8 Higher education and national universalism

Why does the Scottish independence movement embrace multiculturalism? Lindsay Paterson sees a Scottish specificity here. The inclusion imperative of the political collective predetermines Scotland's national-cultural collective. This is how Lindsay Paterson describes this "paradox of Scottish political culture":

> "Scotland until very recently has not asserted itself on the basis of a particular culture that marks it off from everywhere else, except insofar as it marks it off from places that do not assert universal values. Scotland has not asserted itself in the usual way of small nations seeking autonomy in the past century and a half: its assertion has not been about distinctive languages or religions or ethnicity. Scottish political culture has asserted values that are not specific to anywhere, and certainly not to Scotland. In doing so, Scotland in the past 200 years has helped to create a world in which the values to which it has held have become so general as to make Scotland not particularly different." (Paterson 2014: 292)

In Scotland, the sense of national belonging depends, above all, on what applies equally to everyone. Although, according to Paterson, these principles, which apply to the whole world, are difficult to apply to national separatism, they are one of the central explanatory factors of the Scottish quest for autonomy in the 21st century.

In sociological terms, this observation leads us to the "pattern variables" of universalism and particularism proposed by Talcott Parsons for analysis (Parsons/Shils 1951: 48). Universalism is universal in that a general standard judges the object of action. On the other hand, particularism emphasises the unique, specific meaning of an object for an actor. The Scottish autonomy movement, it will be argued below, undermines the national particularism of national culture. The national collective is pre-structured by the idea that it must encompass all the people who actually live in Scotland. In democratic nationalism, national culture is severely constrained by individual self-determination.[1] Obviously, this is a strategy to legitimise the Scottish

1 See for example: "The age of mechanical dualism is ending; materialism and spiritualism have each had their day; that of an organic and idealist Monism is begun. […] [I]n this rhythm

independence movement in the global public sphere, within the limits of attention (Heintz 1982; Werron 2012, 2018).

In research on contemporary nationalism, this distinction between nationalist-particularism and cosmopolitan-universalism is very important. According to this, current nationalist movements are often based on cathexis and are counter-structures of the world society characterised by the universalistic standards of the function systems. What Fukuyama means by vitality ('thymos'), Luhmann by 'non-trivial conflicts', Year Tamin summarises with the following story:

> "The liberal resentment of the ornamented symbolic style and its preference for a well-ordered frame of mind was echoed in the Bauhaus vision of worker housing in America. Yale- and Harvard-educated architects wanted workers' houses to have 'pure beige rooms, stripped, freed, purged of all mouldings, cornices and overhangs'. […] Yet the workers didn't share the dream of brute simplicity and universality. 'They bought houses with clapboard siding and high-pitched roofs and shingles and gaslight-style front-porch lamps and mailboxes set up on top of lengths of stiffed chain that seems to defy gravity, and all sorts of other unbelievable cute and antiquary touches'. This is not because the workers had no aesthetic preferences, but because, like all of us, they wanted their homes to be particular rather than universal. Fulfilling the task of particularisation, nationalism is at its best, and this, among other reasons, is why it is back." (Tamir 2019: 54)

This diagnosis of particularising nationalism, which fights against the universalisation of global function systems, does not apply to the Scottish quest for autonomy. Scotland's quest for autonomy is based on a universalistic value system, cultivated by the enormous relevance of education and the Scottish University (cf. Stichweh 2000a: 58 footnote 50). Before I show the mechanisms of emerging and consolidating universalist orientations in Scotland, I would like to start with an example. It illustrates the effectiveness of this orientation.

The primary collective of Scottish politics is clearly recognisable in the "sworn in" ceremonies of Scottish MPs. Before a new parliament comes into force—or when MPs die or resign from office—the new MPs must take an oath of office:

> "Every person who is returned as a member shall take the oath of allegiance or shall make a solemn affirmation at a meeting of the Parliament before the Clerk. A member shall not take part in any other proceedings of the Parliament until that member has done so. […] A member may, immediately after taking the oath or making a solemn affirmation, repeat the oath or affirmation in a language other than English." (2023: §1.2)

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of passive with active life, of contemplation with constructive energy, lies the health and the future of the Individual and of the Race." (Macleay 1895: 29, 38)

Allowing Members of the Scottish Parliament to repeat the oath or solemn affirmation in any language distinguishes this "sworn in" ceremony from the House of Commons and the House of Lords (Mansfield 2016).[2] In the following table, I have listed the language of all these repeated ceremonies as of 02 January 2024.

