tacitly inviting the Scottish audience to protect their "culture", "language", "history" and "national borders" and manifests that independence is the prerequisite for achieving this. After this short quarrel on politics, however, the act returns to personal politics unveiling the Queen's private life. That is, Stair and Queensberry get the Queen drunk in spite of travelling on a political mission to England. As a result, they have to face her miscarriages, lunacy, dispiriting wedding night and unhappy marriage. As drunk as the Queen, Queensberry even sings a coarse song in the presence of the Queen which not only evinces their drunkenness but also enlivens the spirit of the age. The act, thereby, ends with Harley's effort to clean up after the intoxicated Queen who had a sexual intercourse with her housekeeper William.

Contrary to the lightness, bawdiness and humour of Act II, the final act adopts a more serious and highly political tone beginning with the debates on Union with England in the Scottish Parliament on 15 January 1707. In the first scene, the hypocrisy and corruption of the Scottish politicians are unfolded with Queensberry, who pretends as if he negotiated in London for the benefit of Scottish nation, and Duke of Hamilton who changes his pro-independence discourse by supporting the union. The scene evidently manifests that pro-argument and counter argument of the factions has not change since the beginning of the play. The unionists, now represented by Hamilton, still point out "common bonds of language and monarchy", "trading opportunities", "colonial possibilities", "economic security" as well as "a threat of English invasion" (200). Whereas, pro-independence supporters like Belhaven touch upon how Scotland can benefit from union as England is also in great debt and has a corrupted Parliament which is divided as Tory and Whig. As a result, the debates remain inconclusive which is terminated in the next assembly on 16 January 1707 with the enactment of The Act of Union.

The "national suicide" as Defoe called the ratification of union (207) was met with protests and riots in the streets of Edinburgh. In particular, Scene 5 is devoted to the riot led by McDonald against the Act of union which obviously shows dissatisfaction and fury of Scots. The betrayal of Scottish politicians whom they counted on created great disappointment and anger. With the riots their anger turns into a national awakening which, according to Tim Barrow, should be taken as an example of democracy:

In Scotland there are various different periods in history when a sense of national consciousness arrived, and this is one of them, [...] It's a real lesson in terms of communities and towns gathering together, creating a united opposition to this idea which seemed to be foisted on them, a tremendous example of democracy in a time when democracy wasn't widely encouraged. (Mansfield *The Scotsman*).

Depicting people who do not submit to anything against their will, the play implicitly induces the Scottish audience to do the same by uniting around the cause of independence in the contemporary Scottish independence referendum.

Despite ending the political and historical side of the play by conveying this message to the audience, it still has to finalize the love affair between Grace and Ramsay which, though seems personal, metaphorically serves to overall political message. To this end, as the image of independent Scotland Grace dies after abortion. Nonetheless, giving Ramsay the list of the bribed Scottish politicians before dying she paves the way for the revelation of the names as well as how they sold their country in return for small bribes. In this respect, to reinforce this assertion, the play ends with a postscript of Robert Burns' celebrated poem "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation" which, though written eighty-five years after the Ango-Scottish union, still blames the Scottish MPs for selling out their country for financial gain:

Fareweel to our Scottish fame

Fareweel to ancient glory,

Fareweel evan tae the Scottish name

Sae famed in martial story!

[...]

We're bought and sold for English gold,

Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

The lines reflect Burn's fury against Scotland's loss of her independent status in return for English gold and new titles notwithstanding the heroic struggles of their ancestors to maintain independence and freedom. In this respect, Burns' poem serves as the overview of the play by summarizing bribery, the relinquishment of independence and loss of culture within a few sentences as well as increasing the impact of the untaught historical facts made on the audience.

To conclude, in *Union* Tim Barrow unfolds historical realities surrounding the union of England and Scotland in 1707 and draws a direct link between historical and current independence debates. Demonstrating the arguments of both the unionist and the pro-independence factions in the 17th century Scottish Parliament which evokes current campaigns of "Better Together" and "Yes Scotland", Tim Barrow underlines that "the play takes no side"[171]. However, as mentioned earlier, since Barrow is a supporter of "Yes Scotland" campaign, the play implicitly prompts the audience to support independence mainly by promoting national identity with the frequent use of national markers, symbols and clichés.

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[171] See Mansfield, Susan. "Tim Barrow's new play on 1707 Act of Union". *Review of Union,* directed by Mark Thomson. *The Scotsman*, 16 Mar. 2014. www.scotsman.com/arts-and culture/theatre/tim-barrow-s-new-play-on-1707-act-of-union-1-3342518. Accessed 29 May 2018.

To this end, *Union* frequently refers to key historical events such as Declaration of Arbroath, Covenants which invites people to unite around a common cause as well as national traumas such as Darien Scheme and Massacre of Glencoe which forges Scottish national identity. Besides, the play cherishes Scottish national peculiarities by portraying Scottish national character from both Scottish and English standpoints which strengthened the unity among Scottish audience. On the other hand, foregrounding the differences of the two nations with the metaphors "fire and ice" or "oil and water" *Union* lays bare two nations would have not united if it had not been greedy Scottish politicians and English intrigues. In the light of these considerations the play points out that Scottish politicians betrayed Scottish people and enacted the Act of Union against their people's true will. In so doing, the play elucidates the current Scottish independence debates and impels Scottish audience to take these historical facts into considerations before giving their decision about the future of the Scottish nation.

CHAPTER 4

THE 2014 SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM AND SCOTTISH DRAMA

On the road to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, Scottish theatre played a significant role as in the wake of the 'failure' of the 1979 Scottish Devolution referendum. As stated earlier, the post-1979 cultural revival led by Scottish writers made a vital contribution to the 1997 Scottish devolution. This shows that cultural autonomy has been and still is a prerequisite for obtaining more political power, as also noted by Scot Hames, the editor of the *International Journal of Scottish Literature*: "Cultural autonomy has been a crucial substratum for political autonomy', and could be so again, but actively and on terms shaped by artists rather than politics" (5). Within this context, artists, playwrights, and writers were as influential as politicians by providing a cultural stratum for the politics during the referendum period (2012-2014). Thus, with their involvement in politics, the political movement that the campaigns had initiated turned into a cultural one that had a great impact on not only Scottish politics but also on society itself. Especially following the release of official campaigns for 'Better Together' and 'Yes Scotland' in 2012, playwrights chose their sides - 'status quo' or 'independence'- and supported the campaigns with their works. To this end, a vast majority of leading Scottish playwrights including Liz Lochhead, David Greig, Alan Bissett, Peter Arnott, and David Hayman explicitly manifested their support for the 'Yes' campaign to persuade the Scottish people for independence and galvanise national identity, which was "neither biologically nor territorially given" but rather "creatively produced and staged" (Harvie 2). Thus, pro-independence rhetoric prevailed over Scottish dramatic landscapes in stark contrast to the biased media[172], which mainly exhibited a unionist attitude.

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[172] In "Yes Scotland': More than a Party Political Campaign, a National Movement Fostering a New Active Citizenship", Annie Thiec points out clear bias the media had in favour of the No campaigns in the Scottish independence referendum. She asserts that "the terms of the debate in the media were very much dictated by the parties defending the Union, from the outset right to the end [...] and the conventional media in Scotland

Scottish theatre became an influential and alternative way of diminishing the impact of the unionist media. Having allusively touched upon national politics through personal relations in the post-devolution period, theatre became more directly involved in politics and especially in independence debates. The Scottish stage was dominated by short experimental theatrical pieces. Scottish playwrights staged thought provoking unorthodox plays, sketches, monologues, debates, projects, short theatrical performances, and talks committed to discussing the pros and cons of both independence and the union.[173] On the other hand, there were also plays which adopted conventional theatrical forms to directly or indirectly reassert national identity. History again became a significant vehicle to not only foster national identity, but also avoid addressing current independence and status quo discussions directly. In this respect, historical frames were used in plays such as Tim Barrow's *Union* (as discussed in previous chapter), Rona Munro's trilogy *The James Plays*[174] (2014), and Rob Drummond's *Wallace*[175] (2014) to raise concern for current political developments. In "Unsettled Will: Cultural Engagement and Scottish Independence", Cairns Craig notes that "a large proportion of the Scottish people have taken back ownership of their cultural past as the ground on which they can build their creative future" (144). Within this context, these plays re-constructed

intentionally portrays such picture to equate supporting independence to supporting the SNP. As a result, people supporting independence but disliking the policies of the SNP especially of Alex Salmond gave up supporting the Yes campaigns. Thus, there was a decrease in Yes votes. See Thiec, Annie. 'Yes Scotland': More than a Party Political Campaign, a National Movement Fostering a New Active Citizenship", Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique XX-23 Jul. 2015, journals.openedition.org/rfcb/401. Accessed 09 Jul. 2019. See also Macwhirter, Ian. *Disunited Kingdom: How Westminster Won a Referendum but Lost Scotland*. Cargo Publishing, 2014.

[173] Experimental plays of the Scottish independence referendum will be discussed in the following chapter.

[174] The play is a historical cycle composed of *They will Keep the Lock, Day of Innocents* and *The True Mirror* which dwell upon three generations of the Stewart kings James I (1406-1437), James II (1437-1460), and James III (1460-1488). Although Munro asserted that the trilogy was not inspired by the current referendum debates, the plays' emphasis on the power of unity in forging a nation as well as picking a historical event resonating in contemporary Scotland are interpreted as a refutation of her assertion.

[175] Although the name of the play evokes William Wallace, *Wallace* is not a pure historical play but a mixture of historical and experimental frames. That is, the play is composed of three acts responding to "the political, historical and personal context of the referendum" (Bissell and Overend 246). First act is a TV panel discussion among a journalist, MPs, and a comedian in which the audience also get involved. However, the second part shifts to 13th century Scotland with the appearance of medieval figures such as William Wallace, Edward I, John Balliol, and Robert the Bruce. The final part, however, again shifts to the present reflecting Wallace Williamson's personal life. Within this context, the play points out different aspects of the current independence debates.

Scottish national identity by not only drawing a link among the nation's deep-rooted past, politically turbulent present and future but also embracing Scottish national culture. Scottish identity, in this respect, became a uniting power in one of the most divisive periods of Scotland's history.

In addition to the conventional forms, experimental forms including 'debates and talks', and 'pop up gigs' became quite prevalent during the referendum. They gave a new impulse to the independence debates by offering alternative ways to provoke thought about two conflicting sides in the referendum, 'Yes' or 'No'. Composed mainly of short theatrical performances, sketches, monologues, projects, and discussions, experimental plays became quite effective in providing a broader perspective to the referendum discussions as well as encouraging individual participation in politics. Within this framework, every kind of space became a theatrical stage for these experimental performances and debates - as was the case in the 7:84 era- while everyone became a performer who expressed their opinions and support for their side in the referendum.

In particular, performances based on immediate participations of people which were indispensable to Scottish Stage during the referendum, are of importance in terms of providing cultural responses to the contemporary politics and stimulating further debates around the upcoming referendum. Within this context, the project *The Great Yes, No, Don't Know Five Minute Theatre Show* (2014)[176] that David Greig produced in collaboration with

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[176] Among the Project's theatrical pieces "The Soldier", "If Scotland", and "Northern Britain Know Your Limits" are just a few that stands out with their cynical tone. According to David Greig the show was a "24-hour long, open-access event in which people performed plays in their community that were streamed live on to the internet". He notes that they "didn't censor them or dictate whether they'd be Yes or No- many of them expressed uncertainty. The important thing for me [Greig] was that in their entirety they formed a political act of expression. It seemed like something that moment required and that the National Theatre of Scotland was uniquely capable of providing it". See Hemming, Sarah. "What's next for London's political theatre", *Financial Times*. 2 Jan. 2015, www.ft.com/content/7688c36c-89f7-11e4-8daa-00144feabdc0. Accessed 1 Sep. 2019. For the video records of the whole theatrical pieces see also "Five Minute Theatre: The Great Yes, No, Don't Know Five Minute Theatre Show". *National Theatre of Scotland*, 23-24 Jun. 2014, www.nationaltheatrescotland.com /production/great-yes-no-dont-know-five-minute-theatre-show/. Accessed 1 Sep.2019.

No supporter David MacLennan[177] stands out by paving the way for a vast number of people's direct engagement in Scottish independence debates. Adopting the motto "created by anyone, for an audience of everyone", the show invited people from all around the world to give five-minutes[178] dramatic responses to the Scottish independence referendum which were put together as 24-hour live performances by National Theatre of Scotland between 23 and 24 June 2014. Greig's another project *All Back to Bowie* (2014)[179], which is an Edinburgh Fringe show, "featured some of Scotland's top writers, performers, journalists, academics and other leading thinkers, in a mix of debate, polemic, music, poetry and letters from across the globe". The show's name is a response to David Bowie's "Scotland stay with us" call at the 2014 Brit awards. In each show, prominent figures including Nicola Sturgeon, Elaine C Smith, Peter

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[177] David McLennan, the co-founder of 7:84 Scotland as well as Wildcat Stage Productions, is one of the few literary figures explicitly supporting "No" side in the referendum. As Fiona Allen notes in her speech delivered in "Haggis Hunting Conference" taking place on 4-6 April 2013, McLennan got a loud applause from participants as he stressed that independence would not make any change in Scotland, thus "the question on the ballot paper should be rephrased as 'do you want more of the same, with a different name?'". Fiona, Allen. "Haggis Hunting". 3 Jul. 2013, textualities.net/fiona-allen/haggis-hunting. Accessed 7 Jul. 2019. In this sense, McLennan was against independence since he believes that it would make no difference. In his poem "If Scotland" written for the project *The Great Yes, No, Don't Know Five Minute Theatre Show*, he reveals his anti-independence attitude:

If Scotland was left to go it alone
Would Bannockburn be undeniable
The Saltire Flag more flyable
The Bank of Scotland liable
The crafting way of life more viable
The Wee Free Church more pliable
The Orange marchers justifiable
The summer weather more reliable
And Would the deep fried Mars bar cease to be fryable
[...]
If Scotland does its ain thing
Will Scotland be more Scottish
I hae ma doots.
For the entire poem, see McLennan, David. "Exclusive: David Maclennan's poem - If Scotland", *The Herald*. 12 Feb. 2014, www.heraldscotland.com/news/13145362.exclusive-david-maclennans-poem-if-scotland/. Accessed 2 May 2019.

[178] Originally the five-minutes form was created by the National Theatre of Scotland. In 2011 the NTS invited people of all age to contribute to the Project with their five-minutes pieces of theatre, whereas in 2012 invitation was only for the youth. Within this context, David Greig in collaboration with David McLennan, who unexpectedly passed away before the show performed, successfully adapted the form for the Scottish Referendum debates.

[179] See "David Bowie's message to Scotland: stay with us". *The Telegrapgh*, 20 Feb. 2014, www.telegraph. co.uk/culture/10651176/David-Bowies-message-to-Scotland-stay-with-us.html. Accessed 1Sep. 2019.

Arnott, Jenny Lindsay and Iain Macwhirter give short responses to Bowie.[180] In a similar fashion, Davey Anderson and Gary McNair initiated a project called "How to Choose", which broadcasted a radio programme within an imaginary radio station to discuss how to decide the vote. To this end, several interviews[181] with various university academics, broadcasters and singers were carried out to talk about a wide range of topics including 'national identity', 'political apathy', 'propaganda and manipulation' and 'Scottish miserablism'. Within this scope, these projects provided insight to the independence debates by reflecting public opinion around the Scottish referendum from all around the world and revealing the reverberations of the independence debates on the literary circle.

On the other hand, there were also other projects bringing together acclaimed literary figures such as the project carried out by The National Theatre of Scotland: *Dear Scotland: Notes to Our Nation* (2014). It brought together twenty renowned Scottish artists, playwrights, authors and poets to write five-minute monologues inspired by the portraits in the National Scottish Portrait Gallery.[182] The monologues referred to wider issues including Scotland's past and future as well as independence and status quo. In a similar vein, in the project *Unstated* (2012) also editors, authors, poets and playwrights including James Kelman, Douglas Dunn, Kathleen Jamie[183], and Alan Bissett joined forces to write about the upcoming

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[180] For the podcasts of the shows see "All Back to Bowie's", www.allbacktobowies.com/type/audio/. Accessed 1 Sep. 2019.

[181] The interviewees of the Project were: Professor John Robertson (University of the West of Scotland), Ruth Wishart (Broadcaster and Journalist), Robin McApline (Jimmy Reid Foundation, Common Weal) Eleanor Yule (Academic and Film Director), Michael Brady (Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Glasgow) Ben Colburn (Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Glasgow), Marie-Hélène Grosbras (Institute of Neuroscience and Psychology, University of Glasgow), Dr Marios Philiastides (Institute of Neuroscience and Psychology, University of Glasgow), Dave Hook (Musician, Stanley Odd). For further details see "How to Choose". *Trigger Stuff*, soundcloud.com/trigger-stuff/sets/how-to-choose. Accessed 5 Sep. 2019.

[182] Some of the playwrights, authors, writers, and the portraits that inspired them are as follows: David Greig writes about The Cromartie Fool; Zinnie Harris writes about Gallery 9; Peter Arnott writes about Sir Walter Scott; Liz Lochhead writes about Robert Burns; Rona Munro writes about Jackie Kay; Rob Drummond writes about Three Oncologists, and so on. For further writers and the portraits see *Dear Scotland: Notes to Our Nation*. National Theatre of Scotland, Luath Press Ltd, 2014.

[183] For further information see Demir, Ayşegül. *'A Tongue in Oor Heids': The Personal and The Political in Kathleen Jamie's The Queen Of Sheba, Jizzen, The Tree House, The Overhaul and The Bonniest Companie.* 2017. PhD Dissertation, tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp482055. Accessed 25 Sep. 2019.

referendum on Scottish independence. Likewise, comprised of performances, speeches and discussions on Scotland's future *National Collective Presents* was another experimental project which was performed within the scope of "Yestival: The Summer of Independence"[184] and contributed to the ongoing political debates with various short performances of renowned playwrights, poets and singers.

