

ABSTRACTS & BIOGS

PANEL A (SAT, 11AM, PLT)

POSSIBLE NOSTALGIAS

Robert Crawford, 'The Impossible Panopticon'

Though it was not published until 2016, chapters of Jean McGillivray's *The Impossible Panopticon* were circulating throughout the summer months of 2014 when she and Robert Crawford argued fiercely during the Bus Tour, at National Collective events, Bannockburn Commemorations, and elsewhere. Now recognized as the classic novel of the Scottish Independence Referendum, *The Impossible Panopticon* draws on McGillivray's background in computer science to hybridize Foucauldian ideas of surveillance with Glasgow University Rector Edward Snowden's mass release of NSA and GCHQ data. While doing so, it charts the blur that was the referendum campaign, and includes fierce denunciations of Crawford's work, particularly the section of *Testament* entitled 'A Little History'. In this paper the elderly Professor Crawford recalls and relives some of the circumstances surrounding his quarrel with McGillivray (1960-2022), and the ideological fissure that opened up between the poetry of *Testament* (copies of whose first printing can still be bought at cover price 30 years afterwards) and the prose of *The Impossible Panopticon*, a rare first edition of which was recently sold in Shanghai for 14 million Sino-US dollars and which is now regarded as one of the milestones of twenty-first-century literature. Drawing on previously restricted archival materials, the paper will include new research into Rector Snowden's secret visit to the 2014 Commonwealth Games and to the First World Congress of Scottish Literatures as well as his meetings with Alasdair Gray, Jean McGillivray, Robert Crawford and others.

Arianna Introna, 'Reveries from a Past Scotland: The Progressive Politics of the Referendum Debate and the Discovery of the "Missing Scotland" as Heritage'

The latest issue of Bella Caledonia's *Closer* proposes to articulate 'a reverie for a new Scotland based on a different set of values', simultaneously progressive and committed to social inclusion, and underpinning a consensus conducive to democratic renewal. My paper will explore the ways in which the 'reveries for a new Scotland' circulating in the referendum debate, and the politics they energize, may operate in twenty years' time as heritage, by which David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely (1995) indicate inheritances, whether material or symbolic, which are passed on in repackaged form. First, it will consider the discourse on the 'missing Scotland'. Examining the ways in which Gerry Hassan's *Caledonian Dreaming* (2014) 'explores and identifies' how 'the missing voices of Scotland have to be noticed', it will argue that Hassan's narrative simultaneously articulates the progressive intent of pro-independence activists at large, and depends on the 'missing Scotland' to be spoken for. With this in mind, it will imagine how in 2034 the silence/absence of the latter in pro-independence rhetoric may be crystallized by nostalgia for the progressive voice/agency of the former. Secondly, it will consider the role assigned to Scottish writers in the Yes campaign, mindful of Scott Hames' idea that 'their influence lies outside and against official roadmaps even when pressing (as many are) for the same destination' (2013). Considering contributions by Scottish writers not opposed to independence but resisting the consensual narrative expected of them, it will reflect on the awkward place these may occupy as part of the heritage bequeathed by the referendum debate.

Robert Wirth, 'Heading towards an Unpredictable Past: Nostalgia in the Scottish Independence Debate'

The debate leading up to the Referendum is providing the people in Scotland with the unique opportunity to reassess their rich historical past and to decisively influence their future. It would seem opportune to hark back to a culturally and collectively felt or remembered past, a potentially powerful tool for creating 'national' cohesion and a corresponding vote.

In the current independence debate, however, both the Yes and the Better Together campaign appear to be intentionally avoiding the use of nostalgia as a means of influencing the vote. Instead, the two sides apply a rhetoric and vision that is utopian and future-oriented. At least in their official discourse, they steer well clear of tapping into this potentially vote-generating resource. At the same time, both sides accuse each other of instrumentalising nostalgic sentimental notions to discredit their opponents. These allegations work on the premise that an unhealthy restorative nostalgia is involved: a nostalgia usually connected with traditional or banal nationalisms. Thus, even less rigid and more playful forms of reflective nostalgia become taboo by association.

This paper seeks to categorise the several forms of nostalgia present in the current debate. It will examine the reasons behind the conspicuous absence of a constructive form of nostalgia, the shift towards a solely pejorative use of the term, and the covert nostalgic undertones that intermittently surface even within the official discourse. It will conclude by speculating on how in post-referendum Scotland the referendum debate itself may become an object of nostalgia and on how existing nostalgic triggers may have been altered.

Keywords: Scottish identity, restorative nostalgia, reflective nostalgia, banal nationalism, civic nationalism, imagined communities

PANEL B (SAT, 11AM, D1)

INDYREF AND THE LANGUAGE QUESTIONS

This panel explores potential explanations for the quasi-absence of linguistic issues in the debates on the 2014 vote on Scottish independence. It builds on the idea that while future Scots might reminisce about what was debated, they might also question the reasons why some elements were conspicuously left out. In this respect, language is likely to be seen as an enigma. As can be seen in the Catalan debate on independence, it is an obvious candidate for processes of differentiation and all new nations in Europe have been keen to exploit the linguistic argument – if only in discourse.

Raised in twenty years from now, the linguistic question might also convey a different feel: the structure of the Gaelic speaking scene is likely to be considerably different, with most traditional speakers having passed away. The other potential candidate to Scotland's claims to linguistic differentiation, Scots, was equally ignored throughout the debate despite its potential for political use as "the language of the people of Scotland". Yet future generations might inquire about its potential use as a tool in education to address social discrimination based on the prevalence of non-standard usage in Scotland. In fact, the *Scotland's Future* document consistently portrays Gaelic and Scots as part of the nation's heritage, never as social issues. The three presentations in this panel will therefore raise questions beyond the language issue by examining what it means for a modern European nation to think of itself outside the traditional discourse that has strongly linked language and national identity.