Table 10: Languages of the oath and swearing-in ceremonies of the members of the Scottish Parliament (as of 2 January 2024)

Scottish Parliament	English only	Gaelic	Doric	Scots	Arabic	French	Italian	Urdu	other	**sum**
1. Parliament (1999–2003)	130									**130**
2. Parliament (2003–2007)	133	1	1							**135**
3. Parliament (2007–2011)	121	5	3	1				1		**131**
4. Parliament 2011–2016)	121	5	5	1	1	1	1	1		**136**
5. Parliament 2016–2021)	121	6	4	1				1		**133**
6. Parliament (since 2021)	108	7	5	3		1		1	5	**130**

The result clearly shows the multicultural self-image of the Scottish nation. Of the 130 ceremonies (including the appointment of Rosalind McCall), most ceremonies in the current Parliament have been held exclusively in English. Most recently, 15 of the 63 SNP MPs recited the oath/affirmation in another language in addition to English: in the Doric dialect common in North East Scotland (5), in Gaelic (4), in Scots (2) or another language.[3] Some MPs from other parties have also

2 The oath or solemn affirmation in the House of Commons is only permitted to be recited in the following four national languages: English, Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Cornish. If this sworn in is not carried out, the MP is excluded: "MPs cannot take their seat, speak in debates, vote or receive a salary until taking the oath or affirmation. They could also be fined £500 and have their seat declared vacant "as if they were dead" if they attempted to do so." (https://www.parliament.uk/about/how/elections-and-voting/swearingin/, accessed 27 January 2024).

3 The six other languages, each represented once, are: Urdu, Shona, Panjabi, Orcadian, Welsh, German.

used these or other languages. In addition, SNP MP Karen Adam repeated her oath in British Sign Language. Conservative MP Pam Gosal used the Sikh salutation, and Anas Sarwar (Labour Party) used a Muslim invocation during the ceremony.

These ceremonies, in which English is used and another language of the person's choice, are examples of an ethnic interpretation of the Scottish collective. Overall, however, there are very few cases in which this happens. Although the pro-secession SNP has been part of the Scottish government since 2007, only just over 10 % of these ceremonies have been repeated in a language other than English by 2021. At 17 %, the most recent parliament still marks no break here. Ethnicity and language, as the official ceremonies show despite numerous SNP MPs, are not "at the heart of the debate today" in Scotland's quest for autonomy (McAfee 2017: is wrong here). However, how did this universalist attitude come about in Scotland's drive for autonomy, and what were the consequences?

8.1 Mechanisms of Scottish universalism

As Lindsay Paterson points out in the essay mentioned above, the widespread universalist orientation in Scotland originated by the Scottish Enlightenment that emerged in the 18th century. This was due to the reorganisation of the education system, which was crucial for the Scottish Reformation. Without claiming to be exhaustive, I would like to name five crucial mechanisms below.

8.1.1 Protection of the Scottish Reformation

Firstly, the importance of education in Scotland must be emphasised. Education in Scotland became crucial in the course of the Calvinist Reformation. In the middle of the 16th century, Scotland's Reformation church constitution led to a general obligation to educate—at least for sons. For the church representatives, education was the most important thing. Education was "the one utterly necessary", only it allowed children and "rude persons" to be taught religion. Education made it possible "that offences be corrected and punished." Without school, the Fathers of the Constitution continued, there would be "no face of a visible kirk" (Calderwood 1621[1560/1578]: Book 1: V). The educational system introduced during the Reformation, which was organised into parish schools, colleges and universities, meant that by 1660 at the latest, every parish in the Scottish Lowlands had its own school (see Devine 2012: 98).