Festivals, in this respect, have made a great contribution to referendum debates by hosting challenging projects and plays, experimental theatrical performances, music and debates. With the exception of the 2014 Edinburgh International Festival (EIF)[185] which took an apolitical stance by refusing to stage any plays about the independence debate, festivals opened a free space for the evaluation and discussion of ongoing referendum process. There were many festivals that increased public engagement by encouraging debates around Scotland's future and the referendum such as "Festival of Common Weal" launched on 6 July 2014 by the Jimmy Reid Foundation and "the ImagiNation Festival" organised by Garry Hassan and Roanne Dods in September 2014. However, the 2014 "Edinburgh Fringe Festival", without doubt, stands out among other Scottish festivals making Scotland a trademark as 'the centre of art' in the international arena. Furthermore, with its diverse public events, music, and discussions around the referendum including performances of *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant*, *All Back to Bowie's* and *Theatre Uncut: Scottish Independence Plays,* the Fringe enabled the revelation of the different facets of Scottish independence debates.

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[184] "Yestival: The Summer of Independence" is a festival organized by National Collective and took place across Scotland during July 2014.

[185] The 100th anniversary of the First World War and the Glasgow Commonwealth Games rather than the 2014 Scottish independence referendum gave inspiration for the closing ceremony programme of the festival. The director of the 2014 Edinburgh International Festival Jonathan Mills suggests that the Fringe was more suitable for political issues: "The Fringe is a different kind of festival. Fringe performers can react with much more ease to recent events than we can. We would not wish our festival to be anything other than it has always been, which is a politically neutral space for artists. It is important that it remains that." See Ferguson, Brian. "Scottish independence productions not at EIF 2014". *The Scotsman*, 11 August 2013, www.scotsman.com/lifestyle-2-15039/scottish-independence-productions-not-at-eif-2014-1-3040283. Accessed. 15 Aug. 2019.

The comedy shows of the Fringe, in particular, are worth mentioning since the lampoons, satires and sarcasms brought a comic release relief to the one of the most divisive periods in Scottish history. For instance, Keir McAllister's comedy *A Split Decision* was one of the outstanding comedies of the 2014 Fringe Festival, which aroused laughter portraying England and Scotland as a couple on the verge of divorce. In a similar fashion, McAllister and Vladamir McTavish's pro-independence stand-up show *Aye Right? How No? - The Comedy Countdown the Referendum* blended politics with comedy intending to entertain as well as to provoke thought about the upcoming referendum. Featuring various special quests such as Scottish comedians Fred MacAulay, Des Clarke, Mark Nelson at each show the comedy provided a relief to the audience who got tired of the heated political debates. On the other hand, there were also comedies that were not overtly pro-independence like Philip Differ's comedy *MacBraveheart: The Other Scottish Play* which combined the stories of Macbeth and Braveheart. As Phil Differ notes, the play is "a piss-take, a send up of the way the arts community in particular were approaching the indy referendum"[186]. Contrary to these shows, however, American comic Erich McElroy's 60-minute-comedy show "The British Referendum" may be considered as as the only show supporting the union. In this sense, *MacBraveheart* and "The British Referendum" were clear manifestations of that Scottish Stage became an open area to support 'the yes' vote "largely—but not exclusively" (Berton-Charrière).[187]

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[186] Pointing out the dominance of the pro-independence rhetoric on the 2014 festivals, Philip Differ also notes that "*MacBraveheart* was possibly the only show in production at that year's festival that wasn't overtly pro-independence". Differ, Philip email to the author, 18 July 2019.

[187] Erich McElroy also expresses his bewilderment at the rarity of the No supporters in the Scottish literary landscape stating that "I have always had an interest in the Scottish Referendum and knew it would be the biggest story in the country once voting time actually came. So, as a political comedian, it seemed like a no brainer to tackle the topic. What I didn't expect was that I'd be the only comedian in the country to take a 'no' leaning show." Taking the lack of comedy shows backing No side into consideration he attributes this rarity to either "fear" or "conviction". For further details about McElroy's brief introductory article about his show see McElroy, Erich. "Ercih McElroy: The British Referendum". *Edinburgh Fringe 2014*. 14 Aug. 2014, www.comedy.co.uk/fringe/2014/features/erich_mcelroy_scottish_referendum_show/. Accessed 5 Sep. 2019.

Within this new responsive and creative atmosphere, social media became a pivotal medium for referendum discussions as it was quite influential in introducing and propagating the campaigns, conveying ongoing independence debates to the large masses, and rendering individuals' direct and immediate participation possible by giving voice to them. On this basis, it may also be regarded as an extensive "theatre stage" where individuals freely and directly, contributed to this ideologized climate by performing their theatrical pieces that reflect their political ideas. Since the mainstream media, which was overwhelmed by BBC and its explicit unionist outlook, was unreliable 'social media' became an alternative for the pro-independence supporters for telling the ignored assertions of the Yes campaign (Thiec 9). For this reason, online newspapers like "Bella Caledonia"[188], campaigns such as "The Radical Independence Campaign" (RIC)[189], "Jimmy Reid Foundation"[190] and projects such as "National Collective"[191] were launched to serve to the independence cause.

In a similar vein, websites like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube, which can be easily accessed for propagating individual's political ideologies, had a great contribution to the Yes

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[188] *Bella Caledonia* is an award-winning pro-independence online magazine, formed in 2007 by Mike Small and Kevin Williamson. Believing that "culture and politics" cannot be separated Small and Williamson aspire to create a platform for artists, filmmakers and politicians. Thus, the list of contributors to the magazine contains renowned politicians such as Christopher Harvie (a Scottish National Party Politician), Andy Wightman (Scottish Green Party MP) as well as writers and playwrights including Irvine Welsh, Peter Arnott, David Greig, Alan Bissett and Pat Kane. See *Bella Caledonia*, bellacaledonia.org.uk/contributors/. Accessed 5 Sep. 2019.

[189] It is a pro-independence campaign bringing trade unionists, cultural figures, writers, and politicians (notably the Green Party MPs) together. The Campaign organized "Radical Independence Conference" in Glasgow, on 27 November 2012 to increase the support for Scottish independence. As expressed in the official website of the campaign: "A coalition of progressive individuals and organisations have come together to launch a conference to found an extra parliamentary, pro-independence campaign which puts forward an alternative vision for Scotland". The campaign continued its activities with a second and third "Radical Independence Conference[s]" which were held respectively on 1 October 2016 and 10 March 2018 to elaborate on the decline of the Britain, offer solutions for Brexit, and discuss the future of Scotland. See official websites *Radical Independence Campaign*, radical.scot/. Accessed 3 Sep. 2019., and Radical Independence. *Facebook,* 28 Sep. 2016 www.facebook.com/radicalindependence/photos/pb.566948540013005.2207520000.1561966180./12254096175 00224/?type=3&theater. Accessed 3 Sep. 2019.

[190] Jimmy Reid was a Scottish trade union activist, journalist, and politician who was the spokesman of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' Work between 1971-1973. Jimmy Reid foundation was a left-wing think-tank group established in memory of him that played an active role in the independence debates by publishing policy reports and disseminating lectures given by significant political figures such as Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon.

[191] "National Collective" might be counted as the most extensive online pro-independence cultural movements as founded by artists and writers in 2011. It had over 4000 members including prominent literary figures. As described in the official website, the Collective intends to bring "a creative approach to political discourse" by offering "participation in politics that was thoroughly imaginative, but also accessible to all". For further information see *National Collective*. www.nationalcollective.com/2014/12/30/documenting-yes-year-review-2014/. Accessed 3 Sep 2019.

campaign providing immediate responses to recent changes. To this end, various pro-independence groups were created on Facebook such as "Yes Scotland", "Yes to an Independent Scotland", "NHS for Yes", "Yes Youth & Students" etc. Likewise, *National Collective* launched twitter hashtag #YesBecause in addition to other pro-independence hashtags such as #VoteYes, #YesScotland, and #Saltyr4indy. Moreover, David Greig used social media as a theatre stage and wrote a twitter play called *The Yes/No Plays* which mainly dramatizes the referendum discussions through short conversations between a couple called Yes and No. Even though there were also pro-UK groups on Facebook like "One Dynamic Nation", "United Against Speration", "UK Keep Britain United" and hashtags on twitter such as #BetterTogether and #NoThanks, No side had respectively less followers than the Yes side both on Facebook and Twitter.[192] In this sense, the Yes side made more effective use of social media to attract public support for Scottish independence and social media alongside experimental theatrical pieces became an effective means of increasing the number of Yes votes.

In stark contrast to playwrights who embraced national identity and supported independence through their work, Scottish politics avoided basing the independence debates on Scottish or British identities adopting a vision of "civic nationalism". In particular, the 'Yes Scotland' campaign led by SNP and the Green Party often emphasized that the pursuit of independence had little to do with Scottish national identity. For instance, during a speech delivered in British-Irish Chamber of Commerce of Dublin in 2013, Nicola Sturgeon -the Deputy First Minister of the time- frequently manifested that Scottish national identity, contrary to popular belief, was not the catalyst for the independence debates as Scotland was a

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[192] For further information for the followers' rate of the campaign on Facebook and Twitter see Shephard, M. Peter, and Stephen Quinlan. "Social media and the Scottish independence referendum 2014: events and the generation of enthusiasm for yes". *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics*. Routledge, 2015, pp. 488-502.

"melting pot of different identities" like Scottish, British, Irish, Pakistani, etc.[193] In an article published in *The Scotsman* on 27 October 2013 titled "No More 'what ifs'", she further underlined that:

> the case for independence does not rest on identity or nationality, but rather on values of social justice, enterprise and democracy. My concerns are not about the nation of Scotland – but they are principally about the welfare of the people of Scotland. [...] the UK is the fourth most unequal country in the developed world – a situation that will only worsen as a result of cuts, imposed on working families and vulnerable citizens by the Westminster government. [...] and any contention is that the UK has failed Scotland over the long term under successive government of all colors.

As observed in Sturgeon's pro-independence rhetoric, the incentive for Scottish independence was mainly 'fiscal' while 'justice' and 'democracy' were also other main impetuses that triggered the independence cause. Put another way, independence movement was augmented with the aim of increasing democratic rights of Scottish people by making them the only authority to decide the future of the country. To diminish any connection between national identity and independence the SNP frequently asserted that after independence nothing would change in Scotland except that Scotland would decide its own future. In line with this, the SNP intended to preserve certain British institutions after independence which was also underlined in the White Paper *Scotland's Future*, published by SNP Government on 26

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[193] A similar argument can be found in David Cameron's "No Going Back Speech" which he delivers two days before the referendum to persuade people to save the Union by warning them about serious consequences of the Yes vote. He asserted that the referendum is not about "whether Scotland is a nation" as Scotland is a "strong, proud, successful nation" with a strong Scottish identity, culture, arts, Church of Scotland and a strong Scottish Parliament. Rather, it is about "two competing visions" namely 'the nationalist and separatist vision' and 'the patriotic and unionist vision'. For full text of David Cameron's speech see, Dearden, Lizzie "Scottish Independence: Full Text of David Cameron's 'No Going Back' Speech", *The Independent*. www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/scottish-independence/scottish-independence-full-text-of-david-camerons-no-going-back-speech-9735902.html. Accessed 10 Jun. 2019.

November 2013. According to the White Paper, Scotland would keep 'the currency' and 'the Bank of England', 'the Queen as the head of State' as well as 'the memberships of the EU and NATO'. This, however, gave rise to comparisons between the independence notion of the SNP and 'federalism'. As a response, the SNP coined the term "independence-Lite" to point out differences of their independence notion from federalism. The term was used to create a middle ground for autonomy "keeping the pound sterling and various regulatory agencies and reaching common policies on a wide range of issues" (Keating *Rethinking Sovereignty* 11). From this standpoint, the White Paper, as in the words of Ian Macwhirter in many cases, "simply painted a saltire on the status quo and called it independence" (*Road to Referendum* 395-96). As a result, Scottish identity did not find any place in the White Paper since it mainly dwelt upon significant national matters the government would pursue in the event of gaining independence such as the policy of "finance and economy", "international relations and defence" as well as "energy and resources", "health, wellbeing, and Social Protection", etc.

The reason underlying apathy felt towards Scottish national identity is the 'civic' vision Scotland embraced especially after the 1997 devolution. In line with the civic approach people's long-standing social, familial and cultural attachment to Britain was taken into consideration in the pro-independence campaigns and British identity was welcomed. They highlighted that since the bond between Scottish people and British identity emotional rather than territorial, it could maintain its existence even after the independence. In the light of these considerations, the SNP and the 'Yes Scotland' campaign provided a good example of 'civic' and 'inclusive' national identity by defining those as 'Scottish' who 'resided in Scotland', 'had Scottish birth but lived outside Scotland', and 'felt affinity to Scotland'.[194] Although this might be regarded as the demand of globalization, for the SNP it was also a

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[194] For further information on Scottish government's national identity policy see SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, n.d., "National Identity: We Take Pride in a Strong, Fair and Inclusive National Identity". 21 June 2012, www2.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms/outcomes/natIdentity. Accessed 3 Jan. 2017.

means of breaking down the prejudices created by the "National". In either case, 'civic' standpoint prevented both affirmation of Scottish identity and the use of patriotic arguments in the pro-independence discourse. Nonetheless, national symbols such as "national flag of Scotland", "thistle" and "tartan kilts" were frequently used in pro-independence meetings and rallies as an exterior sign of the support for political autonomy (Hild 157). Moreover, Scottish literary landscape, as stated earlier, forged a more direct link between independence and Scottish identity with challenging works nourishing Scottish culture. In this respect, Scottish identity became a part and parcel of Yes campaigns though mostly it was not portrayed overtly but 'banally'[195] in politics.

On the other hand, the official No or Better Together campaign, which brought together the Conservative Party, Labour Party and Liberal Democrat Party to maintain the Anglo-Scottish union, surprisingly, made more explicit use of Scottish identity in their arguments. Broadly speaking, they followed two strategies to persuade especially undecided voters and nationalists. Firstly, they advocated that being a 'proud Scot' and 'patriot' was not not an obstacle for also being 'British'. To this end, Alistair Darling -leading the Better Together campaign, Gordon Brown -former labour leader and prime minister of the UK, and David Cameron frequently elevated Scottish identity by pointing out the antiquity of Scottish nation and its place within the Union in their speeches. In "Renegotiating Scottish Nationalism after the Independence Referendum", Emerence Hild states that they related Scottish identity to cultural elements such as: "Pride in the nation's heroes and famous people such as Adam Smith or Keir Hardie, pride in the nation's history and achievements or love of the country's particular future" (159). In this respect, the Union was portrayed as the warrant for the maintenance of Scottish pride.

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[195] See Chapter 1.1. "National Identity in Theory".

After the nourishment of Scottish identity, the second step was to justify the combination of Scottish and British identity. In "Save the Union" speech, David Cameron indicated that: "Don't let anyone tell you that you can't be a proud Scot and a proud Brit. […] Don't forget what a great United Kingdom you are part of. Don't turn your backs on what is the best family of nations in the world".[196] Within this frame, the United Kingdom was depicted as a "family of nations", which not only pointed out that the UK encompassed different nations and national identities, but also forged a strong link between these national identities and the British identity. Likewise, in "We Belong Together: The Case for a United Kingdom", Alistair Darling expressed that "There is more than one way of being British – whether you feel English, Welsh, Northern Irish or Scottish first, you can be British too without contradiction." (22) In this way, British identity was presented as a kind of "overarching identity superimposed to other national identities" thereby, proved to be compatible with them (Hild 159).

Moreover, the unionists claimed that the union served the best interests of Scotland - not only by preserving Scottish identity through separate Scottish institutions, but also providing Scotland with economic stability through the currency union within an open British market. Thus, according to the 'No' supporters, leaving the Union meant facing economic burden and sinking in oblivion for Scotland. To underline this economic inadequacy, 'No' campaigners adopted negative discourses by claiming that Scotland was too 'small' and 'poor' to cope with the competitive global world. Within this context, possible risks posed by a Yes victory and uncertainty of Scotland's future were two main arguments that laid the basis of No campaigners' discourse. The supporters of independence termed this negative discourse

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[196] See, Fort he full text of Cameron's "Save the Union" speech see Cameron, David. "David cameron's Save the Union Speech", 15 Sept. 2014. www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2014/09/15/davidcameron-s-save-the-union-speech-in-full. Accessed 10 Jun. 2019.

dominated by 'lack', 'absence' and 'anxiety' as "Project Fear"[197] and blamed No supporters

for "scaremongering". However, David Cameron mitigated the 'discourse of fear' comparing

it to "warning a friend about a decision they might take that will affect the rest of their lives-

and the lives of their children" ("No Going Back" Speech). Even though No supporters

refuted the blame, Gordon Brown's speech delivered on the eve of Scotland's Independence

Vote is the epitome of the so-called "Project Fear" enumerating seven risks Scotland would

likely face after independence:

> Real risk one: the uncertainty about the currency, unaddressed by the SNP. Real risk
>
> two: the default from debt that they threaten, unaddressed by the SNP. Real risk three:
>
> having to build 30 billion of reserves at the cost of the NHS and the welfare state,
>
> unaddressed by the SNP. Real risk four: prices rising in the shops, unaddressed by the
>
> SNP. Real risk five: interest rates and mortgage rates going up, unaddressed by the
>
> SNP. Real risk six: a million jobs dependent on our trade and our membership of the
>
> UK shipbuilding finance, all the problems unaddressed by the SNP. […] real risk
>
> seven: a massive financial hole that cannot be made up, even a fraction of it, by oil
>
> revenues.