James Costa, 'Scottish Myths and the Nature of the Linguistic Market in Scotland'

In this presentation I will question my own initial assumption that the linguistic issue would emerge publicly at some point or other in the debate on Scottish independence. In fact, it turned out that English, Spanish or Canadian media were more interested in the question than Scots themselves. I will therefore look at how the language issue fits within a number of Scottish myths as identified by Gerry Hassan in his recent book, *Caledonian Dreaming*, and I will contrast this with how language is framed in Alex Salmond's rare interventions in Scots. My aim here is to identify the various autochthonous linguistic resources in 2014 Scotland, and to show that although language does indeed play a part in the fabric of Scotland as a nation, it is a complex one involving the management of diversity and social difference in the central and peripheral regions of the nation, while simultaneously branding Scotland as an anglophone nation on world markets. The language issue is therefore to be manipulated carefully in order to balance both international attractiveness and a feeling of authenticity in tourism marketing.

Wilson McLeod, 'The non-issue of Gaelic in the referendum debate'

The issue of Gaelic, and of language more generally, attracted very little attention during the independence debate in 2013-14. Why should this be so? Some of the reasons are practical, others more substantive.

In practical terms, it is not clear what new opportunities independence would bring for Gaelic language maintenance and revitalisation. Almost all the key areas of policy affecting the language, most obviously education, culture and local government, are already devolved; broadcasting remains under Westminster control, but no one appears to have argued that an independent Scotland would be likely to develop, and willing to pay for, significantly enhanced Gaelic media provision. The Scottish Government's White Paper was vacuous on the issue of language, and gave no real indication that anything would change for the better in the case of a Yes vote.

On the contrary, more substantial commitments, such as establishing Gaelic as an official language in any written constitution, seem to have been strenuously avoided, and there have been no audible demands for such status. Most controversially, the Scottish Government even refused to prepare the referendum ballot paper in bilingual format.

This decision concerning the ballot paper appears to relate to more substantial concerns that many voters appear to think of Gaelic in almost entirely symbolic terms and have little or no awareness of the more concrete practical issues that concern Gaelic activists (such as the inadequate supply of Gaelic-medium teachers). For a significant proportion of voters, Gaelic appears to be a mere signifier of one strand of traditional Scottish heritage, attractive to some and off-putting to others, who see Gaelic as one element in a backward-looking, inward-looking cultural package.

Robert McColl Millar, 'Scots in relation to Scottish political discourse in the run-up to September 2014'

After years of institutional neglect, Scotland was given limited recognition by the United Kingdom government in 2001 within the framework of the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, with the then Scottish Executive being given authority to provide this support within Scotland. Since the creation of the Scottish Government in 2007 this commitment has continued with provision and research which exhibited greater interest in the language than had previously been the case. This included the placing of a question on Scots in the 2011 Census. As of 2014, however, it would have to be recognised that Scots is still far from being given the status of a national language, alongside Gaelic and (Scottish Standard) English. The Scots-

English linguistic continuum remains the daily reality for many Scots, today, no matter their stance on Independence.

This paper will consider the use and discussion of Scots in the run-up to the Referendum, presenting a sample of use from news and political websites as well as in the discussions of activists and users. It will demonstrate that, no matter how rarely Scots is used on many of these sources, it is rare indeed for an ideological viewpoint not to underlie its use.

PANEL C (SAT, 11AM, D3) 'WEE PLAY' SESSION (SO-SAY SCOTLAND)

Wee Play is a card game on the independence referendum; designed to be played anywhere by anyone. The game creates a safe and trusted space where, rather than playing to win, people play to learn, and hone their opinions.

Workshop leaders: Amy Shipway / Toyah Gemmill ([So-Say Scotland](#))

PANEL D (SAT, 3.15PM, D1) A RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION (SEP 2044)

The year of Scotland's 2014 referendum on Scottish independence was peppered with several commemorative events that celebrated Scotland's national and community heritage. Gathered for the first time in this exciting exhibition are objects that help us remember these events and their relationship to the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence...

This panel critically discuss theories of cultural memory through the lens of this imaginary exhibition. Positing Astrid Earl's theory that 'cultural memory is constituted by a host of different media' and Jan Assman's seminal theory of memory as *ars* and *vis*, this panel seeks to explore our attachment to cultural memory as it manifests in objects, texts and film. Suggesting that the political outcome of the referendum will be viewed as largely unimportant in thirty years' time, these papers will explore the national and community-based practices of commemoration that are contributing to the debate, no matter how loosely. Using physical objects, real and imagined, the attachment to these events and projected feelings of nostalgia surrounding them will be fully explored with a comic yet critically-minded approach.

A common critical concern across these papers will be the consideration of the temporal implications of memorialisation, namely the affect of lived experience in the construction of the past in curatorial practice. As such, the paradoxical nature of memory will be considered as it also implies forgetting; from the plethora of objects that could be used or 'remembered' only a few are selected, often to speak to present situations and alter the shape of the future.

Christopher McMillan, 'Bannockburn, Barbour, Bruce... and Ireland: Cultural Memory and National Amnesia'

The year of the referendum on Scottish independence deliberately marks the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn. This has been celebrated with a plethora of new books, radio shows and commemorative events, including a mock-battle at the newly refurbished site and visitor's centre.

To commemorate the 730th anniversary of Bannockburn this paper examines Barbour's *Bruce* (the chief source of the Bannockburn narrative, Robert Bruce biography and Scotland's renowned

association with 'freedom') as a national 'site of memory'. Recent critical developments in cultural memory studies contend that *forgetting* is as important to a nation's version of its past and its version of national identity as what is remembered. As Eagleton has observed, 'amnesia, not remembrance, is what is natural to us'.

While Barbour's *Bruce* is most famous for its commemoration of the Bannockburn narrative, it also recounts the Bruce invasion of Ireland (1315-1318); a largely forgotten episode despite its importance to the history of the British Isles. This paper argues that *The Bruce* possesses sites of alternative or oppositional memory in its representation of the Irish invasion and in Barbour's character of the 'laundry woman'. My paper will also examine the memorialising of Robert Bruce during the 1940's by Hugh MacDiarmid (*The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry*) and Edwin Muir ('Robert the Bruce (to Douglas in dying)').

Zoë Strachan, 'Souvenirs of Kilmarnock'

The year of the referendum on Scottish independence has also been a year where several community heritage projects have come to light. Using unpublished images from a recently discovered archive of photographs of Kilmarnock taken by an amateur photographer between 1930 and 1970 (now held in the Burns Monument Centre), this paper presents a virtual exhibition exploring the cultural memory of small town Scotland partly inspired by Douglas Coupland's *Souvenir of Canada*. Focusing particularly on the relationship between photography and memory, it also discusses nostalgia, the role of archives in art, and the translation and adaptation from photography to fiction in Strachan's work in progress, a novel set in Kilmarnock between 1935 and 1971.