In cities as well as in the Highlands, other religions, which were only weakly persecuted by the Presbyterians in Scotland, provided numerous schools (on this and the reasons for this permissiveness towards other religions see Muirhead 2015). The close connection between religion and education in Scotland led to an important

provision in the Treaty of Union of 1707. In order to secure its 'Presbyterian church government and discipline', Scotland was promised the security of the then universities and colleges in Article XXV of the Treaty of Union:

> "for the greater Security of the foresaid Protestant Religion, and of the Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church, as above established, Her Majesty, […] that the Universities and Colleges of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, as now established by Law, shall continue within this Kingdom forever".

This regional autonomy of higher education linked to religion was the first important mechanism in the emergence of the universalist orientation.

8.1.2 Small-Town grammar schools

It was to become the education valued in the Reformation that contributed significantly to the emergence of the Enlightenment and its universalist orientation in Scotland. Like many others, Lindsay Paterson mentions the parochial schools that emerged as a result of the Reformation because they provided the Enlightenment with an interested audience:

> "their audiences were in the local publishers, in the pamphlets and the debating societies and the beginnings of what became a national press […]. They were present also in the pulpit: Scotland was the only country in Europe where moderate ministers of religion were among the Enlightenment's leaders. And the audiences were there because of the universal literacy that the schools of the Reformation had eventually brought about. So when Adam Smith was thinking about human sociability, or about how we might buy and sell from each other without fraud or exploitation, he was not an abstract academic theorist: he was thinking about conversations in places such as his Kirkcaldy, epitomising the Scotland of small trading burghs that gave him his model of a selforganising society." (Paterson 2014: 293)

Concerning the emergence and spread of universalism, Charles Camic corrected this assessment. He identified the small-town grammar school as the actually crucial mechanism of Scottish universalism to be mentioned here. According to him, the universalism of the Scottish Enlightenment did not originate in the parochial schools, which often differentiated between pupils with a talent for Latin and the rest of the student body. The small-town grammar schools were particularly successful in conveying universalist impressions to their pupils in everyday school life (Camic 1983: 60). These schools had a high degree of student heterogeneity and assessed these diverse students according to uniform standards:

> "While not quite as encompassing of the social spectrum as educational institutions in the rural parishes, the town schools drew students of the most disparate abilities and ages from widely separated levels of the class hierarchy […]. Because these schools were principally classical seminaries, however, they did not follow the parochial practice of segregating a few privileged Latin boys from the mass of English pupils. Here most studied the classics […]. To manage the variegated groups before them, town schoolmasters were wont to divide students into several classes. […] The step-by-step progression would extend to all the classes in the school and, with the loss of the most advanced class and the entry of fresh beginners, recur each year, according to the different tasks in tum to different batches of boys on the basis of a uniform organisational logic, not because they were special. Nor was this progression merely a once-a-year matter. In Scotland's simple one- or two-room schools, students directly witnessed an enactment on a small scale of the entire process several times every day as each class took up in full public view tasks that in previous years had inexorably fallen to other groups of boys." (Camic 1983: 67-70 Herv. P.R.)

The everyday experience of being judged according to the same rules for everyone led to the spread of universalism through education in the small-town, simple grammar schools of 18th-century Scotland. Charles Camic demonstrates education according to universalist standards as an explanatory factor of the Scottish Enlightenment, right down to the level of some of the protagonists of the Scottish Enlightenment:

> "Adam Smith, John Millar, and William Robertson, the Scottish Enlightenment's most insistent proponents of universalism, were all educated from an early age in one of Scotland's small-town grammar schools. […] The situation of David Hume and Adam Ferguson differed in an important way from that of Smith, Millar, and Robertson; in their first ten years, neither of the two was in a setting organized to provide experiences for the development of universalism. Hume spent the period studying at home under private tutors, while Ferguson attended, probably for five years, a simple parish school at Logierait." (Camic 1983: 69f.)

8.1.3 Reform of university teaching

A third mechanism for the emergence and spread of universalism in Scotland is converting university teaching from regents to professorships, first implemented at the University of Edinburgh in 1708. Until the beginning of the 18th century, teaching by regents was common at Scottish universities. The Regent led the students as a class through the four-year degree programme and taught all subjects himself (for ethics taught at the time, see Schultz 2022).