The fear-based discourse of Brown mainly dwelt upon economic insufficiency of Scotland

and accused the SNP government for not informing the public about the country's fiscal

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[197] Project-Fear is the term that initially emerged as a joke in Better Together campaign office in 2013 when the campaign team was fed up with the interpretation of everything they said as "scaremongering" by the Yes supporters. When the director of communications for the Better Together campaign Rob Shorthouse mentioned the term to a journalist at the Tory conference, "Project Fear" became widespread used mainly by the SNP. He expresses that "This was a joke phrase that was all about poking fun at the Nats and their constant dismissal of every legitimate point raised by anyone and everyone as scaremongering. It was never anything more than a joke in our office. That the SNP tried to describe it as something more than that was pretty pathetic. The irony is that the more senior Nats used it, the more it reminded voters how ill-conceived and ill thought out the plans for separation were." See, Gordon, Tom. "I admit it: the man who coined Project Fear label". *The Herald*, 21 Dec. 2014, www.heraldscotland.com/news/13194407.i-admit-it-the-man-who-coined-project-fear-label/. Accessed 10 Jun. 2019.

inadequacy. As Fiona Simpkins expresses in "Better Together and the No Campaign: from Project Fear to Grace?", the main aim behind this negative rhetoric was to "raise anxiety and distrust about the SNP project and dampen the enthusiasm that the Yes campaign might stir in the electorate by opposing facts and figures, experts' opinions" (9). In this respect, anxiety and fear nurtured by uncertainty and vagueness, became fundamental for the "No" votes. However, it is worth noting that Project Fear, which portrays Scotland as 'a nation incapable of governing itself',[198] is inconsistent with the strategy of elevating Scotland 'an old, successful nation'. Notwithstanding the incompatibility between the two strategies, the Better Together campaign preserved the discourse of fear as the basis of the No campaign up to the day of referendum.

As a response to the tactics employed by No advocates, *The National Collective* gathered artists, playwrights, and writers to express their faith in Scotland for the last time before the referendum. In a letter addressed to the Scottish nation on 14 August 2014, Scottish artists demonstrated that they would take on the responsibility to build a better country. In this sense, the letter written just a few weeks before the Scottish independence referendum and signed by over 1300 artists, was a pivotal step on the road to build a better country. Numerous

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[198] In the final speech delivered before the referendum day David Cameron praises Scotland with such words: "Scotland's identity is already strong strong Scottish culture, strong Scottish arts, a strong Church of Scotland and in the last 15 years you have built a strong Scottish Parliament not a fleeting institution but a permanent one. So, the vote on Thursday is not about whether Scotland is a nation. Scotland is a proud, strong, successful nation". On the other hand, in the same speech he portrays this "successful nation" as too incompetent to overcome possible consequences of the Yes vote: "It would mean we no longer share the same currency. It would mean the armed forces we have built up together over centuries being split up forever. It would mean our pension funds sliced up – at some cost. It would mean the borders we have would become international and may no longer be so easily crossed. It would mean the automatic support that you currently get from British embassies when you're travelling around the world would come to an end. It would mean over half of Scottish mortgages suddenly, from one day to the next, being provided by banks in a foreign country. It would mean that interest rates in Scotland are no longer set by the Bank of England – with the stability and security that promises. It would mean - for any banks that remain in Scotland – if they ever got in trouble it would be Scottish taxpayers and Scottish taxpayers alone that would bear the costs. It would mean that we no longer pool resources across the whole of the UK to pay for institutions like the NHS or our welfare system." See, Dearden, Lizzie "Scottish Independence: Full Text of David Cameron's 'No Going Back' Speech", *The Independent*. www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/scottish-independence/scottish-independence-full-text-of-david-camerons-no-going-back-speech-9735902.html. Accessed 10 Jun. 2019.

artists -including many playwrights mentioned in this study[199]- expressed their wish for a 'better country':

> We believe that Scottish culture will flourish come what may, but that political independence will give the people of Scotland the opportunity to build a better country, both socially and politically. [...]We are not voting yes because we think Scotland is better than other countries. We are voting yes because we believe it is equal to them. We are voting yes because we have imagined a better country. Now, we want to build it.

In addition to challenging works of playwrights as well as various political gatherings and events, the letter was quite instrumental in prompting people to take action. It also showed that 'imagination' became a driving force behind the wish to build a fairer and more democratic country. This evidently found an important place on the Scottish Stage, which experienced one of the most fruitful periods hosting a wide range of creative performances inspired by the forthcoming referendum.

Within this frame, this chapter will scrutinise the ways national identity and the idea of independence "creatively staged" in a play adopted conventional form and plotline. As these brief examples help to illustrate Scottish drama in the period of independence referendum also evolves into a more creative and innovative path to make referendum debates flourish and grow. Within this frame, this chapter will firstly dwell upon a full-length play, *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant*[200] (2014) written by Scottish playwright, author, and performer Alan

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[199] The list of artists that signed the letter includes the playwrights that this work dwells upon such as Liz Lochhead, Alan Bissett, David Greig, Davey Anderson, Kieran Hurley, A. J. Taudevin, and Lewis Hetherington as well as other prominent literary figures namely Alistair Gray, Peter Arnott, Pat Kane, Irvine Welsh, James Kelman, Magi Gibson, and so many others.

[200] See Güvenç, Sıla Şenlen. "'Yae, Nae, or Dinnae Ken': Dramatic Responses to the Scottish Referendum and Theatre Uncut." *New Theatre Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2017, pp. 371–385., doi:10.1017/S0266464X17000501.

Bissett. Following this, the chapter will scrutinise two innovative, experimental and 'independence themed' theatrical projects namely *Theatre Uncut: Scottish Independence Plays* and David Greig's *The Yes/No Plays.* The chapter, thereby, aims to demonstrate how theatre gets involve in contemporary Scottish politics by creating a common ground for everyone in everywhere to make people responsive to political developments and prompt them to take part in one of the most momentous political decisions in Scottish history.

4.1. The Referendum in Scottish Fairyland: Alan Bissett's *The Pure, The Dead and The Brilliant* (2014)

One of the most active and fervent supporters of Scottish independence is no doubt Falkirk-born committed socialist playwright, novelist and performer Alan Bissett. During the referendum period he devoted himself to refuting No campaigns' claims and negative discourse. To this end, he delivered speeches at rallies and meetings, wrote articles in newspapers, used social media actively to convey his politic ideas to larger masses, wrote plays and poems, and edited a book in collaboration with Alasdair McKillop called *Born Under A Union Jack: Rangers, Britishness and Scottish Independence*[201] (2014). Dealing with politics, Bissett's works are dominated by humour, irony and satire. For instance, in his poem "Vote Britain", he satirizes No supporters' discourse of fear with such ironic words: "Vote for being told you're the only country in the world that could not possibly survive and that without us you'd fall to pieces like children abandoned in the wild, caked in faeces"[202]. Similar biting satire can be found in "Agony Aunts"[203]column, a parody of No Campaigns he published on the website of the National Collective on 7 March 2013. In the column, two characters representing Britain and Scotland- Aunty Brit and Aunty Scotland- answer a wide range of questions that seem personal on the surface but refer to contemporary politics beneath. Aunty Brit's irrelevant answers in contrast to Aunty Scotland's reasonable replies answers are obviously used to ridicule No campaigners.

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[201] The book is a collection of referendum discussions elaborate on the influence of football clubs such as Rangers and Celtic on political decision. Chapter Seven titled "Two Rangers Fans Debate National Identity" pits Alan Bissett against John Dc Gow in a debate on British and Scottish identities fostered by the Ranger's supporters in the football arena.

[202] Bissett also wrote "Vote Scotland" as a sequel to "Vote Britain" to prompt Scotland to vote 'Yes' in the independence referendum with a sentimental tone. Due to its emotive tone, the poem was chosen to end *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* through which Bogle invited the audience to vote 'Yes' in the referendum.

[203] For the entire column see Bissett, Alan. "Alan Bissett: Agony Aunts". *National Collective*, 7 Mar. 2013, www.nationalcollective.com/2013/03/07/alan-bissett-agony-aunts/. Accessed 14 Apr. 2019.

In his works, Allan Bissett frequently blends satire and humour with culture[204], national identity and politics. For him, Scottish language, culture and national identity are either suppressed or represented as something to be ashamed of by the pro-unionist media. In "A Conversation with Alan Bissett", he expresses that "When Trainspotting arrived, it was a revolution, I wasn't aware you could write like that, I didn't know it was allowed. Just being able to write in your own voice about your own culture was in itself a revolution as a writer".[205] Thus, national and cultural elements are frequently employed in his works. For instance, Bissett's play *Turbo Folk (2010)* reasserts Scottish identity by portraying a Scottish rock who tries to express the distinctiveness of Scottish nationality in an unspecific Balkan country. To this end, the play is mainly constructed on the dialogue between him and a local barman who regards Scots as nothing but the British his ancestors once fought. After 2012, however, national and cultural elements were more explicitly exhibited in his works. *Jock: Scotland on Trial* (2014) is a striking example of how Bissett overtly fostered Scottish identity as well as underpinned the idea of independence by discussing the status of Scotland as a 'colonizer' and 'colonized'. The play was performed with an extract from *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* (2014)[206] which stands out among other successful plays with its satirical treatment to the current independence referendum and cherishing Scottish identity and culture as well.

The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant discusses the upcoming referendum on Scottish independence through a voyage to the land of fairies dwelled by folkloric creatures of Scotland. Folklore, which usually refers to common 'traditional beliefs', 'superstitions', 'customs' and 'legends', nourishes the culture of a nation by strengthening the nation's roots

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[204] For his contribution to Scottish culture Alan Bissett received an Honorary Doctorate from Stirling University in 2016.

[205] See Bowie, Justin. "A Conversation with Alan Bissett", *The Glasgow Sloth*, 19 Jun. 2019, theglasgowsloth. com/a-conversation-with-alan-bissett/. Accessed 29 Apr. 2019.

[206] The play was published in *Collected Plays 2009-2014* together with *Turbo Folk (2010) and Jock: Scotland On Trial (2014)* in 2015.

like 'history'. In the "Introduction" written to *Scottish Folklore*, Isobel E. Williams points out the link between 'folklore' and 'history' expressing that "the subject comprises the domestic common places and traditions which, together with history, make up the colourful weave of national heritage" and "often sharp and critical, folklore provides a good counterbalance to the official version of the history (iii). In other words, folklore is more flexible than history as in folklore story can totally change in the retelling process depending on who tells the story and "a local flavour can be added" (Williams iv). On this basis, differing from previously stated plays, *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* promotes national identity by embellishing the independence discussions with Scottish 'folklore' rather than 'history'. Within this context, the dwellers of the Scottish fairyland Bogle, Selkie, Banshee, and Black Donald bring various dimensions to the ongoing political debates.

In Scottish folklore, Bogle is a freakish spirit "taking extreme delight in frightening its victims" (Bane 63), while Selkie, known also as 'silkie', is a shape shifting sea fairy, a seal who can take human form by removing her seal skin and seduce people. Banshee is a female spirit that "appears and howls when someone is going to die" (Williams 10) and Black Donald is a fun-loving and a cloven footed, Highland version of the devil. The play breaks down the wall between fiction and reality by discussing a real political matter within a supernatural world, and converges culture, history and politics by touching upon a variety of historical and political events a month ahead the Scottish referendum[207]. Moreover, in the campaign Bissett starts to fund *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* with public donation, he defines the aim of the play as "to bring Don't Knows closer to the Yes side" [...] and "also (hopefully) making you laugh till you cry".[208] The Fairy land of Scotland, in this sense, not only paves the way for

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[207] *The Pure the Dead and The Brilliant* made its debut at Assembly Room Edinburgh Fringe Festival on 31 July 2014.

[208] To raise fund between £10 and £1,500 Bissett offers certain goodies depending on the size of donation such as a book, ticked, a signed copy of Bissett's poem "Vote Britain", and a cameo role in the play. For further information on the campaign see Bissett, Alan. "The Pure, the Dead, and the Brilliant Campaign". *Indiegogo*, www.indiegogo.com/projects/the-pure-the-dead-and-the-brilliant#/. Accessed 15 Apr. 2019.

a harsh look at ongoing referendum debates from a 'pro-independence' perspective but also provides a humorous atmosphere with its demonic Black Donald, seductress Selkie, rapturous Bogle and dour Banshee.

Contrary to civic emphasis frequently made in the contemporary Scottish political scene, the play embraces an 'ethnic' approach which is evidently seen through its 'characters' that are part and parcel of Scottish folkloric culture, 'language' that is loaded with Scottish accent, and 'historical references to national events' that not only leave marks on the national psyche but also are used to bear the arguments of the campaigns out in the referendum. In so doing, national sentiment is stimulated and the unity among Scots are enhanced by demonstrating their ancient historical and ethnic ties to induce them to vote in favour of independence. For this reason, a nationalist approach is prevalent in the dramatization of the referendum although Alan Bissett denies being a 'nationalist':

I am not a nationalist. I'm not even sure I know what the term means, to be honest wi you, because it's one that is bandied about quite a lot, usually by the other side to denigrate and make toxic the movement for Scottish independence. So when people use it they say "you're nothing but a nationalist", and I have to say "well what do you mean by that?" If by that you think that after independence I want to round up every English person in Scotland and shoot them, naw. If by that, I think Scottish decisions should be made in Scotland, that Scottish people should be able to control their own economy, their own political decisions, their own defence decisions, their own foreign policy, their own welfare, then, aye! (qtd. in Munro-Landi)

Although Bissett begins his sentences with an assertion that he is not a nationalist he points out ambiguity and intricacy of the term. Thereby, he also defines himself as a 'nationalist' if it

means supporting the 'right of self-determination' and 'independence' of the Scottish nation which again puts forward his commitment to the Scottish independence cause.

The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant is composed of five scenes that take place in fairy land and Scotland. The play revolves around four Scottish fairies Bogle, Banshee, Black Donald and Selkie who come together to celebrate Hogmonay, in other words 'New Year's Eve'. Nevertheless, the celebration turns into a discussion on current Scottish independence referendum. Due to Black Donald's assertions that in the event that Scotland votes in favour of independence the fairies of Scotland would lose their powers and disappear, the fairies convene to discuss the consequences of Scottish independence on the Faerie Kingdom. After each fairy deliver a speech on how to impel Scottish people to vote No, Bogle and Banshee conduct a No campaign handing out leaflets at the streets of Scotland. However, everything changes after Banshee and Bogle summon an oracle to learn if they are doing the right thing by prompting Scottish people to preserve the Union. They learn that contrary to Black Donald's assertions, both Scotland and the Scottish fairies will cease to exist if Scotland votes 'No'. As a result, a mini referendum is conducted among the audience to find out whose claim is right, the oracle or Black Donald. In the end, Scotland becomes independent as the audience vote in favour of Yes and the fairies become 'real'.

In the play, national and cultural perspective permeates in the dramatization of the ongoing Scottish referendum. This is implied in the very beginning mostly through the abundance of 'national clichés', as in the words of Bissett, they are "what nourished us [Scottish nation] in the absence of a full nation" (*Unstated* 36). That is to say, the play starts with a voice that counts Scottish territories in company of 'bagpipe', which, as stated earlier, is a part and parcel of Scottish identity. Bogle appears on stage singing "Come in, come in, its nice tay see ye/ How's yerself, ye're lookin grand!" (108), the song of Scottish singer Andy Stewart narrating the story of old days when people of Scotland were freely speaking their

own language in the land called 'Caledonia'. After this cheerful appearance on the stage, Bogle states that it is 'Hogmanay'. Hogmanay is a very special day for Scottish people during which they celebrate the death of the Old Year and the beginning of the New Year by attending various cultural events wearing tartans and kilts and drinking. From this standpoint, Hogmanay, apart from its cultural significance, is also used as a way of heralding the beginning of a new era in Scotland in the aftermath of the referendum. The fairies, one by one arrives at Bogle's home and each celebrates the night with drinking which again refers to another national cliché underlined with the repetition of the words "that is the taste ay hame" by each fairy (Bogle 109, Selkie 110, Banshee 112, and Black Donald 114). In this respect, the first scene introduces not only the Scottish fairies but also Scottish traditions and stereotypical features to the audience and fosters national identity with national clichés before proceeding to the independence debates.

In a similar vein, Scottish identity is also fostered through the language which is marked by heavy Scottish accent the fairies, in particular Bogle, used at the beginning of the play. Unlike McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil*, which Bissett models himself on, and Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off*, the playwright avoids using Scots or Gaelic in *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant*. In "Is writing in Scots is an Act of Resistance", he expresses that in his works he is interested in colloquial language used by ordinary people rather than Scots and Gaelic which "were eradicated violently by the powerful" who are aware that "language houses the consciousness of a people". In this sense, in *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* he employs colloquial Scottish language which has been mostly exposed to Anglicisation through 'smoothing the rough edges of the accents and loosing glottal stops' for years (Bissett 2019). Even so, the preference of modern Scots over standard English can surely be interpreted an act of national and cultural resistance on the road to the independence referendum. Put it differently, being the storehouse of the national

and cultural elements, the use of colloquial Scots language contributed to the pro-independence message of the play by transmitting Scottish culture and traditions as well as fostering national identity.

After the introductory first scene which is mainly devoted to augmenting national feelings, the Second Scene delves into Scottish independence referendum debates through a parliament that is convened to discuss the reverberations of the referendum on the Fairie Kingdom. The parliament of Scottish fairies composed of "the Democratic Ghouls", "the Anarchist Vampire Collective", "Pixie Workers' Party" and "the Throlls" is quite instrumental not only in contributing to the play's comical effect but also in creating a political platform to ridicule pro-unionist rhetoric. As Bissett notes in "Ethnic' Cleanse" published on the official website of the *National Collective*, "Each speech from the Faeries was pro-Union in content, often using the No campaign's own words and themes against them". In this respect, three speakers of the parliament, namely Banshee, Selkie, and Black Donald, who discuss the possible ways of prompting Scots to vote No, propound three different methods No campaign employed in the real life. The play thus becomes a parody of No campaigns most arguments of which find a satiric, sarcastic and humorous response within the fairy land of Scotland.

The first speaker, Banshee, who feeds on miseries and deaths according to myth, puts forward that they should maintain suffering with commemorations of devastating historical events as well as creating "permanent sense of doom" (120). To this end, she touches upon Highland Clearances which caused the death of many Highlanders and the First World War which cost the lives of numerous Scottish soldiers fighting overseas in the name of the British Empire. She, eventually, ends her speech with a call for a No vote. Banshees No Speech is a brilliant satire on the 'historical dimension' of No campaigns. That is, to flourish British national identity and to put emphasis on common history, common cause and common loss,

they frequently refer to the sacrifices made in the WWI to save the British Empire. Within this context, through Banshee's speech the play criticizes glorification of war and points out that a vast number of soldiers who died overseas to fight in the name of the British Empire was 'Scottish'.