Kirsty Strang, 'Red Road 2014: the Forgotten Gorbals and the new High-Rise Kaillyard'

The year of the referendum on Scottish Independence is the year the Commonwealth Games come to Glasgow. For the opening ceremony, it was suggested that the last of the Red Road flats be blown up as a celebration of Glasgow's forward-moving attitudes: 'by sharing the final moments of the Red Road flats with the world [...] Glasgow is proving it is a city that is proud of its history but doesn't stand still' (Commonwealth Games press release).

Imagining this proposal went through, this paper will explore the deeper implications of this action. Suggesting that the Red Road flats are part of the continued and growing narrative of the Gorbals clearances in the 1960s, I will discuss the relationship between urban redevelopment, memory and amnesia with reference to several texts (such as Edwin Morgan's poetry and Andrew O'Hagan's *Our Fathers*), artworks, films (such as Andrea Arnold's *Red Road*) and last year's People's Palace exhibition 'Red Road: Past, Present and Future'.

PANEL E (SAT, 3.15PM, D3)

DISCOURSE, POLICY & EQUALITY

Kevin Adamson, Paul Gillen and Peter Lynch, 'Looking Backwards to Look Forwards: Scotland's Future in Historical Perspective'

This paper will employ discourse analysis to examine the historical importance of the Scottish Government's white paper on independence, *Scotland's Future*. It will explore the discourse of *Scotland's Future* to explore the trajectory of Scottish constitutional discourse from the Royal Commission on the Constitution in 1973, the Labour Government white paper of 1974 *Democracy and Devolution: proposals for Scotland and Wales*, through to the Claim of Right, publications of the Scottish Constitutional Convention and *Scotland's Parliament* white paper of 1997. This part of the paper will explore issues such as sovereignty, democracy and power to examine the manner in which the contemporary vision of iScotland is constructed from language, institutions

and ideas associated with devolution and likely to have a lasting impact. Second, the paper will examine the discursive content of Scotland's Future as a blueprint for a better society, influenced by social democratic and Nordic ideas set to shape future policymaking under either enhanced devolution or independence.

Gerry Hassan, 'How Scotland Became A Democracy And Grew Up'

A prevailing narrative of recent years is that Scotland is living in fast-changing times, that history is being made, and that this is a defining time of huge change. Such rhetoric embraced the Scottish Parliament's establishment in 1999, and is being boosted by the 2014 independence referendum. A counterview is that there is no clear way of knowing if we are living through historic times, and that people need to collectively decide that through the sum total of their actions.

This presentation looks at Scotland from the historic vantage point of the middle of this century, locating the social forces and trends which became evident in the second decade of the 21st century, not all of which are directly concerned with the independence referendum. It identifies three future Scotlands – all of which are possible and asserts that each is already present in the Scotland of today. This observation raises acute questions for how far politics, culture and ideas can make and shape that future, and the choices and dilemmas which have to be answered to produce a Scotland which is more progressive, democratic and takes responsibility for its actions and for how it sees itself and its role in the world.

Craig McAngus and Kirstein Rummery, 'Using care policy to become more gender equal – options for Scotland's future'

The independence debate has meant a range of important questions about Scotland's future have been posed. One issue which has found its way on to the agenda is gender equality. The Scottish Government's white paper on independence outlines some of the policy initiatives that would need to be in place in order for Scotland to become more gender equal, but it does not go far enough in some key areas. Indeed, the aim of these policies, such as extending childcare provision, are not presented as a means through which Scotland can be more gender equal. Focussing mainly on care policy, this paper will outline some of the steps that Scotland could take, based on international evidence, if it does indeed wish to be a more gender equal country. The possibility of both independence and remaining in the UK will be considered

PANEL F (SAT, 3.15PM, PLT)

SCOTLAND '44: IDEAS FOR A NEW NATION

([Post](#) collective.) Ahead of next month's referendum, much of the debate has focused around the immediate impacts of independence. But while the short term impacts of independence are certainly important, it is over a slightly longer timescale that more interesting changes might start to take hold in Scotland. Looking at a 30 year timescale, this discussion explores ideas for a fairer, greener, and more decentralised society for Scotland in '44.

Peter Matthews, 'Local government and democracy in 2044'

Peter Matthews will talk about how Scotland is governed, and how decentralisation and the transfer of power from the capital to urban centres can be used to radically change how people interact with the state. Matthews argues that democracy is worth paying for and that the reductionism of central government is holding Scotland back when it should be seizing

opportunity for a more evenly spread system of power.

Dominic Hinde, “‘We do what we like and we like what we do’”: the future governance of Scottish culture’

Successive Scottish Governments have seen culture as either a business opportunity for the creative industries or as a marketing tool for the often twee, over-simplified view of Scotland that brings in the pennies. Dominic will look at the role the creative sector plays in Scotland and how this might change, proposing a decentralisation of cultural provision so that local authorities are mandated to provide education and opportunity.

Lee Bunce, ‘Putting Democracy at the Heart of Journalism’

Almost everyone agrees that journalism is crucial for democracy, and also that journalism is in crisis. Lee argues that while journalism is indeed vital it has been failing us for some time, and so the economic challenges facing journalism should be seen as an opportunity. In particular he argues for truly democratic approach that treats journalism a genuinely public good.

PANEL G (SUN, 10.30AM, PLT) FIGHT OR FLYTE? AUTHORS & THE DEBATE

This panel will focus on the role of the literary artist in public debates about the nation. The last one hundred years have seen the political and cultural spheres in Scotland repeatedly elided. This elision is often productive, and almost always entertaining. However, it risks elevating the role of the artist, removing their work from the petty concerns of living, to a plane of abstraction and idealism that cannot be tested or even clearly defined. Art cannot be unassailable.

When artists make proclamations on political issues, not least on Scotland’s constitutional resettlement, readers need to ask themselves whether their status affords them special privileges. Do we demand specificity, or so-called ‘real-world solutions’ from them? Do we lose patience with them if they seem to talk a lot but say little? When they give us ideals to strive for, can we demand detailed proposals on how to realise them? Do their contributions help us to resolve the issue at hand, or do they, at least, help us to conceive of the role of the artist in society? Did Scotland’s literary artists ever make great contributions to the political debates of their day? Are they doing so now? Will they be remembered as having done so, by historians not yet born?