William Carstairs, who was impressed by the professorial teaching system at Dutch universities and returned to Scotland in 1688 as an adviser to William III, was

primarily responsible for this reform (Whyte 1995: 320). In 1703, Carstairs was appointed Rector of the University of Edinburgh and, by 1708, had implemented the reform in Edinburgh. This reform took place at the University of Glasgow in 1727, at St Andrews in 1747 and only at the end of the 18th-century at the two colleges of Aberdeen. These comparatively early reforms produced a cumulative advantage. They "gave Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities a lead", notes Whyte, "which they never lost making them the key centres of Scottish Enlightenment." (Whyte 1995: 321)

The professorship system enabled specialisation and the establishment of numerous new professorships, such as chairs of Latin, moral philosophy (1708), natural law (1710), universal history (1719) and Scottish law (1722) in Edinburgh. The new system meant that the income of the chair holders was largely linked to tuition fees, which sometimes led to electives being offered to supplement their income.

Various other factors, such as the rapidly growing number of subjects and students, the abolition of compulsory residency, the shortening of study periods etc., further increased the personal distance between teacher and student (see Camic 1983: 72f.). The thematic dimension of the meaning of social systems was universalised with the division into professorships. This created a further prerequisite for suppressing particularism by favouring universalism, which also spread in Scottish universities.

8.1.4 Thematic inclusivity of the university

Fourthly, the Scottish Reformation's educational focus on the university and parochial school should be seen as a factor in the emergence of Scottish universalism: "Schools and universities are now part of a political jurisdiction over spiritual matters", as Rudolf Stichweh describes this "transitional formula", which was important in the 18th-century (Stichweh 2013: 163 translated by the author). The focus on general education through the parochial schools not only brought potential students and the moderate clergy mentioned by Paterson to the universities but also created room for manoeuvre for the university and higher education. Higher education no longer consisted solely of training the clergy. New and different subjects were added.

Edinburgh has a special place here, as Ian D. Whyte notes. Neither too small nor too large, Edinburgh, with its numerous societies and clubs, the first Scottish newspaper etc., was a centre of the Enlightenment and offered the university a correspondingly diverse environment. Edinburgh "was large enough to offer a wide range of lucrative professional posts and a rich social life but at the same time small enough for all the literati to be closely acquainted, unlike contemporary London or Paris." (Whyte 1995: 318)

This room for manoeuvre was exploited by the abolition of the Regent's Principle and led to an increase in the number of subjects and the formation of the Faculty

of Philosophy. The empirical-rational orientation of the Scottish Enlightenment is directly linked to this. David Hume and many others understood this to mean the universalistic "science of man", which sought to explain observations and experiences:

> "The purpose then was to discover principles that would be true of all human beings, anywhere and at any time, principles that would operate as universally for human affairs […]. Thus, the most fundamental way in which Scottish Enlightenment culture was about universal values was its aspiration to find a universally applicable science of human beings. That foundation of all modern Scottish political culture places Scotland absolutely at the heart of humanity." (Paterson 2014: 295)

8.1.5 Social inclusion of the Scottish university

The reformers' endeavour to make education as accessible as possible throughout Scotland so that everyone could study the Bible led to a fifth mechanism: inclusion into education. The first church constitution already stipulated that the financing of entry and exit (exams) should be based on the status and studies of the person concerned and that poor but talented people should be able to finance their studies through the church: The "rich and potent" families, it says, would have to finance their sons themselves "because they are able". The same applies to the "general collection" on entry to university, albeit in a more refined form (Calderwood 1621[1560/1578]: Book 1: V).

Access to university—and thus, to the centre of the Scottish Enlightenment—was to be open to everyone. Moreover, Scottish Universities were in most cases Universities, where students lived and often worked in the city instead of living on campus (for an example Struthers 1882: 244). All this adds up to Scotland's national semantic of "Lad of Parts" (Anderson 1985b).