On the other hand, finding Banshee's speech "too depressing" (121), the second speaker, Selkie puts forward that they should bewitch Scottish voters by entertaining them rather than depressing them with wars and deaths. According to Selkie, Scots' minds should be engaged with entertaining events such as London fashion Week and Olympic Games Opening Ceremonies as well as magazine news about the royal couple Kate and William so that they do not think about "democracy and the economy and bleugh" (122). In this respect, an anti-monarchical[209] perspective prevails over the play which portrays the royal family as nothing but a way of mind occupation. On this basis, although overly supports independence, the play is dissociated from the Yes campaigns and the SNP which intend to preserve the monarchy after independence. In so doing it enforces the idea that "a vote for independence is neither a vote for the SNP nor for Alex Salmond" (Shipwreck)[210] because one can still support independence though does not affirm the ideology or political policies of the SNP.

Finally, Black Donald steps up to the rostrum and debunks Banshee's idea as "irrelevant to the present" and Selkie's as "too seductive" to prompt Scottish people to vote in favour of No (122). He suggests that 'fear' is the most effective emotion of all and if they

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[209] In "Is It Cos Wur Scots?", Alan Bissett defines 'the monarchy' and the unelected 'House of Lords' as "the symbolic figureheads of British 'democracy', exist to institutionalise privilege and perpetuate the class divide". Therefore, he asserts that Scotland should be a democratic republic. See Bissett, Alan. "Is It Cos Wur Scots?". *National Collective*, 3 Feb. 2013, www.nationalcollective.com/2013/02/03/alan-bissett-is-it-cos-wur-scots/. Accessed 29 Apr. 2019.

[210] Scottish writer Amy Shipwreck realizes that vote for independence is regarded as vote for Alex Salmond and the SNP. Thus, he feels the necessity to express that independence referendum aimed at attaining more 'legal rights' for Scotland, and it has nothing to do with Alex Salmond or the SNP: "I hear many people say that they would not vote for Scottish independence because they do not like the SNP or Alex Salmond. The good news for them is a vote for independence is neither a vote for the SNP nor for Alex Salmond. It is a vote for democracy. If the Scottish electorate wish to vote for independence, we may later choose to elect a Labour, Liberal or even Conservative government. That is what democracy is." See Shipwreck, Amy. "Independence Will Provide Local Solutions to Local Problems". *National Collective*, 14 March 2013, www.nationalcollective.com/2013/03/14/amy-shipway-independence-will-provide-local-solutions-for-local-problems/. Accessed 15 Sep. 2019.

exploit "insecurities...magnify them, make the Scots believe that nothing better is possible" they will surely become successful in their mission (123). To show how influential 'fear' is in decision making of a nation that 'inferiority' has been imposed for so long, Black Donald makes a trial of using 'fear factor' to induce a No vote. He gives extracts from No campaigns' discourse of fear touching upon issues such as 'fluctuation in oil prices', 'loss of national security', 'a possible failure in Scottish industry', 'loss of the EU membership', 'obscurity in currency to be used', 'the need for passport to travel to England' and continues with his "Project Fear":

> Think about those relatives in England. They'd be foreigners. Yes, *foreigners*, cos we all know *foreigners are a bad thing*. You'd be certainly never see them because there would a ONE HUNDRED FOOT WALL OF ICE ON THE BORDER LIKE IN GAME OF THRONES all to fulfil Alex Salmond's dream of being Scotland's first ever dictator, cos it's all about him you know that right? I mean, there's only one person in Scotland who actually wants independence and he's JUST A BIGOT WHO HATES THE ENGLISH. (124)

Black Donald's speech is an explicit lampoon on the Better Together campaign's "intimation of intimidation" (Macwhirter *Disunited Kingdom* 10). His reference to the contemporary TV series Game of Thrones embellishes his lampoon by mocking the claim that after independence Scots will no longer see their family and friends living in the other parts of the UK. Besides, an inclination to equating 'Scottish independence' with 'English hostility' is criticized through portraying Alex Salmond as a "dictator" who wants independence just because of his hatred for the English. Indeed, the interpretation of any argument or statement used in defence of the independence as "anti-English" runs very deep in British history

because Scottish national identity has been developed in opposition to the English identity since the Anglo-Scottish Union. The play, in this respect, challenges the Unionist tactics designed to prevent Scotland's separation by ridiculing the efforts of No supporters to create such perceptions. Thus, Black Donald's exaggerated rhetoric not only creates a comical effect but also used as a way of refuting and ridiculing nonsensical assertions of No campaigners. Black Donald further continues with his 'discourse of fear' as if he was mesmerizing Bogle and the audience about Scotland's inability to achieve independence as she is a small and poor country:

> IT'S AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK, DOU YOU HEAR ME? INDEPENDENCE IS JUST NOT FEASIBLE. IT CAN'T BE DONE. IT'S NOT WORTH THE EFFORT. IT'S BEYOND YOUR SIMPLE HAGGIS-STUFFED BRAINS. SAY THESE THINGS LOUD AND ENOUGH AND FAST ENOUGH AND OFTEN ENOUGH AND NO-ONE WILL BE ANY THE WISER, AND THE MEDIA WILL TRANSMIT ALL OF IT FOR US, EVERY SINGLE WORD, BECAUSE WE *OWN* THEM, SO YOU WON'T BE ABLE TO WATCH EASTENDERS EITHER YOU MENTAL! RAVING! HATEFUL! CYBERNAT! MONSTER!
>
> Now repeat after me.
>
> "Too wee, too poor, too stupid!"
>
> (Gets audience chanting) [...]
>
> You see how easy it is? We've got this won. (125)

As observed, the basis of Project Fear lies at encoding the notion that Scotland is "too wee, too poor and too stupid" to govern herself. This 'discourse of fear' is intended to nourish so called "Scottish cringe" in other words, "inferiority complex" which is an inevitable outcome

of the Union with a strong and dominant country. In an article he wrote for National Collective Alan Bissett points out this 'cringe' indicating that: "For too long we've believed we're the poor man of Europe, second-rate, also-rans, glorious losers." He further states: "It's this cringe, this 'we're no good' attitude, which is the most toxic by-product of the Union and which we'd shed like an old skin with full independence".[211] Scottish people, thereby, have a predisposition to such feelings since they have been exposed to English hegemony and suppression over their language and culture for more than three hundred years. In this regard, raising anxiety by imposing the sense of inability on Scots was the fundamental strategy of No Campaigns in the lead of the Better Together. Furthermore, this was frequently engraved in the subconscious of the Scottish voters, and media became an influential medium to remind Scottish voters of these negative scenarios on Scottish independence. On the other hand, laughter again arises when Black Donald evokes David Cameron's reference to 'Eastenders'[212] in his final speech. In so doing, the play intends to minimize the impact of the so-called 'scaremongering' which may be counted as the most effective strategy of the No campaigns, on the choice of the Scottish voters.

In scene three, Banshee and Bogle are portrayed as No campaigners handing out leaflets to the audience. Being convinced that the Scottish fairies will be destroyed in the event that Scotland votes Yes, they try to impel the Scots to vote No. Although it is the shortest scene of the play, satire and laughter reach a peak with nonsensical campaign assertions and strategies of Bogle and Banshee. For instance, Banshee warns the audience: "Vote Naw or Nicola Sturgeon will break intay yer hoose and steal yer purse!" (126). Bogle takes the exaggerated statements of Banshee a step further and states: "Vote Naw. Or the SNP

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[211] See Bissett, Alan. "Let's Make Scotland Great". *National Collective*, 26 March 2012.www.nationalcollective. com/2012/03/26/alan-bissett-novelist-playwright-performer-lets-make-scotland-great/. Accessed 19 Sep. 2019.
[212] Eastenders, a BBC soup opera that first appears on screen in 1985, is one of the most favourite dramas of the UK which dramatizes the life of working-class people living in the East End of London. The drama won many awards including a Banff World Television Award in 2007 and a BAFTA for Best Continuing Drama in 2008 and will celebrate 35th anniversary in 2020.

will eat your dug!" (126). Desperate endeavours of the two fairies to increase the number of No vote, obviously represent the Better Together campaign's unremitting negative discourse that may become absurd for the sake of increasing 'fear' factor.

Meanwhile, the following scene shifts to a candlelit restaurant in the Fairie Kingdom where Selkie and Black Donald hark back to the day they first met. Even though the scene seems to depict the love affair between Black Donald and Selkie, it is of importance in terms of evoking historical events that change the fate of Scottish nation. That is to say, the scene sheds light on how the devilish Black Donald, for whom "failure is a victory" (114), played a crucial role by leading James I of England IV of Scotland in 'the Union of Crowns' in 1603 and by bribing Scottish politicians to dissolve the Scottish Parliament in "the 1707 Anglo-Scottish Union". Moreover, following the steps of Black Donald, Selkie confesses that she blocked trade routes as the fairy of the sea and thus was responsible for the failure of "The Darien Scheme" (128). In this respect, the play reveals that all these decisive events in Scottish history were the devil's work rather than the will of the Scottish people. Besides, Selkie and Black Donald mention how they buried a report that would reveal facts about Scottish oil. This refers to the report Gavin McCrone's prepared in 1975 on behalf of the British Government to analyze North Sea Oil. However, the McCrone report was kept as a 'secret' as it unveiled that "the balance of payments gain from North Sea oil would easily swamp the existing deficit whatever its size and transform Scotland into a country with a substantial and chronic surplus (McCrone 6).[213] When new freedom of legislation was enacted in 2005 it became public, and English exploitation of the Scottish oil was revealed after thirty-

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[213] In the moment the report became public in 2005 Ben Russell and Paul Kelbie wrote an article titled "How black gold was hijacked: North Sea oil and the betrayal of Scotland" in *Independent*. They expressed the extent to which North Sea Oil becomes significant and valuable for Scotland by claiming that "North Sea oil could have made an independent Scotland as prosperous as Switzerland". For further information on McCrone's report see Russell, Ben and Kelbie, Paul. "How black gold was hijacked: North Sea Oil and the betrayal of Scotland". *The Independent*. 9 Dec. 2005, www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/how-black-gold-was-hijacked-north-sea-oil-and-the-betrayal-of-scotland-518697.html. Accessed 15 May 2019.

years. In the light of this information the play refutes No campaigners' claims about the inadequacy of the Scottish oil to save the economy of Scotland after independence.

In the final and longest scene of the play, the discussion on independence reaches a resolution with the realization that the victory of 'No vote' will destroy the fairies. It begins when Bogle, who gets tired of handling leaflets in the streets of Scotland, has doubts about whether they are doing the right thing by dissuading Scots from voting for independence. In an attempt to convince him, Banshee calls Black Donald who gives tactics to stimulate No vote such as "stand[ing] in front ay their [Yes voters'] stall tutting and shaking your head", "pushing the Eastenders angle", and "keep calling them [Yes voters] 'chippy' (131). Thus, the most common tactics of the No campaign are ridiculed. On the other hand, Bogle is not persuaded since he still believes that No vote will bring "doon" to Scottish folk (*The Pure* 130). Finally, with the help of the 'digital version' of her mother's spell, Banshee summons the 'ORACLE 118 118' who portrays the state of Scotland and Scottish fairies after the No side has won.

The oracle scene is quite significant in terms of unveiling the 'doomsday scenarios' for Scotland following the victory of No vote in the referendum. According to the scenario presented in the play, Scotland ceases to exist as "a new Greater Britain was established" and "all the folk tales, songs, stories, languages, customs and poems which made the country distinctive" including the 'Scottish fairies' disappeared (134-35). And the oracle reveals that the biggest motivation for the No voters was the 'Labour' party, which had sown a belief that 'nationalism' was a virus to be cured. It is worth noting that ironic depiction of 'nationalism' as a 'virus' and an 'evil' alludes to No campaigners' effort to portray nationalism as 'bigotry' and 'separatism' in order to reduce the support for the SNP and Scottish independence. Nonetheless, according to Alan Bissett the SNP is the catalyst for independence and as he expresses: "without them there would have been no independence movement in the first place

and no referendum in 2014. There can be no referendum in future without a strong SNP" ("No Shame, No Blame"). In this regard, the play warns the audience not to sacrifice Scottish culture or Scotland's future for the sake of getting rid of either so-called 'evil of nationalism' or the SNP.

Finding out that victory of No vote is a failure for Scotland while a means of getting promotion for Black Donald, Banshee and Bogle arrive at the Fairie Kingdom to inform Selkie. However, they get into an argument with Black Donald about the nature of Scottish people which is essentially no different from Black Donald as he asserts:

DONALD: [...]. The Scots are more like me than you care to admit. I've walked every corner of the globe with them. I was there in India, putting the Hindus to the sword. I was there in South Africa. I was there in old Alabama, forming the KKK. I was there on the slave ships that left Glasgow, full to the brim with weeping negroes. I was there, Banshee. I saw. (138)

Donald's remarks are a harsh criticism on Scottish imperialist ambition and colonialism which caused death of many indigenous people across the globe. By portraying Scots as colonizers who abused other nations and their resources, the play points out the role Scotland played in the British colonialism and slavery. In this respect, Scotland has been both a victim and a victimizer. However, the play puts forward 'the country's sordid past' as reason to build a different country, a better, just and democratic society in future and portrays 'independence' as a way to wipe away the county's "ghost" (*The Pure* 139).

An instant mini referendum takes place to decide whether Scotland wants to build a new country or stay in the past which is laden with loss, deaths and unfulfilled ambitions. To this end, Selkie asks the audience to raise the sheets with 'Yes' and 'No' on each side which

were given before the play started. A large number of the audience is supposed to raise the Yes side of sheet and Scotland gains independence while the fairies become real. After independence, the love affair between Black Donald and Selkie which obviously stands for the 300 hundred-year relation between England and Scotland ends. Selkie's complaint about spending those years just "looking up to Black Donald" while Black Donald's confession to be failed to appreciate her properly are clearly indicatives of the metaphor. Furthermore, Black Donald offers to "come to some new arrangements" with Selkie (142) which alludes to Gordon Brown, Alistair Darling and David Cameron's vow to devolve 'further powers' to Scotland. Although in real life the promises on further devolution played an important role in the decision-making of Scottish voters, in the play they are not effective, and a new era begins with the symbolic break up of Selkie and Black Donald. According to Morag J. Munro-Landi the scene mirrors "the transformative nature of such political involvement for artists and creatives" who, as in the words of Bissett, become "real actors in Scottish politics!" for the first time.[214]The fairies may lose their magical powers but now they "have power to change Scotland" (*The Pure* 141) since from now on they can play an active role in building an independent country where democracy and justice prevail.

The play ends with the poem "Vote Scotland" Bissett wrote as a sequel to "Vote Britain" to render the satirical tone of the previous poem more comprehensible to the reader. With the poem Bogle directly addresses to the audience and narrates the story of the victory they won by "dancing", "singing", and "marching" on the road to independence. With the return of 'the pure', 'the dead' and 'the brilliant' to the real world, which stands for the transformation of 'Selkie', 'Bashie' and 'Bogle' from fairyland to reality, "something mythical had returned" to Scotland (*The Pure* 144). Bogle stresses that this is the victory of

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[214]See, Munro-Landi, Morag J. "Alan Bissett and the « Yes » Campaign in the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum", *Observatoire de la sociétébritannique*, 01 October 2016, journals.openedition.org/osb/1868; DOI: 10.4000/osb.1868. Accessed 29 Jul. 2019.

those who "were not cowed, saw through pretense, did not need to state how 'proud' you were, over and over, defensively" (144). This statement alludes to Bisset's another poem "Pride of Lions" which is a harsh criticism on people who incessantly express their pride in Scottish nation yet do not do anything to make Scotland a better country. All in all, Bogle points out that this is the victory to be told to next generations: "You'd come too far as one shared mood and feeling, yearning for greater good, a common weal, a say, as with one voice, one consciousness, one true belief, one day, we stood up as a people and said YES" (144). In this respect, adopting a futuristic point of view to narrate referendum as a victory won as a result of great endeavours, "Vote Scotland" is an open invitation for people of Scotland to vote 'Yes' in the independence referendum with a sentimental tone.

To sum up, *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* is a pro-independence play that parodies the strategies and negative discourse of the No campaigns in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. To this end, four folkloric Scottish fairies contribute to the current independence debates by developing historical, political and cultural angles. The play, in this respect touches upon a wide range of topics including 'the failure of Darien scheme', 'the secret McCrone Report that unveils the British abuse of North Sea Oil', and 'depiction of 'nationalism' as a virus to be cured' each of which have been used a way to ridicule the strategies and negative discourse of the No campaigns. On the other hand, 'Scottish cringe' and 'Scottish colonialism' are also unveiled to point out Scotland's weaknesses. In either case, independence is portrayed as a prerequisite not only to overwhelm these weaknesses but also to build a better future, a more democratic and fairer Scotland. To underpin this message the play promotes Scottish national and cultural identity through a prevalent use of Scottish accent, folkloric characters, national and cultural clichés and Scottish stereotypical features. In this respect, the play gives a 'national' and 'cultural' response to the ongoing Scottish independence referendum debates. Through a satirical language it directly discusses Scottish

independence within a humorous and entertaining supernatural world of 'Scottish Fairie Kingdom' which makes it stand out among many other conventional plays on Scottish independence referendum. The following chapter, however, will dwell upon other plays of the referendum period that may be called "experimental" due to their forms and way of handling the independence referendum. In this respect, it will serve to draw a complete picture of the reflection of referendum and reassertion of national identity on contemporary Scottish Drama.