Linden Bicket, “‘The Knox-ruined nation’: George Mackay Brown, Orkney, and Scotland’

In one of his best-known poems and effective artistic manifesto, ‘Prelude’, George Mackay Brown (1921-1996) diagnoses Scotland as ‘the Knox-ruined nation, / that poet and saint / must rebuild with their passion.’ This early poem, which appeared in Brown’s first poetry collection *The Storm* (1954), can be read as the product of the ideological stance seen in much Scottish poetry of the early twentieth century, where pre-Reformation Scotland is idealised as an independent Catholic zenith of literary creativity. Like many of his contemporaries, for Brown ‘Knoxian Calvinism, rather than an expression of national identity, comes to be the negation of the nation’s once authentic culture’ (Cairns Craig, 1999). Brown, ‘the horizontal bard’, writes from his hospital bed in 1960: ‘Last week I did a short story with an Orkney setting for the fourth centenary of the Reformation, in which of course the whole sordid conspiracy is shown up in repellent detail. I hope to get an X certificate for it – maybe a trial at the Old Bailey.’ (Orkney Archive, D31/30/4).

But unlike his fellow literary convert Fionn Mac Colla (1906-1975), whose reception into the Catholic Church was intimately bound up with nationalism, Brown's conversion was initially more of an aesthetic decision, influenced by his reading of a number of Catholic texts and writers. His writing displays none of the nationalistic rhetoric of Mac Colla, Hamish Henderson, or Maurice Lindsay, the 'international Scottish nationalist'. This is most likely due to the complexity of Orkney's historical and geographical situation, with a Scottish legacy coming second, perhaps, to a Scandinavian or Norse heritage for Brown. This paper will explore Brown's complex identity as a Scottish literary convert, who both adheres to, and departs from, the nationalist timbre of the 'Scottish Cultural Renaissance'.

Corey Gibson, 'Flyting: 1964 and 2014'

The National Collective states that in the present debate the first duty of the artist is to '*imagine a better Scotland*'. Last year, they proposed a new model of discourse among campaigners. Titled, 'The Flytings', it was inspired by the 'Folk Flyting' – a public debate in the opinion pages of the *Scotsman* in 1964 between the doyen of the Scottish literary renaissance, Hugh MacDiarmid, and the folklorist and folk revivalist, Hamish Henderson. In this instance, both parties agreed on the need for an independent socialist republic; they disagreed on how this might be realised, that is, on the nature of historical change, and on the role of the artist in affecting this change. The poet saw himself as part of a political vanguard dragging the masses into class-consciousness and revolutionary fervour; the folklorist sought to dissolve himself in a vast, anonymous resurgence of collective political and poetical action.

As the debate rages on in chat room and debating chamber, the picture of the whole is ever more difficult to see. Trapped between the realpolitik and misty-eyed abstraction, official campaigners on both sides struggle to find a consistent rhetorical approach. This paper will take up the National Collective's challenge and consider the sometimes vicious but always scintillating public debate of 1964 as a paragon of the artist's duty to enact great 'flytings' when the circumstances seem to demand it – where balance and impartiality are not staged, but rejected outright; where character assassination and ideological wrangling go hand-in-hand.

Alex Thomson, 'Imagination, Ideology and Independence'

One feature of the contemporary rhetoric around the Yes campaign, and amongst supporters of independence more widely, is an emphasis on creativity and imagination. Whereas discussion around devolution in the 1980s and 1990s focused more closely on Scotland's historical and institutional autonomy, evoking a distinctive conception of the civic nation, recent debates have been more oriented to the future. But in the process, they risk reactivating highly ideological clichés about the connection between writing and nation, and substituting cultural exhortation for political analysis. This paper will contextualise these developments by taking a longer view on the role of the writer in Scottish cultural politics from the early twentieth century onwards, examining changing conceptions of the relation between writing and nation. Drawing on recent commentary on the ideology of creativity and the false promise of the 'creative class' in contemporary economic and cultural policy, this paper will aim to develop a critical perspective on these most recent developments.

Peter Mackay, 'S DÒCHA / DÒCHAS – MAYBE / HOPE'

One of the most controversial and unexpected elements of the 2014 referendum was the linguistically-nuanced 'hanging chad' nature of the counting process. With such a tight vote, the numbers of Scottish Gaelic speakers who – backed by a linguistic rather than a national (Scottish or British) identity – sought to re-enfranchise themselves on the ballot paper caused weeks of delays. In lieu of a simple 'yes' or 'no' response in Gaelic, the most common response on the ballot papers was "S dòcha", 'Maybe'; for weeks each vote was gauged and argued over as to whether it was a 'mibbes aye' or a 'mibbes naw'. This paper will look at Gaelic poetry in the run-up to the election – Gaelic poetry of the '14 (and indeed set up a Facebook group to encourage real, living and [generally non-]imaginary Gaelic poets to participate in a debate). Then it will explore the development of the 'S dòcha / Dòchas' concrete poetry movement through the 2010s and 2020s, in which variations of the word / slogan appeared in unlikely places around Scotland, until the eventual co-option of its iconography by a mining conglomerate, who – through partnership with funding bodies and other stakeholders – turned the mountain of Suilven into the largest art installation in the world and a symbol of the volatility and frailty of hope.

Maggie Scott, 'The Referendum and the Scots Language'

At the present time, new uses of the Scots Language and new Scots voices continue to emerge in the media, in literature, and in a range of public forums including the Scottish Parliament (Fitt and Robertson, 2003). Scots is quite frequently used in the Chamber and recorded in the Official Report, and this is important because it demonstrates the widening of contexts in which Scots is understood and deemed to be acceptable.

This paper will consider the referendum from the perspective of the Scots language. The new Scottish Parliament has facilitated some increases in the visibility of Scots in aspects of education and legislation, as well as in various cultural domains. As the 2011 Census results demonstrate, around two-fifths of the Scottish population consider themselves to some level of skill in reading, writing, speaking or understanding the Scots language. A 'No' vote may maintain this pace of change at its current rate, or perhaps even limit it by encouraging more 'British' forms of expression. On the other hand, a 'Yes' vote has the potential to accelerate this ongoing democratisation of Scotland's languages, allowing new cultural voices to explore and redefine their evolving environment. Scots features in several different domains relating to independence debate, from 'aye' and 'naw' badges to television programmes such as the BBC's 'Blethering Referendum'. Here we assess the likely roles of Scots in the ongoing public discourse about Scotland's future, after the vote.