Even if actually very few came to university, Scotland had an above-average number of students by global standards until the First World War. Whereas in the 1870s in Europe, there were around 0.3 students for every 1.000 people in the population and one student in 1914, the number in Scotland was already at this level earlier: in 1871 the figure was 1.19 and in 1911 1.24 and 1.63 for both sexes (see Anderson 1985a: 466f.). Even then, there were significantly more university places in Scotland than in England (0.17 students per 1.000 population in 1871 and 0.73 in 1911). This large number of students at the time further solidified the universalism of the Scottish Enlightenment and carried it out into the world with the graduates (Anderson/Wallace 2015).

Inclusion in higher education played a significant role in the Scottish secession campaign, as the following interview sequence with Joe Goldblatt from Academics

for Yes shows. At the time, Godlbatt was a professor at Queen Margaret University in Scotland. When asked what this sectoral group expects from secession, Goldblatt said:

> "There are three benefits: The first is the continuation of free tuition. […] Education, to those of us who support 'academics for yes', is not a privilege. It is a right. And we believe every student that is qualified to go to university should be able to go, and fees should not be a barrier. The second is the opportunity for increased research funding. […] And the third, and perhaps the most important, is the opportunity to keep a bright young man like you in Scotland. Because right now, under the UK-immigration laws, the minute you graduate from the university, you have to go home. Imagine that! We lose all your intellectual capital, which you could stay here, work in an organisation, do more research, etcetera." (Goldblatt 2014: Z4-14)

Regardless of origin, every person should have the opportunity to study in Scotland if they are qualified to do so. In order to ensure this universal access, Scotland, as an independent state, will continue to pay the tuition fees for first-degree programmes and make appropriate visa arrangements. Furthermore, it is important to keep graduates in Scotland, and here, too, it is emphasised that the origin of the person in question is irrelevant.

The universalist interpretation of inclusion in higher education goes hand in hand with two key motives of Scottish statehood. In contrast to the United Kingdom, Scotland will continue to finance first-degree programmes through the community/state. In addition, statehood would enable a visa system allowing anyone to study and work in Scotland. Once again, a universalist understanding of the collective was taken to explain the secessionist endeavour.

8.2 Scottishness and university

The starting point of Paterson's study on the universalism cultivated by the Enlightenment and education was that this universalism led to a paradox. The universalist interpretation of the Scottish collective contradicts the sense of belonging that is important for particularist nationalism. Scotland could only attempt to distinguish itself as a nation as a global role model. What can we make of this assessment?

In another study, Paterson himself provides the answer to this question. In it, he demonstrates that the secession movement, as already seen in the Chapter on religion, was supported primarily by Scotland's non-religious young population, apart from the Roman Catholic population. What characterises Scotland and resolves the paradox of universalist culture is higher education.

In his series of measurements analysing surveys on Scottish statehood from 1979 to 2016, Paterson shows that for the first time since 2012, higher education and self-identification as Scottish, which is significantly associated with a willingness to secede, no longer diverge. On the contrary, in 2016, 32 % of those who spoke out in favour of Scottish independence in the survey were students and graduates who described themselves as Scottish (Paterson 2021: 17). As at the end of the 19th century, Scottish universities have once again become the vanishing point of the quest for national statehood.[4]; Hanham 1969: 151)

Paterson rightly emphasises the difference between the secession referendum held in Scotland in 2014 and the referendum on European Union membership held in the UK two years later regarding human capital. Those who voted in favour of Scotland's secession from the UK in 2014 have, on average, a much longer tertiary education and, therefore, higher human capital than those who voted in favour of the UK's secession from the EU in 2016 (Jump/Michell 2019).

An argument for this has to do with the social inclusion of Scottish higher education. As Adams argues, Scotland continues to follow a social democratic Nordic path in education within the UK today. An important aspect of this is the constant measuring and analysing of access to educational institutions as well as the tracking of leavers in order to adapt the higher education policy that focuses even more on equal opportunities:

> "there has been concerted effort to shift Discourse away from student credentialisation as the barometer of policy success towards measures such as positive school leaver destinations and the proportion of those over 17 entering higher education. Here, policy explanations note matters such as discipline, leadership and, pedagogy […] as describing the distance between Scotland and rUK and the ways in which they cite successes in other, smaller, nations, most notably the Nordic and Baltic states." (Adams 2023: 52)