4.2. Theatre Uncut's Scottish Referendum Plays

Theatre Uncut project was initiated by Emma Callender and Hannah Price as an artistic resistance to the cuts implemented by the British Government in 2011.[215] To this end, eight plays were performed all rights-free all around the world for a limited time span. The plays were composed of Laura Lomas' *Open Heart Surgery*, Dennis Kelly's *Things That Make No Sense*, David Greig's *Fragile*, Anders Lustgarten's *The Fat Man*, Jack Thorne's *Whiff Whaff*, Mark Ravenhill's *A Bigger Banner*, Lucy Kirkwood's *Housekeeping* and Clara Brennan's *Hi Vis*. They were reflections of anger and protest aroused against the spending cuts implemented by the Coalition Government in 2010. The plays made a tremendous impact with their immediate and innovative protests staged on various daily venues including universities, schools, community centres and streets. Although Theatre Uncut gained popularity with the performance of these plays in 2011, the roots of the project are traceable back to much earlier. In "On Protest: Theatre Uncut", Marrissa Fragkou asserts that:

> the model of producing short, urgent plays and making them available for performance across the globe echoes examples of previous protest plays such as Martin Crimp's Advice to Iraqi Women (2003) and Caryl Churchill's Seven Jewish Children (2008) written in direct response to the Iraq War and Israel's bombing Gaza and which are also available rights-free. (176)

As observed, the idea to write 'immediate' and 'responsive' protest plays about current political events across the world that are all rights-free dates back to 2003. Emma Callender and Hannah Price have turned this idea to an annual collective project, which invites various

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[215] There were also other activist groups such as 'UK Uncut', 'US Uncut', and 'Sister Uncut' organizing protests against forced cuts in 2010. Thus, the titlte Theatre Uncut "aligns them with grassroots activism" of these anti-cut campaign groups (Fragkou 175).

international playwrights to respond to current social and political developments across the globe. As Lyn Garnder puts forward in her review of Theatre Uncut 2012 plays, Theatre Uncut is not "just a performance, it's an idea: that theatre can be immediately responsive to world events, engender discussion and effect change". Thus, the project intends to demonstrate how theatre becomes a "political apparatus" to lead a social change.

In 2012, playwrights were invited to give 'immediate' dramatic responses on current problems in their countries. Within this scope, fourteen short theatrical pieces including David Greig's *Dalcity,* Kieran Hurley's *London 2014: Glasgow*, Laila Soliman's *Immigrant* and Marco Canale's *The Birth of My Violence*, etc., were composed to respond to social and political matters such as 'violence', 'immigrant problem' and the Syrian civil war.[216] In line with the international issues discussed in the plays, Theatre Uncut took up a global stance. The following year, thus, was marked by two different Theatre Uncut projects revolving around the question "Do we all get more right wing in hard times?" and the theme of Scottish independence referendum.

In the first session of 2013 the collective preserved its global stance with an international theme which was responded by international writers such as Tanika Gupta (Bengali), Neil Labuta (American) and Davey Anderson (Scottish). Eight plays were written as a response to the question "Do we all get more right wing in hard times?" including Davey Anderson's *True or False*, Clara Brennan's *The Wing*, Rachel Chavkin's *Recipe*, Tanika Gupta *Project Night*, Kieran Hurley's *Amanda*, Nail Labute's *Pick One*, Tim Price's *Capitalism is Crisis* and Mark Thomson's *Church Forced To Put Up Gates After Font Is Used As Wash Basin By Migrants*. The plays, however, are neither intended to give a direct answer to the question nor impose ideas on people. As co-founder of the collective, Emma

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[216] Other theatrical pieces of the 2012 Theatre Uncut were: *A Chance Encounter* by Mohammad Al Attar (Syria), *Spine* by Clara Brennan (UK), *Dead Point* by Blanca Doménech (Spain), *The Price* by Lena Kitsopoulou (Greece), *In the Beginning* by Neil LaBute (USA), *The Breakout* by Anders Lustgarten (UK), *Indulge* by Andri Snær Magnason and Thorleifur Örn Arnarsson (Iceland), *250 Words* by Stef Smith (UK), *Blondie* by Hayley Squires (UK) and *Yesterday* by Helena Tornero (Spain).

Callendar, has stated: "Theatre Uncut has no drum to bang; we encourage people to discover their own opinion, rather than to share ours". This is also clearly seen in the last session of 2013 which dwells upon Scottish independence referendum with three plays namely Rob Drummond's *Party Pieces*, AJ Taudevin's *The 12.57* and Lewis Hetherington's *The White Lightening and the Black Stag*. The plays comprise the first set of 2013 independence themed Theatre Uncut plays. In this respect, they dramatize early reflections and impressions about the Scottish independence referendum by mainly exploring fear, dilemma, hope and uncertainty that the upcoming referendum begot rather than directing the audience to a side.

Broadly speaking, Rob Drummond's *Party Pieces* dramatizes contemporary independence discussion through songs sang in a traditional family gathering. Each song sung by family members either flourishes national identity as in "A Man's a Man Aw That"[217] and "Donald Where's Your Trousers"[218] or implicitly supports independence as in the case of a Jacobite lament, "The Skye Boat Song"[219]. In this sense, the play presents a pro-independence approach though it avoids demonstrating an explicit support for Scottish independence with an open ending. Set in 2016 at the border line at Berwick, A. J. Taudevin's *The 12.57*, on the other hand, revolves around two railway guards waiting for the arrival of the 12.57 London Euston-Edinburgh Waverly train. The farcical comedy ridicules immigration policies of the two countries as well as borders they would redraw in the event of Yes victory in the

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[217] Also known as "Is There for Honest Poverty" or "For a' That and a' That" is a song written by Robert Burns in 1975 which depicts an egalitarian society by underlining that a person's value, character, and honesty are more significant than his/her title, social class or richness. The song is also of national importance as it was sung by Sheena Wellington at the opening ceremony of the Scottish Parliament on 1 July 1999.

[218] The comic song written by Andy Stewart in 1966 portrays a Highlander who wears kilt rather than trousers everywhere including the streets of London. With a folkloric sense of identity, he points out that wearing kilt is a significant part of the Highland culture:

To wear the kilt is my delight
It is not wrong I know it's right
The Highlanders would get a fright
If they saw me in the trousers

In this respect, the use of the song in the plays is quite instrumental in pointing out the differences between England and Scotland which also underpins the idea of independence for Scotland.

[219] The song depicts the escape of Bonnie Prince Charlie after he had started the final Jocabite Rising to retake the British throne and defeated at the Battle of Culloden. It is quite ironic that the song, which became a symbol of Scotland's resistance against England, was written by an English noble, Sir Harold Boulton, in 1884.

referendum. Through Rony, who -with an exaggerated sense of mission- does not speak even with his mother living on the other side of the border, the play satirizes 'xenophobia' No campaigns developed in collaboration with British media. Final independence play of 2013 is Lewis Hetherington's *The White Lightening and the Black Stag* – which will be discussed in the following part of the chapter. The play explores the notions of 'national identity' and 'independence' by dramatizing an interrogation of a pro-independence supporter who tells a parable about a division of an island as a response to the questions in the cross examination.

In 2014, three more plays responding to the Scottish independence referendum were written and performed together with previously written three plays on 11 August 2014 at the Traverse Theatre (Güvenç 374). The plays were performed in the second session of 2013-2014 season during which Theatre Uncut collective carried out two more projects. In the first Theatre Uncut session, five plays were composed with the theme of "Knowledge is Power, Knowledge is Change"[220]. In the final session, however, Theatre Uncut collective worked in collaboration with Dot Theatre in Istanbul to respond to the recent Gezi Park protests.[221]In so doing, the collective not only broadened its scope by responding to new political developments around the world but also contributed further to the long-standing Scottish referendum debates with new plays that depicted social and political situation in Scotland shortly before the referendum.

The second set of plays on Scottish referendum in 2014 consists of Davey Anderson's twin plays *Don't Know, Don't Care* and *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* and Kieran Hurley's *Close.* The twin plays of Davey Anderson -which will be discusses in the following

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[220] The plays are Vivienne Franzmann's *The Most Horrific*, Anders Lustgarten's *The Finger of God*, Inua Ellams' *This is us*, Clara Brennan's *PACHAMAMA*, and Hayley Squires' *Ira Provitt and The Man.*

[221]To this end, Turkish and British playwrights composed six plays that touch upon a wide range of issues such as 'freedom of expression', 'censorship', 'police aggression', 'violence' and 'riot'. Theatre Uncut Istanbul Plays are composed of Davey Anderson's *Police State*, Stef Smith's *Smoke [and Mirrors]*, Ayfer Tunç *A Lesson in Lynching*, Berkun Oya's Like *Knocking on the Door of a Familiar House on an Ordinary Day*, Hakan Günday's *Flesh on Bone* and Derem Çıray's *Apollo 8844*. Within this frame, in three sessions the collective gives theatrical responses to three different social and politic events from different parts of the world.

part- differs from other referendum plays with their cynical tone. In this respect, *Don't Know, Don't Care* criticizes people refusing to take part in democratic process by presenting the monologue of an apolitical speaker. Likewise *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* ostensibly uses the political rhetoric of the Better Together campaign to refute the campaign's assertions and support the Yes Scotland campaign. After all these discussions, arguments and campaigns, the final play of the 2014 *Theatre Uncut Scottish Independence* Kieran Hurley's *Close* puts an end to the referendum debates. The play, contrary to others, avoids satire and dramatizes an individual who confronts with the question "what now?" upon hearing about the defeat in referendum on the morning of 19 September. In the very beginning of the play the playwright attached an interesting note about how to perform the play:

> This is a play written for many speakers or for one. It can be performed as a monologue. It can also be performed by many performers directly addressing the audience. Alternatively, it could be performed by one performer addressing another performer on Stage. Perhaps the speaking performer narrates the other performer still sits on the Traverse theatre bar, playing a musical instrument, sound-tracking this. Or perhaps not.Perhaps not that at all. You are the director after all. These are some words. Do with them as you please.

The indifferent tone of the note is an indicative of the sense of 'weariness' and 'apathy' depicted in the play which is the outcome of over 2 years of campaigning and debates. Without taking any side, the play points out that no matter which side win the referendum the question will be still the same "what now?" to which no one, even the politicians, has an answer.

In comparison to the first set of plays written in 2013, second set of plays inspired by the referendum in 2014 gives more direct and last-minute reactions to recent discussions on independence. Thus, the second set of plays differs from the first set in terms of form and tone. As Sıla Şenlen Güvenç puts forward in "Yae, Nae, or Dinna': Dramatic Responses to the Scottish Referendum and Theatre Uncut", the plays were written in the form of 'monologues' which "suggests that the writers became more involved and now preferred a more subjective approach" to the upcoming Scottish referendum (384). Within this context, written just a few weeks from the vote day, these short theatrical pieces reflect exhaustion and weariness of the long-standing referendum debates which in any case would end up with the same question: "what now?". To this end, satire, sarcasm and a cynical tone prevail over the second set of plays to mirror anger, disappointment and dissatisfaction with the current politic situation which signals strong possibility of the No victory in the referendum.

Even though the plays differ with regards to their form and style, both first and second sets of plays with independence theme intend to 'provoke thought and discussion' rather than showing the audience how to vote. To this end, 'open ending' is the common feature of the plays since almost all of them refrain from overtly supporting a side. Instead, they leave the interpretation to the audience. Nevertheless, all of the plays tacitly adopt a 'pro-independence' stance mostly unveiled through their sarcastic treatment to No Campaign's arguments and great emphasis they place on Scottish national identity. In view of these considerations, three plays have been selected to analyse in this part of the chapter within the frame of national identity and Scottish independence debates: Lewis Hetherington's T*he White Lightning and the Black Stag* from 2013 and Davey Anderson's twin plays *Don't Know, Don't Care* and *Fear and Self Loathing in West Lothian* from 2014.

4.2.1. Lewis Hetherington's *The White Lightning and the Black Stag* (2013)

The White Lightning and the Black Stag[222] is the last piece of the first set of Theatre Uncut plays devoted to Scottish independence referendum. Divided into two parts as the 'interrogation scene' and 'a parable scene', the play mainly touches upon issues such as the sense of belonging, national identity, Scottish independence and its possible consequences. To this end, the 'interrogation scene' triggers people to think about the nature of national identity and questions what makes a person 'British', 'English' or 'Scottish' while the parable alludes to Scotland that was on the brink of building a 'fairer' and 'better' society with the forthcoming independence referendum.

The play starts with a portrayal of three unnamed characters in an interrogation room one of whom is interrogated about Scottish independence by the other two. The question interrogators ask at the very beginning of the play reveal that the interrogee was born in England but has been residing in Scotland. According to Güvenç this "may be reflecting Hetherington's own position as someone born in England to a Scottish mother and who identifies Glasgow as his home" (378). This bears the question of national identity in etiher case since both Hetherington and the interogee in the play are 'English', 'Scottish' and 'British' at the same time. Being born in English makes the interogee a target of a set of questions that is supposed to reveal his/her competence to speak about independence:

-Do you sound Scottish?

-Depends on what you think Scottish sounds like.

-Why don't you have a more confident voice? A more persuasive, sexier voice?

-Why don't you talk more like someone who is grounded?

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[222] See Hetherington, Lewis. *The White Lightning and the Black Stag,* www.theatreuncut.com/. Accessed 23 Nov. 2013.

-Who is connected to the ground?

-Are you connected to the ground, the land underneath us? (2)

The interogee points out ambiguous nature of national identity as it depends on a variety of elements that can change from person to person. It is evident that the interogee developed Scottish identity through a sentiment, an emotional attachment to Scotland as a geographical place where (s)he has defined as 'home'. At this point, the play raises the question if this emotional attachment suffices to have right to vote in one of the most historical referendum that will determine the future of the country or who should have right to vote.

With the increasing aggression of the interrogators the information-seeking questions of interrogative words such as 'where', 'why' and 'who' turn into 'rhetorical questions' which seek confirmation. For the interrogators, however, the interogee's answers do not matter at all since they either frequently interrupt him or continue their questions irrespective of his answers:

-Don't you think Borders set up divides?

-Don't you think it would be better to have one single culture? One global identity that we can all embrace? Bonded together in the homogenising gloop of neoliberal capitalism we just could sit in our stylish designed homes and let everything come to us. [...]

-Don't you think independence would be like an abyss? A big Black endless unknowable abyss? (4)

The aim of the questions is to nourish anxieties and worries related to independence rather than seeking opinions of a pro-independence supporter. To this end, a 'negative' and

'separatist' discourse of the Better Together campaign prevails over the questions of interrogators, and 'independence' is depicted as "a big Black endless unknowable abbys" which divides the culture and borders (4). It is worth noting that as an early response to the referendum, the play is devoted to raising concern about the current political debates rather than leading the audience to one side in the referendum. From this standpoint, the 'interrupted answers' and 'unanswered questions' may be interpreted as Hetherington's avoidance of 'subjectivity'. For this reason, the answers and interpretations are left to the audience and the cross-examination is used as a way of provoking thinking and discussion about the notions of national identity and independence:

-Dou you think you are less or more Scottish than anyone else?

-Dou you think you'll still like swimming in an independent Scotland? Dou you think you'll still like the water streaming past you and holding your breath as you dive to bottom of the pool?

- Do you think you can be Scottish if you're English?

-Do you think you can be Scottish if you're Indian or Nigerian or French or Guetemalan or Korean or American or Japanese or Chinese or European?

-Do you think about things being different? (4)

The questions evoke 'Moreno Questions', a survey that was firstly conducted in the mid-1980s to figure out the relation between dual identities of being Scottish or British. The questions, thereby, mainly points out the problematic nature of identity by questioning whether the 'place of birth' or 'the place of residence' determines one's national identity or gives an individual the right to vote on the forthcoming Scottish independence referendum. Nevertheless, they are also used as a means of teasing Better Together campaign's warnings

about 'dramatic' and 'drastic' changes that would 'inevitably' take place after independence. This reaches an 'absurd' point with the question if the interogee will 'still' like swimming in an independent Scotland' or "like the water streaming past him/her" (4). When the interogee, who cannot even find a chance to answer, is given an opportunity to speak (s)he tells a parable which partakes of an answer to all the questions asked to him/her.

The second part, in this respect, dwells upon a 'parable' that basically tells the story of an island splitting with a 'white lightning'. On each divided pieces of the land a 'Black Stag' appears out of nowhere and plays determining role in the lives of the inhabitants. The story begins with the depiction of the island on which people having 'similarities' as well as 'differences' live together. One night a storm strikes the island and a lightning cracks the island into two. Half of the island drifted North East while the other half drifted South West and everything they built such as towers, monuments and institutions are ruined. Inhabitants of the divided parts, whom have already been scared of the storm, get panic with the unexpected appearance of a Black Stag. People on the South West immediately kill the Stag and drift into a state of chaos killing each other and die. On the other hand, on the North West they accept Stag as one of them, feed it and in return the Stag provides people with guidance. When the time to heal the wounds of the storm and rebuild the island comes, they decide to change the "old awful system", in which "some things had worked, but lots of things, like money and laws −were confusing and problematic" (6). Thus, they want to build a new system to "redistribute wealth" and "make sure all children are fed, educated and have a place to call home" (6). The interogee ends the parable stating that "all stories are made up by people who are living through them" (6). Thus, the statement is an indicative of his/her strong belief for Scotland to construct a better and fairer system by replacing the unjust old one after independence.

The parable the interogee tells is evidently a response to the anxieties and worries about whether Scotland will manage to survive and build a better country in the aftermath of independence. In this sense, it lays the ground for the allegorical representation of the end of three hundred years of Anglo-Scottish union and the construction of an independent and fair Scotland on the ruins of the 'old alliance'. On this basis, it may be suggested that 'the white lightning' stands for 'the Scottish independence referendum' that may end the alliance between Scotland and England as it split the island apart. Likewise, the Black Stag symbolizes 'the fate of Scotland' that has been hold in the hands of Scottish people as well as English. Hetherington notes that the Black Stag, to some extent, has been inspired by the black swan theory (Güvenç 379).[223] According to the black swan theory developed by Nassim Nicholas Taleb, an event that comes as a surprise because of its improbability to happen may have massive ramifications.[224] Within this context, killing of the Black Stag by the inhabitants of the South West, who have not seen the Black Stag or even heard of it before like their counterparts in the North East, results in a great impact which is their annihilation.