Fitt, Matthew and Robertson, James (2003) *The Smoky Smirr o Rain: A Scots Anthology*. Edinburgh: Itchy Co.

Stevie Marsden, 'Language, Literary Value and Scottish Identity in relation to Scottish Book Award Culture'

Following Tom Leonard's Saltire Society Book of the Year Award win in 1984 for his collection *Intimate Voices*, the book was promptly removed from the Scottish Central Region's school libraries. The Director of Education at the time wrote to the Saltire Society, questioning the literary merit of the collection, suggesting the book was not suitable for high school pupils because of its themes and use of "strong" language. The concerns raised by the Director of Education for the Central Region in Scotland in 1984 seemed to foresee the controversy that

would arise in 1994 when James Kelman won the Booker Prize for his novel *How Late It Was, How Late*. Kelman's work was criticised by many, including a judge for the prize itself, who declared the novel was 'deeply inaccessible for a lot of people'. More recently, writers and journalists, including award-winning author Alan Bissett, have argued that London-based book awards like the Man Booker uphold an institutional bias towards Scottish authors and novels, with certain 'types' of Scottish author being accepted while others are, apparently, continually ignored. This paper will consider the relationship between award winning Scottish writers and texts and Scottish language and identity. Through conversations with award winning authors, publishers and archival material, the paper will illustrate some of the ways in which arguments regarding Scottish language and representation have developed over the past 30 years, and whether criticisms regarding bias and prejudice towards Scottish authors are indeed justifiable. As will become clear, this is an issue that not only relates to the representation of Scottish identity within literature, but also relates to the representation of Scottish authors and their texts in the wider publishing and book marketing system.

PANEL I (SUN, 10.30AM, D1)

CHANGING SCOTTISH POLITICS

Has the referendum changed the political sphere, or the political language we use? Has it produced new political thought? Or is this political moment just like any other?

Ewan Gibbs, 'The Constraints of Civic Scotland'

This presentation analyses the emergence and operation of Civic Scotland's pragmatic utilitarianism which has been a dominant ideological outlook in devolved Scottish politics. Civic Scotland is historicised as a force moulded from the defeat of devolutionary socialism in the 1980s and the forging of a cross-class civil society coalition in support of devolution. The presentation focuses on the anchoring of a legalist and pragmatic outlook towards maintaining limited social welfare gains and Civic Scotland's accommodation with neoliberalism which has been marked under devolution. The main arguments put forward within the independence referendum on both sides have been shaped by this and as such the likelihood of political-economy continuity is present.

Jenny Morrison, 'Independence for Women?'

Andrew Tickell, 'How constitutional thinking has developed in Scotland'

Chair: Amy Westwell

PANEL J (SUN, 10.30AM, B2)

'DEAREST SCOTLAND' LETTERS WORKSHOP

Dearest Scotland invites you to write to the future of Scotland. 2014 is the year we decide, as a nation, our future direction. But where are we going? What should it look like? What do people with a connection to Scotland actually think?

This is an apolitical campaign, focused on crowdsourcing a future vision for Scotland by the public for a common good. We've created Dearest Scotland as a place where visions for the future of the country are collected then published to be shared with the world. Ultimately, we aim to give a platform to citizens' voices from all over Scotland.

Workshop Leader: Sarah Drummond ([Dearest Scotland](#))

Keith Howell ([Nupateer](#)) – ‘How a quiet introverted No voter became re-invented as an online campaigner and latter-day troublemaker’

Based on recent experience I will explore:

What is right & wrong with social media and online campaigning?

- how I bumped into social media and made many enemies
- speaking in a room full of shouty people
- is everything Alex Salmond's fault?

What I have been trying to do and why it can seem no one is listening

- 2 routes to the truth
- what 'nupateer' is, and what it will never be
- why I might not be deluded after all

How will all of this be remembered and are there lessons for the future?

- what would Gandhi think?
- why a free-for-all can be a bad thing
- when everyone is talking is anyone listening?

Why the 18th September will be a difficult choice or no choice at all

- how process, policies and details trumped the fundamentals
- the search for answers that were never there
- the undecided's dilemma
- how a choice of one, becomes an opportunity for everyone

...and why I hope either 'Yes' or 'No' win well

Christopher Silver, 'Sustaining the Network: Defining Scotland's Alternative Media'

As the Scottish referendum debate has become ever more pervasive, the issue of whether it is framed positively or negatively has become a key question in its own right. A significant part of the debate is definitional, self-referential. Competing efforts to characterise the campaigns as novel or mundane, positive or negative, collective or divisive and so on, underly much of the discourse on Scotland's future. The opposing sides in this battle to define the referendum can be loosely grouped into two camps: on the one hand a 'mainstream' traditional media and on the other a vast collection of 'alternative' platforms. The latter, made up of a vast ephemera of blogs, polemics, essays, podcasts, films, songs, and publications, will not disappear on 19 September 2014. Instead, their digital presence suggest they will remain accessible, providing a consistent reference point to those who have to build on indyref's legacy. This paper will look at the problems this poses for the competing interests that will seek to define post-referendum Scotland.

If the referendum debate is a 'constituting moment', the legacy of which will be writ large in the DNA of a new state, the question of how that legacy will come to be understood is of critical importance. This must rest on an effort to shore up, nurture and sustain autonomous networks that assisted in the demise of a hierarchal union. This paper will explore how this can be done, what models Scotland could look to (including issues around funding) and how the self-generating nature of online activism could in turn become a definitive agent in the development of a new country.

PANEL L (SUN, 2.45PM, D3)

DISMANTLING BRITAIN/SCOTLAND?