Central to access is the target set by the Scottish Government in the National Performance Framework that at least 18 % of students at Scottish universities should come from the 20 % of most deprived regions in Scotland by 2026 and 20 % by 2030. This commitment is regularly evaluated by the Commissioner for Fair Access and published as a report (see Scott 2022). These are examples of Scotland's inclusive education regime, which differs significantly from the more individualistic and market-

4 The Glasgow University Scottish Nationalist Association's first membership card read: "To foster and maintain Scottish Nationalism by (1) securing self-government for Scotland and (2) advancing the ideals of Scottish culture within and without the University." (MacComick 2008[1955]: ch. 3 Herv. P.R.

orientated English education regime. A central aspect of the Nordic model is the low intergenerational elasticity of educational success (Fochesato/Bowles 2015).[5]

Scotland's Nordic model of the purest possible meritocracy of upbringing contradicts the Anglo-American situation, at least empirically. As Autor et al. have shown, for example, the USA and the UK have a high elasticity of educational and income success between generations (Autor 2014: 848).

8.3 Internationalisation and nationalisation

The internationalisation of higher education is vital for the Scottish quest for autonomy, leading to increased national and global inclusion due to the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union.

Since the 2021/22 academic year, the origin of students at Scottish universities has changed drastically. The number of enrolments at Scottish universities from EU member states (excluding Ireland) has fallen by almost half compared to previous years. While 6.120 students from the EU enrolled at universities in Scotland in 2020/21, only 3.635 students from the EU enrolled in the year when the funding of tuition fees for first-year students from the EU was ended due to Brexit. More important, both quantitatively and financially, are the increasing enrolments of first-year students from China (12.985 people in 2021/22), India (7.100), Nigeria (4.010), USA and Pakistan (Mantle 2023).

Moreover, the more difficult recruitment of students from the EU is important, as it leads to an increasing number of people being recruited from Scotland. This can already be seen in the admission figures. The difficulty recruiting students from the EU is partly compensated for in Scotland by a higher permeability for students from Scotland. While Scottish universities admitted 14.265 students resident in Scotland for the first-degree scholarship in the 2019/20 academic year, this figure rose to 17.120 in the 2022/23 academic year. Only just under 10 % of these people dropped out of their studies just one year later (Scottish Funding Council 2023: 7f.). This Brexit-enforced permeability of the Scottish higher education system is attracting more and more people already resident in Scotland to the universities that teach the universalism important to Scotland's quest for autonomy.

5 Scotland's "scene-setting of overtly politicised matters such as poverty through their co-location at government and community levels sits in opposition to the individualising tendencies of English measures and highlights the interconnectedness of various social policy-matters North of the Border. For example, drawing on the twin aims of demonstrating competence and moving towards independence, successive Scottish administrations noted the contribution education makes to social justice, not just as a means for economic prosperity but as vital to the latter's contribution to a better society for all." (Adams 2023: 53)

In order to fulfil the expectation of being able to study the Bible independently and orientate their own lives accordingly, the reformers called for the founding of parochial schools. One effect of this primary education, which was soon available in most regions of Scotland and included both men and women, was that it reduced the relevance of particular collectives. Success in school education made careers beyond belonging to a family possible. In such an understanding, Gellner (1974) described inclusion in primary schools as exo-socialisation and as an obstacle to secession because this exo-socialisation emphasises the mobility of the person and thus contributes to the irrelevance of social collectives outside the state, which would have to bear this essential education. However, since the beginning of the political union between England and Scotland, it is not the United Kingdom that has been responsible for this exo-socialisation in primary schools, but Scotland has been given regional autonomy in educational matters due to religious autonomy.

This research has shown that the cognitive orientation of universalism is still important in the Scottish drive for autonomy today (Ozga 2017). This universalism is closely linked to the great importance of education in Scotland (Moffat/Riach 2014: 48, 175). The referendum held in 2014 and subsequent surveys have shown that an above-average number of students favour Scottish statehood. A unique feature of the Scottish desire for autonomy is the increased national identification as a striving for statehood and inclusion in higher education. In Scotland, an above-average number of students see themselves as Scottish and are highly likely to favour statehood for Scotland.