Within the frame of the allegorical representation, moreover, the North West, is an allusion to Scotland which will prosper and build a better country in the event of gaining independence. On the other hand, the South West stands for England which will not cope with this division and find herself in difficult position. Despite the implications, Lewis

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[223] According to Sıla Şenlen Güvenç, the Black Stag may also allude to John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and The Black Black Oil (1975)* as people in the South East killed the Black Stag in the same manner with the English nobles who cleared Highlands to hunt stags in the late 18th century. See Güvenç, Sıla Şenlen. "'Yae, Nae, or Dinnae Ken': Dramatic Responses to the Scottish Referendum and Theatre Uncut." *New Theatre Quarterly*.vol.33 no.4, 2017, pp. 371- 85.

[224] The theory originates from the refutation of the scientific assumption that 'all swans are white' by a Dutch explorer, Willem de Vlamingh, who discovered the existence of black swans in his travel to Australia. This has great reverberations in scientific world proving how probabilities disregarded by the scientific evidence may prove the "fragility of our knowledge" (Taleb xxi). In the "Prologue" to *The Black Swan Theory:The Impact of the Highly Improbable Fragility*, Nassim Nicholas Taleb defined the Black Swan in three steps: "First, it is an *outlier*, as it lies outside the realm of regular expectations, because nothing in the past can convincingly point to its possibility. Second, it carries an extreme impact. Third, in spite of its outlier status, human nature makes us concoct explanations for its occurrence *after* the fact, making it explainable and predictable" (xxxii). He then summarizes the triplet as "rarity", "extreme impact" and "retrospective predictability". For further information of the black swan theory see Taleb, Nasssim Nocholas. *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable Fragility, 2nd* edition, Random House, 2010.

Hetherington, however, avoids giving a clear and satisfactory explanation for what these allegories represent:

I deliberately didn't refer to either side as Scotland and England- it's the audience's job to decide how to read the parable, where do they think they sit? Some might see it as a metaphor for their own family, or a struggle within their own mind. I'm interested in getting people to ask the question, how will the mythology around this period of history be created? How will our distant relatives make sense of this when all the details of individual people and campaign slogans have been washed away? (qtd. in Güvenç 379)

In this respect, different interpretations of the two sides are possible as the playwright intends to raise concern over various matters at the same time. However, the play's tacit pro-independence message is underpinned by the fact that Hetherington is a pro-independence supporter who makes it no secret by signing the National Collective Letter. This also reinforces the interpretation of two sides as England and Scotland which were then on the verge of breaking the three hundred years of alliance with the Scottish independence referendum.

4.2.2. Davey Anderson's *Don't Know, Don't Care* and *Fear and Self Loathing in West Lothian* (2014)

Davey Anderson's twin plays *Don't Know, Don't Care* and *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* belong to the second set of *Theatre Uncut: Scottish Independence Referendum Plays* performed on 11-21 September 2014. *Don't Know, Don't Care* portrays an 'apolitical' and 'apathetic' person who does not want to engage in democratic process. Similarly, *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* 'ostensibly' presents a unionist monologue which not only refutes the arguments of 'Yes Scotland' but also explicitly supports the 'Better Together' campaign. Notwithstanding 'Better Together' point of view adopted on the surface of the plays, the general tone of the two theatrical pieces is 'cynical' which is mostly hinted through exaggeration used in the expression of the speakers' political views. In his column on Theatre Uncut written in *Scotsman Festival* magazine, renowned theatre critic Joyce McMillan describes Anderson's twin plays as a "yes" supporter's "angry and incredulous repetition of some of the "no" arguments to be heard in parts of working-class Scotland, reflecting the levels of self-hatred, self-doubt, and sheer contempt for democracy that Anderson sees underpinning those attitudes". Within this context, written only a week before the long-standing campaign process comes to end, the plays are the outburst of emotions dominated by 'anger', 'self-hatred' and 'self-doubt'. The twin plays, in this sense, is a more 'personal', 'passionate', and 'immediate' response to the current independence debates.

Don't Know, Don't Care[225] displays a monologue of an apolitical speaker who is fed up with the referendum debates, political propagandas, being told that (s)he is "the master of his/her own destiny" and being asked how to vote (1). Written in the verse-style, short theatrical piece starts with his/her strong protest against democracy and refusal to involve in the democratic process: "I don't vote/ I never vote/ Is that a crime?" (1). The speaker would

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[225] Anderson, Davey. *Don't Know, Don't Care,* www.theatreuncut.com/. Accessed 23 November 2013.

prefer talking about holiday rather than politics about which (s)he knows nothing. Since (s)he is an uneducated person who knows nothing about economy or the fiscal policy, the speaker suggests that elites, who "go to private schools and buy degrees", may as well rule the country (2). For this reason, politics should be left to politicians or elites who have the ability to manage it. To clarify this point, (s)he draws an analogy between governing the country and flying an aeroplane, and indicates that if there was a vote on how fly the plane everyone would choose the 'best manager' that would keep their brains from "splattering" (3). As a working-class person –revealed by his/her speaking manner as well as lack of education- the speaker essentially favours a pragmatic approach by giving importance only 'keeping the aeroplane in the air'.

Being quite content with the current situation and monarchy, which aligns him/her with the 'Unionists', the speaker opposes the idea of holding a referendum. For him/her the 'right to vote' is "a recipe for anarchy" and the majority is 'a tyrant' giving the final decision irrespective of the ideas of minorities (2). In this respect, cynical tone hidden behind the anti-democratic rhetoric of the speaker is unfolded through his/her defiant expressions:

Are you gonnae chop my heid off?

Because I quite like monarchy?

I think democracy is out of control

People just need to stick to the wan role

The arrogance of folk arguing for self governance

Who do the electorate think they are?! (2)

In line with his/her antidemocratic perspective, the speaker's monarchist attitude manifests itself not only in his/her preference of monarchy over democracy but also in the depiction of

self-governance as 'arrogance'. This is further augmented by his/her portrayal of Scots as 'subjects', 'proud minions' of the monarchy rather than 'citizens' of a democratic country having a political view and democratic rights of self-determination:

> People in Scotland love hierarchy
>
> We want all that pomp and ceremony
>
> We are subjects not citizens
>
> We don't have political opinions
>
> We are minions and proud
>
> And this is the thing
>
> I say we bring back the divine right of kings. (3)

For the speaker Scottish people are 'submissive subjects' who would prefer engaging themselves with glittering royal ceremonies rather than getting involved in the democratic process of gaining independence. The elevation of monarchy reaches the top with the suggestion to abolish "abysmal system of democracy" and 'the right to vote' to bring "a little bit of government stability" (3). In this respect, the democratic process of referendum is depicted as nothing but a threat to the 'stability' of the government.

This short theatrical piece, in this respect, satirizes the idea of 'letting sleeping dog lie' which characterizes the approach of the working-class to the current political situation in Scotland. The apathy among the working-class people towards Scottish independence referendum is criticized both through the speaker's refusal to vote and his/her anti-democratic statements. In so doing, the play aims to increase working-class engagement in politics as this group of people comprises a significant part of the voters and thus have a great impact on the votes. Furthermore, the cynical tone that pervades in the play unveils the implicit criticism on

the Unionists who object to independence in an attempt to maintain the ongoing political system and monarchy.

Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian echoes a similar personal voice which expresses his/her motivations behind the desire to maintain the status quo. The speaker touches upon a wide range of topics such as national identity, Scottish miserablism, Scottish cringe and economic and politic dimension of a possible independence in his/her monologue. In this respect, unlike the first play, pro-Unionist perspective is more explicitly displayed through the use of the Better Together campaign's assertions, assumptions and tactics which are presented to "build a case to support independence" (Güvenç 380). Within this context, the play, though seems to be a 'repetition of Better Together arguments', is a harsh criticism on 'unionist rhetoric' as well as their 'discourse of fear' employed to nourish Scot's fears, anxieties as well as so called 'Scottish cringe' and 'miserablism'.

The title of the play originates from a combination of books namely Hunter S. Thompson's Søren Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling* (1843) and *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (1972) Elanor Yule and David Menderson's *Glass Half Full: Moving Beyond Scottish Miserablism,* Carol Craig's *The Scots' Crisis Confidence* which give inspiration to Anderson in the composition of the play. Although the play does not share anything thematically and stylistically with the first two books (Güvenç 380), "fear" in the title comes from them. On the other hand, "self loathing" is a reference to the arguments about so called 'Scottish miserablism' and 'Borderline Personality Disorder'. The concepts were thoroughly discussed by novelist Ewan Morrison in "Scottish Literature: over the Borderline" and "characterized by cycles of utopian longing followed by a wallowing in passive victimhood and self-loathing" (Güvenç 380). Finally, 'West Lothian' alludes to the 'West Lothian Question' which points out the right of Scottish MPs to vote on English matters, whereas the English MPs were not allowed to vote on Scottish matters. The question was initially coined by the English

Conservative MP Enoch Powell in 1977 but since it was raised repeatedly by Tam Dalyell, the MP for West Lothian, it was termed as 'West Lothian Question'.

The play begins with the speaker's claims on being a very 'patriotic Scot' who hates 'nationalism' as (s)he also regards himself/herself as 'British'. The emphasis on being a 'proud and patriotic Scot' is a reference to Unionists who frequently repeat this statement to show that being a proud Scottish is not an impediment to be a British as well.[226] In so doing, the pro-unionist perspective of the speaker is unveiled at the very beginning of the monologue. This is also manifested through his/her refutation of Yes Scotland's arguments for independence and promotion of Better Together's assertions and motivations to save the union. Therefore, the speaker's first concern is Scottish identity which, for him/her, has been preserved within Union:

> We already have haggis
>
> We already have kilts
>
> We already have whisky
>
> Why do we need independence
>
> To assert our identity? (1)

As mentioned earlier, retaining Scottish identity within union is the focal point of the No supporters who go as far as to claim that Union is the safeguard of Scottish identity not only by preserving distinct Scottish intuitions but also providing an economic stability. Besides, national identity is widely regarded as a catalyst for Scottish independence notwithstanding the SNP's persistent objections. Within this frame, the speaker uses popular components of Scottish identity to prove that independence is not a prerequisite to retain Scottish national

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[226] See Chapter 4.1. "The Referendum in Scottish Fairyland: Alan Bissett's *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* (2014)".

identity. (S)he, moreover, disapproves Yes Scotland's intention to dispense with the Westminster government with the aim of "localising democracy", "sharing wealth more fairly" and "having an ethical foreign policy" by labelling 'anti-English'(1). After refuting the arguments of Yes side, (s)he begins to use tactics of Better Together to promote pro-unionist assertions.

The speaker, to this end, firstly fosters British national identity pointing out three hundred years of solidarity and losses given to build the United Kingdom. Though it is not an Empire any more, the Unites Kingdom is still one of the world's superpowers and "the most powerful partnership of nations" (2). The speaker, thus, regards Scottish independence as an act of betrayal to this 'successful partnership'. After polishing the alliance of three hundred years between England and Scotland, (s)he adopts 'the discourse of fear' by listing possible risks of 'independence' which (s)he describes as "bluff and bluster", "empty promises", "one-way street", and above all 'the point of no return':

> If we leave now
>
> It might not work for us
>
> We get one chance and if it fucks we're finished
>
> [...]
>
> We won't ever be ruled by Westminster again
>
> Who will protect us if it all goes tits up?
>
> Are you suggesting we take responsibility for ourselves? (2-3)

The cynical tone, here, is directed to the Unionists who avoid taking responsibility for their country by hiding behind the Westminster government from the risk independence may bear. In this respect, the speaker continues his so-called 'scaremongering' with enumerating the

serious consequences of independence such as 'becoming foreigners', 'going through passport control with armed guards', 'currency problem', and 'losing main market to sell products'. However, (s)he states that "It's not scaremongering to warn people of impending doom" which echoes David Cameron's justification for his discourse of fear: "To warn of the consequences is not to scare-monger it is like warning a friend about a decision they might take that will affect the rest of their lives- and the lives of their children" ('No Going Back' speech).

The speaker concedes that (s)he supports the level of "ambition, confidence and hope" Scottish people have reached with independence referendum as (s)he favours "progressive society" (3). Nevertheless, it is too risky since "there is so much to loose" (3), so maintaining the union by tolerating its shortcomings such as "austerity", "privatization", "illegal wars", "nuclear weapons" and "withdrawal from Europe" is better than risking failure:

Better not to risk than to risk failure

Better together

Right?

We're too wee

We're too poor

We're too stupid.

We couldn't organize a piss-up in a brewery

Never mind run an independent country. (3)

The speaker directly refers to the Better Together campaign which nurtures 'Scottish cringe' and 'miserablism' by representing Scots as a 'poor', 'small' and 'frustrated nation' through a negative discourse. As mentioned earlier, a sense of 'worthlessness', 'inability', 'lack' and

'being ashamed of indigenous language and culture' have been pervaded in Scots as a legacy of centuries of political, economic and cultural suppression. According to David Manderson the cringe reaches the point of 'miserablism', a kind of 'pessimism' which prevents Scots from believing in 'themselves' and 'the possibility of a political change that will create a brighter and promising future for Scotland' (27). Scottish miserablism and cringe, thus, were exploited by Better Together with its negative discourse which aided Scottish inferiorization pointing out major handicaps against independence such as poverty of Scotland, small size of the Scotland's geography and Scots' inadequacy to rule their own country. Within this context, the play's 'cynical' emphasis on these so-called handicaps may be interpreted as a challenge to get rid of the inherited 'Scottish cringe' and 'miserablism', self-doubt and self-hatred by embracing their collective identity and culture within an independent Scotland.

To conclude, within 2013-2014 season Theatre Uncut *Scottish Independence Plays* were committed to stimulating referendum debates and became one of the first experimental theatrical projects that inspired others during the referendum period. In "Spaces for the Construction of Community: The Theatre Uncut Phenomenon", Jose R. Prado points out that: "Theatre Uncut resists homogenisation in its protest or political practice because the set of relationships arising from each individual project and performance will per force be unique and different from the others [...]" (127). Within the frame of six short theatrical pieces of *Theatre Uncut: Scottish Independence Plays* different voices presenting the sides of 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't Know' were raised on the Scottish independence –though they represent an implicit pro-independence message– in 2013 and 2014. Unlike prolificacy of the 2013-2014 season, 2015 was the year of Theatre Uncut's Mass Participation event during which the collective presented some of the most downloaded and performed plays[227] rather than

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[227] The plays included in Theatre Uncut's Mass Participation event for 2015 are: *Things That Make No Sense by Dennis Kelly* (2011, The Cuts), *Hi Vis* by Clara Brennan, *Fragile* by David Greig, *A Bigger Banner* by Mark Ravenhill, *Blondie* by Hayley Squires (International Perspectives 2012), *The Price* by Lena Kitsopoulou (International Perspectives 2012 - Greece), *In The Beginning* by Neil LaBute (International Perspectives 2012 -

launching a new project. After this, the collective gave three years-interval to its public events. It, however, has returned to the stages in 2018 at the centenary of women's suffrage. The new project called *The Power Plays*[228]and adopted the theme of power from female perspective.

The last part of the chapter will dwell upon another creative project which -similar to Theatre Uncut- has been continuing at certain intervals for years namely David Greig's Twitter project *The Yes/No Plays*. Since Greig's twitter project provides a new perspective to the ongoing independence debates from early reflections of the referendum to the aftermath of the failure of Yes Campaign within the Twitter format, it will be discussed as an epitome of the experimental theatre on Scottish independence referendum.

USA), *Capitalism is Crisis* by Tim Price (Rise of the Right, 2013), *Church Forced to Put Up Gates* by Mark Thomas (Rise of the Right, 2013), *Close* by Kieran Hurley (Scottish Independence Plays, 2013), *The Recipe* by Rachel Chavkin (Rise of the Right, 2013), *The Most Horrific* by Vivienne Franzmann (Knowledge is Power, Knowledge is Change 2014), *The Finger of God* by Anders Lustgarten (Knowledge is Power, Knowledge is Change 2014), *Smoke and Mirrors* by Stef Smith (Theatre Uncut Istanbul, Politics, Power and Gezi Park, 2014), *Apathy* by Chris Goode (Election Inspiration, 2015). See, Giorgetti, Sandra. "Theatre Uncut's Mass Participation event 2015". *British Theatre Guide,* 8 Nov. 2015, www.britishtheatreguide.info/news/rights-free-texts-5516. Accessed 18 Jun. 2019.

[228] The plays in "Theatre Uncut: The Power Plays" for 2018 are: *Safe* by Niellah Arboine, *Mortar* by Sharon Clark, *Nobody* by Vivienne Franzmann, *The Power of Plumbing* by Sabrina Mahfouz, *A Coin in Someone Else's Pocket* by Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan, *Who Runs the World* by Atiha Sen Gupta.

4.3. Two Sides of the Referendum: David Greig's *The Yes/No Plays* (2013-2017)

The Yes/No Plays[229] is a 'Twitter sitcom', "cross-over creative-political live digital piece" started 'by accident'[230] on 14 December 2013, a month after the Scottish Parliament enacted the Scottish Independence Referendum Bill and continued at intervals until 2017 (Rebellato 13). The idea of a Twitter Play originates with Village Pub Theatre, an Edinburgh-based group of writers, actors and directors who composed innovative short Twitter plays. Each 'twitter play' of the Village Pub Theatre was written by a member of the group and was initially a 'joke' with 'twist and tail' structure. Nevertheless, with Ellie Stewart's play "Scotneyland" which dwelt upon "the 'Disneyfication' of Highland culture" the Village Pub Theatre group began to address more serious subject matters (Cockburn "The Best of"). David Greig was inspired by the group and took it as a challenge to write a Twitter sequence related to the ongoing political discussions.