Sarah Paterson, 'Antipodean Referenda'

Within two days in September 2014, two of the British Empire's cornerstones could place the final nails in the coffin of imperialism through democratic vote. On September 18, Scotland will either vote to become an independent country, or to continue the concept of Great Britain. Two days later, voters in New Zealand will elect a government that is now required to hold a referendum on the New Zealand flag within its three year parliamentary term. Although undoubtedly a major perpetrator of the British Empire, Scotland is in an almost unique position of occupying a role as both coloniser and colonised. If, however, Scottish voters elect to dismantle the idea of Britain, represented by the Union Jack, at the same time as New Zealand, one of the last 'loyal' outposts of British expansionism, finally votes to remove that very symbol from its national emblem, then these two votes may resonate loudly far beyond the shores of these two islands on opposite sides of the earth. It is not evident that voters in either country are aware of just how significant these referenda are to each other, and indeed to the international community if either or both should vote for change. This presentation will examine ways in which these two votes are relevant to each other, and why we should be paying much closer attention to the fact that they are coinciding as part of one historical moment that could spell the end of Empire.

Rebecca Brown & Lauren McCombe, 'A Look at the Thistle: Developing Scotland's self-confronting narratives beyond 2014'

Scotland can exist fully if we dream hard enough, Julie. I just can't relate to that Scottish deep-fried-chip-on-the-shoulder. *Trainspotting* was wrong: it feels fucking great being Scottish. We're becoming something, Julie. I can feel it. We're getting dressed up.
(Alan Bissett, *Death of a Ladies Man*)

This joint paper seeks to explore and further develop what we may understand as the 'self-confronting narratives' of recent Scottish literature. In two parts, this paper will expand upon the idea of a nation's identity as both influence upon and product of its writing, in order to speculate as to how Scotland may address itself in the decades following the referendum. We explore how Scottish writers may adapt to, and furthermore create, a changing view of nationhood post-independence. Scottish writing, often marked by the challenges it presents to perceptions of language, class, and nationhood, confronts not only the imposition of historical/social institutions, but the reality of Scotland's own self-deprecatory vision of itself. This paper aims to examine a range of pre-referendum tensions: starting from the current dissatisfaction with reality found in the subjugated narratives of *Trainspotting*, through to a more optimistic imagining of Scotland's 'full existence' in 2044. The potential transformation of Scotland's structure and identity will be played out in its literary works; therefore, this paper looks beyond the referendum to a potential movement in Scottish literature that, more so than ever, may provide a view of nation that is ever-conscious, ever-examining, and ever-shifting in the light of the challenges its writing presents.

PANEL M (SUN, 2.45PM, PLT)

LITERATURE IN THE NEW SCOTLAND(S)

What will be the future role and force of Scottish literature, post-Yes or post-No?

Mark Buckland in discussion with Ewan Morrison, Nicola White and Alan Wilson.

BLOGS

Kevin Adamson lectures in politics at the University of Stirling.

Linden Bicket is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh, where she is researching 'George Mackay Brown and the Scottish Catholic Imagination'. She was awarded her PhD from the University of Glasgow in 2011. She is currently co-editing a book with Professor Douglas Gifford on the Scottish novelist Robin Jenkins, and is a member of the Executive Committee for Edinburgh's Centre for Theology and Public Issues, and an Associate Member of the St Andrew's Foundation for Catholic Teacher Education at the University of Glasgow.

Ali Braidwood is an editor at Cargo Books and the creator of the popular [Scots Whay Hae](http://www.scotswayhae.com) blog [<http://www.scotswayhae.com>].

Rebecca Brown recently graduated from the University of Stirling with a BA(Hons) in English Studies. She is interested in the relationship between language and identity in modern Scottish writing.

Lee Bunce is one of the founders of the [Post](#) collective and an information activist. He is involved with Wikimedia Scotland and Open Knowledge Foundation Scotland.

James Costa is a research fellow at the University of Oslo, Norway where he studies the social consequences of the standardization (or non-standardization) of Scots in Scotland — focusing more specifically on Shetland. In 2010 he completed a PhD on the social meaning of language revitalization in Provence and Scotland.

Jenni Calder is a Scottish literary historian, poet and novelist, and worked at the National Museums of Scotland from 1978 to 2001. She has written on Scottish emigration, the Scottish soldier 1600-1914, the National Trust for Scotland, and most recently *Lost in the Backwoods: Scots and the North American Wilderness*. A long-standing supporter (and past president) of [Scottish PEN](#), she has also published biographies of Naomi Mitchison and Robert Louis Stevenson. She writes fiction and poetry as Jenni Daiches.

Cairns Craig is the Glucksman Chair of Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen. He has published widely on Scottish and modernist literature, with current interests in Irish-Scottish cultural relations from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Editor of the *determinations* series beginning in 1989 and author of highly influential literary critical studies including *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture* and *The Modern Scottish Novel*, his most recent book is *Intending Scotland: Explorations in Scottish Culture Since the Enlightenment*. He is currently working on a book on Muriel Spark.

Robert Crawford's most recent collection of poems is *Testament*, published by Jonathan Cape in July; his prose book *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* was published by Edinburgh University Press in January, and described by Andrew Marr in the *New Statesman* as 'excellent'. He is Professor of Modern Scottish Literature and Bishop Wardlaw Professor of Poetry at the University of St Andrews.

Meaghan Delahunt is a novelist and short story writer. Awards for her novels *In the Blue House* (Bloomsbury, 2001), *The Red Book* (Granta, 2008) and *To the Island* (Granta, 2011) include a regional Commonwealth Prize, a Saltire Award and a nomination for the Orange Prize. A selection of her stories: *Greta Garbo's Feet & Other Stories* is forthcoming. Born in Melbourne,

Meaghan has lived in Edinburgh since 1992 and teaches Creative Writing at the University of Stirling. In 2013 she wrote a Saltire Society pamphlet on [The Artist and Nationality](#).

Ewan Gibbs has been an active socialist since 2005 and is a member of the Labour Party. He is a PhD student in Economic and Social History at the University of Glasgow, researching the impact of deindustrialisation in the Lanarkshire coalfields.

Corey Gibson is a lecturer in English Literature at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. He was awarded his PhD from the University of Edinburgh in 2012. He is the author of a forthcoming book with Edinburgh University Press, *The Voice of the People: Hamish Henderson and Scottish Cultural Politics*. In 2012 he was awarded the Ross Roy Medal for his research in Scottish literary studies. And in 2013-14 he was a Scottish Studies Scholar at UC Berkeley on the US-UK Fulbright Commission programme.

Paul Gillen is completing his PhD in politics at the University of Stirling. His thesis explores issues relating to Scottish Independence, political discourse and the concept of sovereignty.