Revolving around a couple -Yes and No- living together, *The Yes/No Plays* is composed of fragmented theatrical tweets brought together to be performed at the Traverse Theatre on referendum night and directed by Greig himself. In the words of David Greig, the tweets are "fragments of life" or "scenes from life" which evidently manifest itself in the depiction of the couple doing daily activities such as reading the newspaper, watching TV, or attending a Christmas Party. However, behind these scenes from daily life there lie contemporary political references. For instance, the scenes of reading the pro-Unionist columnist Brian Wilson at *The Scotsman*, listening to pro-Unionist Jim Naughty's radio show, and watching TV offer an implicit criticism of the 'bias of the mainstream media' in favour of No campaigns. Furthermore, the party clothes No wears at Christmas party are a lampoon of No campaigners' frequent assertions that they are 'proud Scots':

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[229] Greig, David. *The Yes/No Plays*, Twitter, twitter.com/YesNoPlays. Accessed 20 Aug. 2019.
[230] See Greig, David. "David Greig: The Yes/No Plays". *National Collective,* 2 Feb. 2014, www.national collective.com/2014/02/02/david-greig-the-yesno-plays/. Accessed 2 Feb. 2019.

Yes: Kilt?

No: Yes.

 Yes: Nice.

 No: I'm a proud Scot.

Yes: What's underneath?

No lifts kilt.

No: Team GB thong.

Yes: (sigh) (23 Dec. 2013)

 No's attempt to prove his pride in the Scottish nation by wearing a kilt − one of the most popular components of Scottish identity − fails when his Team GB thong, which stands for the team successfully representing Great Britain in the Olympics, is revealed. The tweet, thereby, obviously ridicules No campaigners' false pretensions. The Twitter play, in this sense, portrays the daily life a couple through their small talks on daily trivial matters which are used as a means of ridiculing both sides of the independence debates. Besides, it also sheds light on immediate political developments through humorous discussions of Yes and No concerning the forthcoming independence referendum.

Main characters Yes and No mainly represent 'binary oppositions' which Scots have been exposed to since the Anglo-Scottish Union (i.e. colonizer/colonized, Scottish/British, Highland/Lowland etc.) but have recently come to the surface with the Scottish independence Referendum. The sequence, in this respect, basically dwells upon the two options given in daily life as well as in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum 'Yes' or 'No' rather than presenting heated debates regarding national identity, monarchy, immigration, culture, and economy, etc. In "Dissolving into Scotland: National Identity in *Dunsinane* and *The Strange*

Undoing of Prudencia Hart", David Pattie puts forward that the two opposing voices stand for a much wider matters laying bare how Scotland has evolved from 'Calvinist' Old Scotland into "outward-looking' New Scotland:

> The Yes/No Plays provided a welcome, gently comic counterpoint to the political grandstanding in Hollyrood and Westminster, not only because the two characters seemed a reductio ad absurdiam of the options open to Scottish voters in September 2014 but also because of something else – the sheer familiarity of the voices. Yes is the voice of Scottish culture from the 1980s onwards – confident, outward-looking, sure of its place in the world; and No is the voice of a slightly older Scotland, the Calvinist country whose inhabitants are suspicious of anything that suggests we might be getting a little above ourselves. (19)

In the very beginning, thus, the portrayal of Yes and No as a couple, flatmates or more probably a 'husband and wife' –which might as well be a reference to the well-used 'marriage metaphor'– simply represents Yes and No sides of the referendum debates. However, as the sequence continues it has become apparent that "both sides represent aspects of Scottishness – dour Presbyterian versus naive Internationalist, stiffly traditional versus clumsily progressive – and that both are being affectionately mocked" (Rebellato 13). In this respect, the stark contrast between highly progressive outlook of Yes and conservative political values of No is given with their remarks: "Yes: I just want things to be better! /No: I just want them not to be worse" (24 Dec. 2013). Nevertheless, as David Pattie asserts, the characters' refutation of both sides' premises by reducing them to absurdity –which is termed as 'reductio ad absurdiam'– makes the sequence hilariously funny.

David Greig presents the sequence as "inoculation" and "antidote" to tense and divisive debates around referendum indicating that "It would be kind if both sides could agree a rule of thumb – we're all arguing what we think's best for Scotland – and just keep the poisonous stuff out of the debate" ("Why the Debate" *Bella Caledonia*). To this end, rather than delving into serious discussions on Devo Max and the undecideds, the sequence portrays them as new neighbours of Yes and No. The 'undecideds' and 'don't knows', for instance, do not decide where to put sofa in their new home or whether they want to eat Porridge or Cereal while Devo Max acts like a little boy hiding under the table. In this regard, 'humour' becomes an indispensable part of the sequence which explicitly manifests itself in the scene Yes and No take wrong Burns Supper tickets. No attends to the Yes Burns Supper in a tent in the Yes Yurt awash with Haggis and National Collective T-shirts where he is seduced by Radical Cindy. Whereas, Yes finds herself in a masonic hall among kilted man and women "in gowns and tartan sashes" in company of fiddle and is exposed to the romantic advances of Sir Rory Sutherland Skye Lochaeber No More. The sequence, thus, ridicules with absurdity of the Yes and No campaigns, and balances both sides of the debates with a comical approach. Nevertheless, at certain points, humour gives its place to anger and the discussions turns into a heated argument:

Yes: You patronise me, you belittle my ideas and aspirations, you impung my motives, you mock, block, threaten, wheedle and sulk!

No: ?

Yes: And if I find a glimmer of hope in the ash pile then you jump on it and tamp it out with your damp negativity.[…]

Yes: I JUST WANT TO LIVE IN AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY!

No: Can we unpack the idea of independence-

Yes: No! Let's not unpack it. Let's BE it.

Yes: We've all the easy bits of being a country like football or haggis or Aly Bain but we don't have POWER or RESPONSIBILTY!

No: (sigh) (1 Jan. 2014)

Yes' sudden outburst of anger against No is an attack on campaign tactics of Better Together which are based on 'negativity', 'fear', 'doubt' and 'ridiculing'. Her remarks are also an explicit criticism on those who are content with the preservation of Scottish national identity with popular elements of Scottish identity like haggis, successful national football club like Rangers and well-known fiddler Aly Bain but do not take responsibility of the country by seeking for self-determination. Despite such arguments, Yes and No eventually manage to negotiate and reach a compromise on a common ground throughout the sequence.

The characters' changing mood is the outcome of recent social and political developments since the twitter drama mainly aspires to give immediate response to the current events related to independence referendum. To this end, Better Together campaign's incentive offer for those who develop a 'strong social media strategy' is mocked through No's social media strategy which is to scream out of the window "Doomed! We're all doomed! [...] Doomed! Doomed! Doomed!" (20 Dec. 2013). Moreover, the twits respond to hot topics such as recent discussions about currency union, Labour's Devolution Commission Report, English comedian Eddie Izzard's showing a concert for the benefit of Better Together, the death of Margo McDonald, former Deputy Leader of the SNP (1974-79) and James McMillan's accusation against the National Collective of being "Mussolini's Cheerleaders". For instance, the title of the twits "Osborn's Sermon on the Pound" alludes to George Osborne's warnings about blocking currency union after Scottish independence (Feb. 2014), while "Un-named Government Minister Says 'Of course Currency Union Will Happen" refers to Nicola

Sturgeon who expresses that "neither George Osborne nor anyone else can stop Scotland using the Pound"[231]. In this respect, the scope of the sequence broadens as it continues and various matters are addressed through the appearance of renowned politicians and celebrities such as Alistair Darling, Nicola Sturgeon, David Cameron, John Reid, Jim Murphy, Eddie Izzard and many others. As a result, 140 characters were brought together in the play to touch upon a wide range of political matters and events concerning Scottish independence referendum.

To conclude, Twitter and *The Yes/No Plays* is the epitome of experimental and innovative independence themed plays using social media to compose short theatrical fragments on recent political developments. David Greig's humanity and sympathy manifest itself in the Twitter sequence which brings a humorous perspective to one of the most divisive arguments. This further augmented with the message that no matter what happens, and which sides win the referendum Scotland will be all right and they will continue to live together. The sequence not only entertain the audience but also represents both side of arguments in balance through sweet quarrel between Conservative and inward-looking No, who is a fervent supporter of Team GB, monarchy and Better Together, and progressive, activist and outward-looking Yes, who is a member of National Collective believing the significance of a strong national and artistic collective for independence. The sequence continues in the wake of the referendum reflecting the reverberations of the results on both sides. After healing the wounds of the independence referendum division leaves its place to unity and solidarity as Yes and No meet on a common ground on new political developments such as Brexit and a probable second independence referendum. The last twit posted on 18 April 2017 was about political dynamism of Scotland which recently has gone through local election, general election and referendum which makes Yes confused about which badge to wear. Although Greig has not

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[231] Osborn, Andrew, and Belinda Goldsmith. "Britain to tell Scotland: Lose the pound if you exit UK". *Reuters*, 14 Feb. 2014, uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-scotland-osborne/britain-to-tell-scotland-lose-the-pound-if-you-exit-uk-idUKBREA1B0EQ20140212. Accessed 10 Sep. 2019.

posted twit within the frame of the sequence since then, the last twit is indicative of that the Twitter drama will continue with further political developments as the debates on political matters such as independence, austerity and national identity seem to 'never end'.

Taking all these considerations into account, it is observed that Scottish drama in the referendum period evolved into a more creative, responsive and innovative path presenting theatrical fragments and script in hand performance rather than fully staged productions. With challenging and innovative plays people are invited not only to think and imagine what kind of Scotland they want but also to get involved in politics in everywhere including social media. Different facets of the ongoing independence debates are demonstrated through project such as Theatre Uncut and *The Yes/No Plays* to raise concern over the forthcoming independence referendum rather than to enforce political opinions or impose ideology on people. In this respect, owing to short theatrical pieces and plays mostly shorter than three acts Scottish theatre stage turn into an open political arena to debate the future of the Scottish nation. In "Early Days: Reflections on the Performance of a Referendum" Laura Bissell and David Overend put forward that theatre stage 'literally' turned into a politic arena for independence debates when Athenaeum Stage of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland was chosen as a venue for the Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling TV debate on 5 August 2014 (RCS) (243). Though the subject of debate was lack of creativity and imagination, the venue of the debate, in this respect, symbolically refers to the significant role theatre plays in politics.

CONCLUSION

National identity, in the most general sense, can be defined as a sentiment, an emotional attachment mostly felt by people living in the same territory towards a nation that derives from sharing idiosyncratic characteristics such as language, history, memories, traditions, values, symbols and culture. This also makes it a multidimensional and problematic concept. There are mainly three different theories developed to explain the nature of national identity, namely primordialist/essentialist, constructivist/modern and civic/ethnic. For the primordialist /essentialists, national identity exists from birth, and it is continuous and eternal as well as fixed and stable. In constructivist/modern theory, national identity is an imagined community, a discursive construct since identification with a nation begins with the 'narration of nation' told and retold through history, literature, media or popular culture. Therefore, it is not given or fixed but rather flexible and unstable being in continuous process of recreation and reconstruction. In this sense, the identification of an individual with its nation may change in different times and spaces. On the other hand, according to civic identity theory, membership in a geopolitical entity is based on a set of shared values about rights and the legitimacy of state institutions to govern rather than ethnicity or culture. In this respect, engendering an attachment to a specific geographical location through citizenship and legal rights, civic identity stands in binary opposition to ethnic identity which is based on sharing ethnic characteristic with a group of people. In the light of these, it is observed that as none of the approaches alone is sufficient to explain nature of national identity, this study has mainly adopted modernist/constructivist and ethno-symbolist approaches regarding 'national identity' as a discursive construction in which ethnic markers play a significant role.

On this basis, this study has elaborated on to what extent contemporary Scottish drama has contributed to the development of Scottish identity and the idea of Scottish independence through the re-interpretation of the Scottish past, tradition, culture, myths and the creation of

new common memories and myths. Within this context, it has been observed that although Scotland has developed a firm civic identity based on consent for at least the last twenty-five years, the Scottish literary landscape in general, and Scottish drama in particular, exhibits ethnic identity based on descent. On this basis, in the reconstruction of Scottish national identity, ethnic markers primarily a shared history, ancestry, language, culture and tradition are addressed and taken as a subject matter. Moreover, the gap between civic identity adopted in politics and ethnic identity portrayed in Scottish theatre has increased with the independence debates due to playwrights aspiring to promote and question independence in their works. To this end, this study has taken the ethnic components of a national identity such as 'common' language, history, ancestry, culture and traditions as the basis and revealed how these components have been employed not only to promote Scottish identity but also to underpin and question the idea of Scottish independence.

The development and representation of 'national identity' and 'the idea of independence' in Scotland have been affected both by the socio-political developments stimulated by devolution in Scotland and recent Brexit discussions in the United Kingdom. Since national identity gains strength mostly at the time of national crisis Scottish national identity has flourished at the time of the referendums -1979 and 1997 devolution referendums and the 2014 independence referendum since they turned out to be a national crisis due to long-standing referendum campaigns and divisive politics. In the light of these considerations, this study has examined ground-breaking plays of the 20th and 21st centuries that elaborate on a significant epoch marked by national crisis or turning point in Scottish history. Each chapter has discussed both the reconstruction of Scottish national identity, and the development of the idea of independence in Scottish drama with regards to new socio-political changes. To this end, the scope of the study has been restricted between the pre-devolutionary period starting from 1973 and the 2014 Scottish independence Referendum.

John McGrath's epoch-making play *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* (1973), which marks the beginning of the national awakening in Scottish drama, sheds light on social and political developments that led to the 1979 devolution referendum. This can in fact be considered the most important event triggering the revival of national and cultural identity in Scotland. Triggered by the heightened national confidence caused by the discovery of North Sea Oil in the 1970s, the play promotes national identity as well as the idea of independence by drawing a parallel between the exploitation of the Scottish Oil in the late 20th century and the historical exploitation of the Highlands. Scottish identity is fostered by reminding Scottish people about their national and cultural inheritance and underlying the need to preserve these national cultural values to accomplish Scottish autonomy. Thus, ethnic identity markers such as shared memory, Gaelic language, traditional techniques such as *ceilidh*, *music hall*, *reel, panto* and folk music composed with a 'fiddle' and 'accordion' are prevalently employed to revive this traumatic period in Scottish history. By unveiling the Highland Clearances, the period of great repression, exploitation, suffering, and agony within a documentary reality and an agit-prop simplicity and directness, the play not only heightens awareness about Scotland's trivialized history and suppressed language, but also prompts Scottish audience to fight against the contemporary exploitation of the North Sea Oil. As the ending evidently puts forward, the play's presents a universal message –the criticism of the capitalist exploitation across the globe. Notwithstanding its global stance, the play fosters the idea of Scottish independence which can be the pre-requisite for resisting contemporary exploitations. Therefore, propagating for Scottish autonomy the political play has been a source of inspiration for Scottish theatre-makers. Even though *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* heralds the beginning of a new period marked by growing national and cultural confidence in Scotland, the cultural revival actually begins with the failure of the 1979 Devolution irrespective of the victory of the 'Yes' votes in the referendum.

This augmentation in national and cultural confidence was further augmented with Margaret Thatcher's socio-economic policies which posed a great threat to Scotland's culture, politics, and economy during the 1980s. Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (1987) represents the sense of cultural impulsion and the rise of national sentiments at the wake of the 1979 Devolution Referendum and the Thatcher government. Unlike *The Cheviot*, *Mary Queen of Scots* reveals the constructed nature of a 'national identity' shaped by narratives, national symbols and icons, a collective past, and representations by portraying the disputable and eventful life of Mary Queen of Scots within a cultural narrative constructed by LaCorbie. The play, thus, reinterprets the historical figure of Mary through a Scottish perspective marked by LaCorbie's comments and songs in a made-up language composed of Gaelic, Scots and English which also represent the cultural and linguistic diversity in Scotland. Besides, lines from Scottish ballads and Scottish lullabies included in the play are other cultural and ethnic markers that foster Scottish national identity by underlining 'distinctness' of the Scottish nation. Apart from nourishing national sentiments, the play by depicting the period when Scotland was still an independent state, not only reveals the Scottish nation's deep-rooted past but also creates sense of nostalgia for an 'independent Scotland'. The desire for 'autonomy' and 'independence' is further developed with the juxtaposition of society, politics and culture of the pre-Union (the 16th century) with the post-Union (the 20th century) period which manifests that English dominance over Scotland has still been prevailing. The play, in this sense, implicitly emphasizes the necessity of the re-establishment of a Scottish 'parliament' which will put an end to the English dominance and may be the first step for Scotland on the road to the independence struggle.

With respect to McGrath's and Lochhead's plays, it is observed that Scottish drama fuelled the desire to have a devolved parliament by polishing national distinctiveness during the period Scotland gradually proceeded to devolution. Language, history, culture and

traditions in this respect, are prominent ethnic markers that put forward Scotland's distinctiveness as also manifested in *The Cheviot* and *Mary Queen of Scots*. Within this context, ethnic markers are used to reveal the necessity of having a devolved Scottish parliament by depicting Scotland as a country having a long-standing past and distinctive culture. On the other hand, devolution revises everything unquestioningly accepted before including national identity by shifting the emphasis from national distinctiveness to multiplicity, plurality and multiculturalism. After the establishment of the devolved parliament of Scotland in 1999, the endeavour to re-construct and foster Scottish identity vanishes as national confidence and pride further increase with the gained administrative autonomy. This also has an impact on the post-devolutionary Scottish theatrical landscape. That is, the devotion to create Scottish identity in comparison to English especially by putting emphasis on Scotland's difference from 'England' is superseded by the reflection of differences within Scotland in the post-devolution Scotland. Scots no longer have to prove their Scottishness by creating a distinctive Scottish theatrical tradition and promote national identity by employing images and markers of Scottishness, traditional forms and styles, vernacular language, historical topic or national setting. Individualism prevails over the stage and personal rather than national matters become popular.