Gerry Hassan is Research Fellow at the School of Creative and Cultural Industries at the University of the West of Scotland. He has written and researched on a range of Scottish and UK politics, ideas and cultural areas, and has led a number of futures projects including the *Scotland 2020* and *Glasgow 2020* projects (with Demos) and *A Scottish Wave of Change* (in the Cultural Olympiad). Gerry has produced the Changin Scotland weekends of discussion for the last twelve years and is co-director of the forthcoming Imagination: Scotland's Festival of Ideas, running from Sept. 5th-7th www.imaginationfestival.co.uk

Dominic Hinde is a research student at the University of Edinburgh, and a freelance journalist specialising in the Nordic countries. He also works as a literary translator.

Keith Howell campaigns online through his nupateer.com website (<http://nupateer.com>) to promote the 'No' cause, to highlight how the Scottish Government has set out to mislead the people of Scotland, and to oppose nationalism. For over 20 years he has been active in management and governance roles across the private, public and voluntary sectors in Scotland. He 'came out' as an activist on the 6th March 2014 and has been quietly causing trouble ever since

Kerry Hudson is a Hackney-based writer from Aberdeen, otherwise to be found in Hanoi, Berlin or Budapest. A self-described wandering Scot, her recently published second novel, *Thirst*, is described by the *Irish Times* as '...an exquisite, stimulating mash-up...A brilliant, enthralling saga'. Her first novel, *Tony Hogan Bought Me an Ice-Cream Float Before He Stole My Ma*, was winner of the Scottish First Book Award and has been shortlisted for the Southbank Sky Arts Literature Award, Guardian First Book Award, Green Carnation Prize, Author's Club First Novel Prize and the Polari First Book Award.

Kirstin Innes is a journalist, writer of plays, short stories and a novel, and freelance arts publicist. She writes arts features and reviews for *The Scotsman*, *Scotland on Sunday*, *the Herald*, *The Independent* and *The List*. She has recently finished her first novel, *Fishnet*, which is in part about the sex industry, to be published early 2015. Kirstin won the Allen Wright Award for Excellence in Arts Journalism in 2007 and 2011.

Arianna Introna completed an MLitt in Modern Scottish Writing at the University of Stirling, where she is now researching for her PhD. Her doctoral project investigates the place of disability in Scottish culture, and how representations of disability interact with narratives of belonging in twentieth-century and contemporary Scottish literature.

Michael Keating is Chair in Scottish Politics at the University of Aberdeen, Senior Fellow on the Future of the UK and Scotland programme at Edinburgh University, and Director of the Scottish

Centre for Constitutional Change. His current research interests include European politics, urban and regional politics and society, and nationalism. He has published extensively on constitutional change, devolution, the transformation of territory in Europe, and Scottish independence. His recent publications include *The Crisis of Social Democracy in Europe*, edited with David McCrone.

Peter Lynch is Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of Stirling. He teaches and researches on Scottish politics, nationalism, political parties and devolution. He has published a number of books and articles on these topics over the years, including a history of the Scottish National Party. He is currently involved in a project with the [Scottish Political Archive](http://www.scottishpoliticalarchive.org.uk/wb/) on the referenda of 1979, 1997 and 2014. [<http://www.scottishpoliticalarchive.org.uk/wb/>]

Catriona Macdonald is Reader in Late Modern Scottish History at the University of Glasgow. Her research centres on the socio-political and cultural history of Scotland since 1832, and interdisciplinary studies of late-modern Scottish society and culture (principally literature). She has published extensively on Scottish political history and aspects of Scottish cultural heritage and is currently the modern editor of the *Scottish Historical Review*. Her book *Whaur Extremes Meet: Scotland's Twentieth Century* won the Saltire History Book of the Year Award in 2010 and she is currently working on an extensive study of Scottish historiography, popular histories and historical novels in the period 1832-1969.

Peter Mackay is a poet, academic and broadcaster. He is a lecturer in Literature at St Andrew's University, the author of *Orley MacLean* (2010) and a co-editor of *Modern Irish and Scottish Poetry* (2011). A collection of his poems is due out from Acair later this year.

Ken MacLeod is one of Scotland's leading authors of science fiction, having published fourteen novels from *The Star Fraction* (1995) to *Descent* (2014). He is currently editing the poems of his friend Iain Banks, to be co-published with a selection of his own poetry in 2015. In 2009 he was Writer in Residence at the ESRC Genomics Policy and Research Forum, and he is now Writer in Residence at the MA Creative Writing course at Edinburgh Napier University.

Stevie Marsden is a second year PhD student of Publishing Studies at the University of Stirling, completing an AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Award in collaboration with the Saltire Society. Her research is focused on the Saltire Society's book awards, which were established in 1982. As well as completing research based on archival materials and primary materials collected during interviews, Stevie also works with the Saltire Society, helping to maintain and administer their book awards.

Peter Matthews is a lecturer in social policy at the University of Stirling, formerly of Heriot Watt University, with a particular interest in the interaction between planning and government.

Craig McAngus is a Research Fellow at the University of Stirling. He is currently working on a branch of the ESRC's Future of the UK and Scotland project which looks at whether Scotland can become a more gender equal society.

Aileen McHarg is Professor of Public Law at the University of Strathclyde. Her research is concerned with Scotland's constitutional status and future; the constitutional regulation of the judiciary; and the impact of and relationship between different models of constitutionalism – political, legal, economic, and environmental. She has written widely on UK and EU energy regulation, and has a developing research interest in the regulatory and governance challenges posed by climate change.

Lauren McCombe is entering the final year of her Honours degree in English Studies at the University of Stirling, and aims to pursue a postgraduate degree in Modern Scottish Writing. She is particularly interested in existentialism and urbanity in the work of Alexander Trocchi.

Hannah McGill is a freelance writer and critic, and former artistic director of the Edinburgh International Film Festival. An experienced writer and broadcaster, she has served as music editor for *The List*, TV critic for *The Scotsman* and film critic for *The Herald*. Hannah's fiction has appeared in *Edinburgh Review*.

Christopher McMillan is a PhD researcher at the University of Glasgow. His academic research focuses primarily on the Early Modern period and Irish and Scottish Studies. His thesis is currently entitled: 'The Scots in Ulster: Culture, Community and Conflict, 1551-1603' and examines the socio-political interaction between the Scots, Irish and English in Ulster from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth and its influence on and representation in contemporary literature and documentary writing, with a strong focus on colonial and imperial ideology. Additional interests include Literature and Union, Identity and Postcolonialism.