Since, the devolution has been regarded as "unfinished business" it aroused hope and a wish to attain further independence. Thus, national and historical perspectives re-dominated the Scottish literary landscape with independence debates. Interest in Scottish history - especially in the pre-union period- revived on the road to the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum with the aim of heightening awareness about the state of Scotland before the 1707 union. Tim Barrow's *Union* (2014) –a product of this recent interest in Scottish history- explores Scotland's 'unknown' history in order to make it public. It presents a striking reassessment of the dissolution of Scottish Parliament from a Scottish standpoint a few years

later the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament. Thus, *Union* builds a bridge between the 'post-devolution' and 'pre-independence referendum period' by adopting the theme of 'independence' within the form of post-devolutionary drama. The play, thus, composes the midpoint of this study deconstructing the Anglo-Scottish Union in relation to re-establishment of the parliament in 1999 and the independence referendum in 2014. Although *Union* is based on Scottish history like *The Cheviot* and *Mary Queens of Scots,* political matters are interwoven with personal relations as the love affair between Ramsay and Grace mirrors the political relations between Scotland and England. Besides, as a post-devolutionary play, *Union* avoids the use of ethnic markers of national identity to some extent since 'civic' national identity becomes more prominent in the post-devolutionary Scotland due to the impacts on globalization and cosmopolitanism. To this end, the language in the play is neither used as a marker of distinctiveness nor politicized as an emblem of national identity unlike *Cheviot* and *Mary Queens of Scots*. Notwithstanding the play's cautious use of ethnic identity markers, Scottish identity has been reconstructed mostly through national cliché, stereotypical features, symbols and icons as well as by virtue of the characters' nationalist discourse. To this end, key historical events such as Declaration of Arbroath, Covenants invites people to unite around a common cause while national traumas such as Darien Scheme and Massacre of Glencoe forges national identity by inducing sentiments of duty and responsibility to prevent the repetition of similar traumatic experiences in the future. On the other hand, foregrounding the differences between England and Scotland through the metaphors "fire and ice" or "oil and water", Scotland's being a distinct nation is underlined. In so doing, *Union* advocates that the union was the outcome of greedy Scottish politicians and English intrigues rather than the true will of Scottish people. The play, thus, points out that the Scottish politicians of the time betrayed the Scottish people and enacted the Act of Union. Thus, it impels Scottish audience

to take these historical facts into considerations before deciding the future of the Scottish nation.

As the independence debates got more heated and divisive by the end of the long-standing Scottish independence referendum campaigns, Scottish playwrights such as David Greig, Alan Bissett, Kieran Hurley, and Davey Anderson also became more directly involved in politics and the independence debates. In reaction to the mainstream media dominated by pro-unionist rhetoric, pro-independence rhetoric has prevailed over the Scottish dramatic landscapes aspiring to trigger the will of Scottish people towards an independent Scotland. To achieve this, contemporary Scottish drama has followed two different paths. Certain playwrights have used historical subject matters and conventional well-developed plots to implicitly allude to contemporary politics in order to promote the idea of independence. Others, however, have composed experimental pieces or plays −most of which are shorter than three acts- to involve the audience in the political debates on independence, prompt them think about the two sides of the debates and respond to recent developments. In this respect, in the first case playwrights explicitly or implicitly promote the idea of Scottish independence through national and cultural markers cherishing Scottish identity. In the second, however, any subjective comments related to independence is avoided by playwrights so as to enable the audience the audience to 'think' and decide for themselves. In either case, Scottish theatre has made a great contribution to the politics by increasing public involvement in the one of the most significant events in contemporary Scottish political history.

On this basis, following the first path with a full-length pro-independence play *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* Alan Bissett responds to the ongoing independence debate. Taking the current independence referendum to the folkloric underworld inhabited by the fairies of Scotland, the play becomes an alternative way to forge a link between Scottish identity and independence, which was severed by the 'civic' standpoint the SNP Government

firmly adopted after devolution. In this respect, contrary to *The Cheviot*, *Mary Queen of Scots* and *Union*, *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* promotes national identity by embellishing independence discussions with Scottish 'folklore' rather than 'history'. Although the play embraces an 'ethnic' approach with its 'characters' belonging to Scottish folkloric culture, 'language' loaded with Scottish accent, and 'historical references to national events' that left marks on the national psyche, the playwright avoids using Scots or Gaelic. Even so, the preference of modern colloquial Scottish language over Standard English can surely be interpreted an act of national and cultural resistance on the road to the independence referendum. In addition to all these markers utilized to promote Scottish identity parody of the strategies and negative discourse of the 'No' campaigns in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum is used to attract 'undecideds' to pro-independence side. The play, thus, not only brings humour to one of the most divisive political moments in Scottish history but also clearly invites the audience to vote 'Yes' in the then forthcoming referendum.

On the other hand, experimental plays generally abstain from presenting a direct political manifesto and prefer to present a 'pro-unionist' or 'pro-independence' perspective in a more indirect or implicit manner. They mostly dwell upon unanswered questions to prompt people rather than enforcing their political opinions on the audience. This, explicitly, manifests itself in the *Theatre Uncut: Scottish Independence Plays* which shed light on both the early and late responses to the referendum. In this respect, three plays belonging to this group Lewis Hetherington's *The White Lightning and the Black Stag* (2013) and Davey Anderson's twin plays *Don't Know, Don't Care* and *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* (2014) have been examined. *The White Lightning and the Black Stag* (2013) represents early reflections and impressions about the Scottish independence referendum by mainly exploring fear, dilemma, hope and uncertainty that the upcoming referendum begot through 'interrogation of a pro-independence supporter' and a parable (s)he tells as a response. The

first part of the play explores the problematic nature of national identity arising the questions such as whether the 'place of birth' or 'the place of residence' determines one's national identity or who should have right to vote in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. The 'parable' part, however, partakes of an answer to these questions by being an allegorical representation of the end of three hundred years of Anglo-Scottish Union. In this respect, the play shows that Scotland has the ability to construct a fair and democratic system on the ruins of old-alliance after independence.

Don't Know, Don't Care and Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian (2014) mirror last-minute reactions to independence discussions marked by indifference, anger, and weariness by presenting a pro-unionist discourse ostensibly. Depicting an apolitical working-class speaker refusing to take part in democratic process Don't Know, Don't Care is a harsh criticism on the apathy among working-class people towards Scottish independence referendum. Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian echoes a similar personal voice which expresses his/her motivations behind the desire to maintain status quo. The speaker's Better Together point of view is used to build a case to support Scottish independence. In this respect, both plays adopt a 'cynical' tone which differentiates them from other pro-independence Theatre Uncut plays. The 'cynical' tone is also used as a way of refuting the 'No' campaigner's strategies and negative discourse as well as unveiling the tacit pro-independence perspective of the playwright. In this respect, even though early independence themed plays avoid any subjective comments on the independence discussions, recent plays reflect more personal reactions.

Finally, David Greig's twitter project The Yes/No Plays, differs from these implicit pro-independence plays developing a more 'democratic' approach to independence by reflecting both sides (Yes and No) of the debates through the allegorical characters Yes and No. For this reason, it has been chosen as the final focal point of this study. Being a Twitter

sitcom that continues with intervals from 2013 up to 2017, the play revolves around a couple - Yes and No- living together and frequently conflicting with each other. Yes and No represents two sides in the referendum debates and their daily activities, political discussions and enthusiastic supports for the Yes Scotland and Better Together campaigns are used as a way of ridiculing rhetoric and campaign tactics of both sides. Furthermore, despite being a short and fragmented theatrical piece, *The Yes/No Plays* touches upon a wide range of contemporary matters giving immediate responses to the recent political developments by portraying 140 different characters including renowned politicians, musicians and celebrities. Despite their arguments, Yes and No eventually manage to negotiate and reach a compromise on a common ground throughout the sequence. Within this context, the play demonstrates that both sides want to do what is best for Scotland and no matter who wins the referendum Scotland will be all right and they will continue to live together.

As these dramatic texts have illustrated, Scottish national identity and the desire for independence have been one of the major topics or themes in contemporary Scottish drama up to the 2014 independence referendum. Although *Theatre Uncut: Scottish Independence Plays* and David Greig's *The Yes/No Plays* have been chosen as two of the recent innovative projects dealing with Scottish independence, as the recent socio-political developments have evidently shown, they are not the last of such plays in contemporary Scottish drama. Scottish stage continues to host challenging creative works that bring new dimension to the Scottish national identity and Scottish independence *cul-de-sac*. Especially after the Brexit referendum which animated Scottish independence with the proposal of the indyref 2, the themes of independence and Scottishness prevail over the Scottish stage with the re-production of renowned plays as well as contemporary ones. For instance, *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* was re-produced by Vital Spark Theatre Company on March 2017. In a

similar vein, National Theatre of Scotland re-presented *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* in association with Dundee Rep Theatre and Live Theatre, Newcastle on May 2019.

Apart from productions of renowned plays, there are new plays dealing with national identity and independence. For instance, *Anything That Gives You Light* (2016) written by Jessica Almasy, Davey Anderson, Rachel Chavkin, Brian Ferguson, and Alexander Grierson, touches upon the identity question through the meeting of a Scotsman –who has been living in London for many years- and two Americans in a pub in London. Rob Drommond's *The Majority* (2017) questions whether the majority's vote's being decisive in the referendum - irrespective of minority- is ethical in the aftermath of the independence referendum. *Suffering from Scottishness* (2019), a spoken word interactive show by Kevin P. Gilday, on the other hand, takes on an ironic outlook to Scottish national identity. The show develops a critical eye on notions of national identity, nationalism and patriotism parodying controversial topics such as language, independence referendum and culture. These plays are only a few examples among many others. It appears that issues of national identity and independence will continue to inspire playwrights, especially in the light of new socio-political development in the United Kingdom. Since the Scottish independence referendum has evolved into an 'everendum' due to recent socio-political developments, the discussions on national identity and independence will apparently never "ever-end" on Scottish stage as well.

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ÖZET

Bu tez çalışması, ulus kimliğinin ve bağımsızlık fikrinin çağdaş İskoç tiyatrosunda nasıl ortaya koyulduğunu ve yeniden yapılandırıldığını incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, çalışmada ulus kimliğini 'söylemsel bir yapılanma' olarak ele alarak 'modernist', bu yapılanmada ortak tarih, soy, dil, kültür ve gelenekler gibi etnik belirleyicilerin önemli bir rol oynadığını ileri sürerek de etno-sembolist bir yaklaşım benimsemektedir. Bu bağlamda 2014 İskoç Bağımsızlık Referandumu'na doğru ilerlerken atılan toplumsal ve siyasi adımlara ışık tutan 20. ve 21. yüzyıl tiyatro oyunları ve projeleri ele alınarak çağdaş İskoç tiyatrosunda ulus kimliğinin yeniden ortaya koyulması ve bağımsızlık fikrinin gelişim süreci incelenmektedir.

Çalışma İskoç kimliğinin yeniden inşasında büyük rol oynayan, bağımsızlık tartışmalarının ardındaki itici güç ve özellikle milliyetçiler tarafından bağımsızlık yolunda atılan ilk adım olarak görülen tarihsel bir dönüm noktasını -İskoç Yetki Devri'ni (Scottish Devolution)- temel almıştır. Dolayısıyla, Bölüm 1'de ulus kimliğine ve bağımsızlık fikrine teorik ve tarihsel altyapı oluşturduktan sonra, bu çalışma 1979 İskoç Yeki Devri Referandumu öncesi ve sonrası, 1999 Yetki-Devri Sonrası ve İskoç Bağımsızlık Referandumu olmak üzere farklı dönemlerin tiyatro oyunlarına odaklanmaktadır. Bundan yola çıkarak yeni sosyo-politik gelişmeler ışığında Bölüm 2 İskoç ulus kimliğinin 'yeniden inşasını', Bölüm 3 ve 4 ise 'yeniden ortaya koyulması' ele alarak bağımsızlık fikrinin gelişimini izlemektedir.

Bölüm 2, bu çerçevede, 1979 yılında gerçekleştirilen Yetki Devri Referandumu'nun başarısızlığından önceki ve sonraki sosyo-politik gelişmeleri ortaya koyarak referandumun ulus kimliği ve bağımsızlık fikrinin gelişimindeki etkisinin detaylı bir analizini sunar. Dolayısıyla bu bölüm, Kuzey'in Tasfiyesi'ni ele alarak Kuzey Denizi Petrolünün sömürüsüne ışık tutan John McGrath'ın *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* (1973) oyunu ile efsanevi İskoç Kraliçesi Mary figürünü İskoç bakış açısıyla yeniden yorumlayan Liz Lochhead'in *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* oyununu incelemektedir.

Tim Barrow'un *Union* (2014) oyunu yetki devri ile ayrılmış İskoç Parlamentosu 'Holyrood'un kurulmasından sonraki dönemi yansıttığı için yapısal anlamda bu çalışmanın orta noktasını oluşturmaktadır. 1707 Birleşmesini İskoç bakış açısıyla yeniden ele alan oyun bilinmeyen gerçekleri su yüzüne çıkararak milli bilinci oluşturmakla kalmaz aynı zaman güncel İskoç bağımsızlığı tartışmalarına da gönderme yapar.

Son bölümde, bu çalışma çağdaş İskoç tiyatrosunun İskoç bağımsızlık referandumuna verdiği deneysel karşılıklara yönelmektedir. Alan Bissett'in bağımsızlık yanlısı oyunu *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* (2014) İskoç Periler aracılığıyla bağımsızlığı ve mevcut siyasi durumu koruma tartışmalarını inceleyerek bağımsızlık tartışmalarına İskoç tarihinden ziyade folklorü ile renk katarak ulus kimliğini geliştirmektedir. Bölüm Theatre Uncut: İskoç Referandum Oyunları başlığı altında toplanan oyunlardan Lewis Hetherington'un *The White Lightning and the Black Stag* (2013) ve Davey Anderson'ın ikiz oyunları *Don't Know, Don't Care* ve *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* (2014)'ı ele almaktadır. İskoç referandum tartışmalarının alevlendiği bir dönemde kaleme alınan eserlerden Hetherington'un oyunu 2013 yılında var olan ortamı yansıtırken, 2014'de, referandumun tam eşiğinde yazılan Anderson'ın oyunları ise toplumda var olan kaygıları, ikilemleri ve görüşleri yansıtmaktadır. Son olarak, David Greig'in Twitter projesi *The Yes/No Plays* (2014) referandumdaki iki tarafı temsil eden Yes ve No karakterleri etrafında dönmektedir. Oyun yalnızca referandum tartışmalarına demokratik bir yaklaşım sergilemesiyle değil sosyal medyanın İskoç bağımsızlık tartışmaları üzerindeki etkisini göstermesiyle de önem teşkil etmektedir.

İncelenen oyunlar ışığında, bu çalışma güncel politik olayların tiyatro oyunlarında yeniden inşa edilen 'ulus kimliği' ve 'bağımsızlık fikri' üzerindeki etkisine odaklanarak her politik gelişmenin ulus kimliği ve bağımsızlık tartışmalarını 'everendum' yani 'sonu gelmeyen referandum' tartışmalarına dönüştürdüğünü kanıtlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu tez

hem ulus kimliği hem de bağımsızlık fikrinin İskoç gündeminde ve tiyatrosunda gelecekte de

geniş yer bulacağının göstergesi niteliğindedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ulus kimliği, etnik kimlik, sivil kimlik, bağımsızlık fikri, bağımsızlık referandumları, Çağdaş İskoç Tiyatrosu

ABSTRACT

This study explores the reconstruction and reassertion of national identity and the idea of independence in contemporary Scottish drama. To this end, this study adopts 'modernist approach' by regarding 'national identity' as a 'discursive construction' and 'ethno-symbolist approach' by pointing the significance of ethnic markers like shared history, ancestry, language, culture and traditions in this construction. Within this scope, this study traces the development of national identity and the idea of independence in contemporary Scottish drama specifically with plays and innovative theatrical projects of the 20th and 21st centuries that have shed light on social and political steps taken on the road of the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum.

The study has been structured around a historical turning point, or essential step towards independence Scottish Devolution. Devolution has not only played a vital the role in the re-assertion of Scottish national identity but has also become the driving force behind the independence debates. Thus, after providing a theoretical and historical background to national identity and Scottish independence in Chapter 1, it traces the reconstruction and reassertion of national identity as well as responses to these issues in contemporary Scottish drama by examining plays belonging to different periods: before and after the 1979 Scottish Devolution Referendum, Post-Devolution Period (1999) and Scottish Independence Referendum (2014). To this end, Chapter 2 discusses the reconstruction of Scottish national identity at the times that might be called national awakening while 3 and 4 mainly reassert Scottish identity and trace the development of the idea of independence in Scottish drama with regards to new socio-political changes.

Chapter 2, within this scope, offers a detailed analysis of the role of the 1979 Devolution Referendum in the reconstruction of national identity and the idea of Scottish

independence. To this end, John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil* (1973) - shedding light on the exploitation of the newly-discovered North Sea Oil through the Highland Clearances- and Liz Lochhead's *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (1987) - a re-interpretation of the mythical figure Mary Queen of Scots from a Scottish perspective- has been examined.

Chapter 3 discusses Tim Barrow's *Union* (2014) reflecting the aftermath of the establishment of a devolved Scottish Parliament, which is Holyrood. Revisiting the Union of 1707 with a Scottish standpoint, the play not only arouses national consciousness by unveiling unknown historical facts but also refers to the current independence debates.

In the final chapter, the study focuses on the experimental responses of contemporary Scottish drama to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum such as Alan Bissett's pro-independence full-length play *The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant* (2014) -exploring the recent debates concerning Scottish independence and status quo by embellishing independence discussions with Scottish 'folklore' rather than 'history'. The chapter continue with three plays grouped under Theatre Uncut's Referendum Plays (2013-2014) *The White Lightning and the Black Stag* (2013) and Davey Anderson's twin plays *Don't Know, Don't Care* and *Fear and Self-Loathing in West Lothian* (2014) which mirror early and last-minute reactions to the Scottish independence referendum. Finally, David Greig's Twitter project *Yes/No Plays* (2014) -revolving around two flatmates Yes and No representing both sides of the referendum- has been taken up revealing the impact of social media on the Scottish independence debates.

In the light of these considerations, elaborating on the impact of ethnic identity markers and current political changes on the reconstruction and reflection of national identity and Scottish independence in the plays the dissertation proves that both national identity and

the idea of independence will apparently continue to find a wide place in Scottish agenda and drama in times to come.

Key words: national identity, ethnic identity, civic identity, the idea of independence, independence referendums, contemporary Scottish drama