Ewan Morrison is an award-winning novelist and an outspoken voice in Scottish literature – a 'renaissance man' who makes films and acts as a cultural commentator and essayist. His novel *Close Your Eyes* won the SMIT Scottish Book of the Year Fiction Prize in 2013 and he was awarded the Glenfiddich Writer of the Year award in 2012/13. His genre-breaking *Tales from the Mall* won the Not the Booker prize in 2012, was named one of the top 50 Scottish books of the last 50 years and was a finalist in the Saltire book of the year awards 2012. His three other novels from a trilogy: *Swung*, *Distance* and *Ménage* (Jonathan Cape). The feature film adaptation of *Swung* was shot in late 2013. In 2005 he was a finalist in the Le Prince Maurice Literary Award and was shortlisted for the *Arena* Magazine Man of the Year Award. He is the winner of a Royal Television Society Award and has been nominated for three BAFTAs.

Jenny Morrison lives between Barcelona and Glasgow, and is writing her PhD on feminism and the independence movement in Scotland.

Sarah Paterson is a PhD researcher at the University of Glasgow. Her work is concerned with the relationship between literature and constitutional change in Scotland. Sarah moved to Glasgow on New Zealand's William Georgetti Scholarship having completed an Honours degree and MA specialising in Scottish Literature at the University of Otago in her home town of Dunedin. Whilst working towards these degrees Sarah's poetry was published in various New Zealand and international publications, and she gained six years' experience working for the Otago Museum and volunteering for the United Nations.

Lesley Riddoch is one of Scotland's best known commentators and journalists, and has worked for Radio 4, BBC Radio 2, BBC Radio Scotland, *The Sunday Herald*, *The Scotsman* and *The Guardian*, among others. In 2010, Lesley formed Nordic Horizons, a think tank bringing Nordic experts to Scotland to share social policy insights and experiences. Lesley runs her own independent radio and podcast company, Feisty Ltd, which has produced several series including a weekly topical phone-in programme for BBC Radio Scotland. In 2013 she published *Blossom: What Scotland Needs to Flourish*, a call to restore equality and control to local communities.

Kirstein Rummery is Professor of Social Policy at the University of Stirling and co-director of the Centre for Gender and Feminist Studies. She directs a programme of research as part of the Future of Scotland and the UK programme looking at social policy, care policy and gender equality.

Maggie Scott is a Lecturer in English Language and Literature at the University of Salford. Prior to working at Salford, Maggie was a historical lexicographer for ten years, originally for the Historical Thesaurus of English at the University of Glasgow, then the Oxford English Dictionary at Oxford University Press, and latterly for Scottish Language Dictionaries (SLD) in Edinburgh. In 2005 she established the regular weekly newspaper column, 'Scots Word of the Week', for SLD, in *The Herald*, writing it for over three years. She has taught at the English Language Department at the University of Glasgow, the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama (now the Royal

Conservatoire of Scotland), and the University of Edinburgh's Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies.

Christopher Silver started working as a journalist at the age of 17 and has been writing in a number of different guises, forms and places, ever since. In recent years he has developed a reputation for high quality commentary on Scotland's politics and culture. He recently produced a feature length documentary on independence: *Scotland Yet*, and edited, with National Collective, *Inspired by Independence* a collection of art and writing reflecting on the referendum. www.christophersilver.co.uk @silverscotland

Zoë Strachan is a novelist, short story writer and librettist. Her most recent novel, *Ever Fallen in Love*, was shortlisted for the Scottish Mortgage Investment Trust Book Awards and the Green Carnation Prize. Her opera *The Lady from the Sea* – composed by Craig Armstrong – premiered at the Edinburgh International Festival in 2012 where it won a Herald Angel Award. As well as teaching Creative Writing at the University of Glasgow, she is currently editing a new collection of LGBT writing from Scotland - *Out There* - due in Sept= 2014. You can find out more at www.zoestrachan.com and follow her on Twitter @zoestrachan

Kirsty Strang is a research candidate in Scottish literature at the University of Glasgow. Her central research interests lie in the meeting ground between architectural and literary narratives, particularly in context of cultural and collective memory theory. She will begin an AHRC funded PhD in October this year, provisionally entitled 'Locating Literary Memory in Post-Industrial Glasgow', exploring redeveloped areas in Glasgow (such as the Gorbals, Govan and Red Road) through these theoretical contexts.

Alex Thomson is Senior Lecturer in Scottish Literature at the University of Edinburgh.

Andrew Tickell is a lawyer-sociologist by training. He researches, writes about and teaches public and constitutional law, with a particular focus on human rights issues and institutions. He blogs about UK and Scottish law and politics from a pro-independence perspective as Lallands Peat Worrier.

David Torrance is a writer, journalist and broadcaster, whose books include *The Battle for Britain: Scotland and the Independence Referendum*, *Great Scottish Speeches* and *Against the Odds*, a biography of Alex Salmond. He writes regularly on the independence debate and frequently appears on BBC Radio Scotland and BBC Television, as well as writing for *The Herald*, *The Scotsman* and *The Times*.

Amy Westwell studies the history of political thought, and writes for *Mair Nor a Roch Wind* [<http://mairnorarochwind.wordpress.com>]. She is a trade union activist, feminist, and a member of the Labour Party.

Nicola White was born in Ireland and now lives in Scotland. Her debut, *In The Rosary Garden*, won the 2013 Dundee International Book Prize and has been short listed for the Deanston Scottish Crime Book of The Year and the Edinburgh International Book Festival First Book Award.

Allan Wilson is a writer from Glasgow. His debut short-story collection *Wasted in Love* was shortlisted for the Scottish Book of the Year in 2012. He is a founding member of Scotland Writers FC.

Robert Wirth received his M.A. from the Julius Maximilians University Würzburg, Germany, after which he went to Asia for a year and a half to teach EFL in Taiwan. He currently teaches at the University of Paderborn, Germany, lecturing in English language and British cultural studies. His primary research interests lie in the field of cultural identity, history and nostalgia. He is writing his PhD thesis on the role of nostalgia in the Scottish independence debate.