# 5 National collective

## Anthem as national self-description

How does democratic nationalism create a sense that the collective has a common culture that binds it together as a nation? What importance is attached to shared customs, traditions, languages, religious beliefs and other ethnic factors? As case studies of the symbols of national unity, this and the subsequent Chapter 6 show that the sense of national cultural belonging is primarily determined by those who live in Scotland. Nevertheless, Scotland's past is of great importance in terms of its relationship with England. Democratic nationalism also claims to represent a national cultural collective, which, according to the argument in the following Chapters, is pre-structured by the collective of political inclusion, demarcated in terms of residency.

In order to demonstrate the emergence of two different collectives that underpin the Scottish quest for autonomy, we begin with a simple question. What is associated with identification as Scottish in Scottish politics? Suppose you ask members of the Scottish Parliament this question in the hope that they, as experts on Scottish politics, will be able to summarise the cultural specificity of this nation. In that case, you will often hear one answer in particular: Scottish is what it is not. Moreover, it is certainly not British or English: "Many were at pains to separate Britishness and Scottishness—proclaiming the former to be 'very English dominated'." (Leith/Soule 2011: 126)

With "Scottish as not being British or English", Murray S. Leith and Daniel P.J. Soule summarise this paradoxical attitude of Scottish MPs. Leith and Soule have presented the only study to date on the reflections of Scottish MPs. Their study is based on interviews with 64 Scottish MPs on the "nature of national identity in Scotland" (Leith/Soule 2011: 121). Members of the Scottish (MSP) and UK (MP) parliaments between 2003 and 2009 were surveyed.

The results reveal the extent to which Scottish MPs differentiate the Scottish nation from England: "Perhaps it is easier to define oneself by what one isn't", says one Scottish MP and adds, implying this paradox, "and I am not English." (Leith/Soule 2011: 127 Interview 9)

This demarcation from England is also expressed with respect to Britishness. Of the 64 MPs Leith and Soule spoke to, four said they were British, 20 were Scottish and British, and just over half (34) said they were exclusively Scottish (six people chose not to say). Many respondents accept that a person can be both British and Scottish, but they also emphasise the difference. As a result, British is a constitutional category to which you either formally belong or not. Nevertheless, Scottish, say the MPs, is a national identity that a person chooses or deselects at will (similarly McCrone distinguishes between Scottish, English etc. as a national identity and British as citizenship McCrone 2017: 453). Several people distinguish between their self-chosen national identity in the UK (English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh) and their formal citizenship status as a subject of the British monarchy: "I recognise I am a subject of the British state, but I am not British" (Leith/Soule 2011: 126 Interview 49).

However, what characterises this will to belong to the Scottish nation? There are two reasons behind it: firstly, national egalitarianism should also apply to internal relations with other nations. Secondly, the will is based on the experience described in Chapter 3 of the Scottish collective's rapid and increasing loss of power in relation to the English collective. The value commitment to the egalitarianism of the Scottish nation should also determine the internal relationship between the nations of the United Kingdom:

> "I feel not a single British fibre in my body … I am pro-European but it is not a strong part of my national identity … growing up it became clear to me that we are not equals in the United Kingdom, this was an English state and it bore no sense of identity for me." (Leith/Soule 2011: 132 Interview 27)

As an identity, this MP contrasts the British with the European and categorises it with the United Kingdom as a state. As a state, the argument goes (see Chapter 2), the United Kingdom and thus also the identity of Britishness is dominated by England. In some cases, the relationship between the English and Scottish populations is even understood as the relationship between two foreign nations: "Everybody in Scotland, whether they consider themselves Unionists, supporters of independence, British, or anything else like, would never stay quiet if somebody said they were English". (Leith/Soule 2011: 133 Interview 18)

Implicitly or explicitly, Scottish MPs ascribe England the status of a nation—a nation that some Scottish MPs see as violating the egalitarian internal relationship in the UK. However, how widespread is this demarcation of Scotland as a separate nation, particularly distinct from England? Is there more to say than that Scottishness, at least, is neither English nor British?

To answer these questions, the Scottish case offers an extraordinary quasi-experiment: discussions of the Scottish national anthem that allow us to recognise how and by what means the Scottish people describe themselves as a nation.

John Stuart Blackie was already of the opinion that a nation is best understood through its songs. Songs that the respective collective has internalised. Songs in which the collective is not concerned with who composed or wrote them but which the collective associates so strongly with itself that everyone can sing them, and everyone knows when they hear them that they are the familiar song:

> "The songs that please the great mass of the people are the songs that flowed *most directly* and most potently from the heart of the *people*; and *whosoever wishes to know the people, must know to love their songs*. […] [G]enerally, we may say that the song of the people is natural, not artistical; catholic, not special, breathing always the common breath of humanity modified by nationality, but affording no field for the display of individual talent, abnormal genius, or brilliant transcendentalism. In Shelley's poetry you always see Shelley, and in Byron's Byron; but in 'Bonnie Jean' and 'Wandering Willie,' though you may know that there was a Burns, you never feel personally that he is there. In his songs, whatever he may be in his letters, Scotland is everywhere. Burns nowhere." (Blackie 1889: 4, 21)

I follow on from Blackie's reflections here in order to understand the collective identity of Scottish nationalism from what it claims and to categorise it sociologically. Such an investigation is also consistent because Blackie belonged to the "small bodies of ultra patriots" (Hanham 1969: 40). Contemporary patriots regarded him as "the foremost son of Edinburgh and Scotland", as Patrick Geddes put it in his famous obituary of Blackie, "The Scots Renascence", "the leader of nationality in ripest age, the leader of literature in fullest prime (Geddes 1895: 131). Moreover, Richard Jenkins claims: "we should be as much concerned with how nationalisms and nationalists define themselves […] as how we as social scientists should define them." (Jenkins 1995: 372)

But unlike the literary and musicologist Blackie, the intention in this Chapter is a sociological one. The search for folk songs that each and every Scot knows is one thing. But what is sociologically interesting here is the search for the Scottish anthem. In other words, the song that the Scottish collective currently identifies as an independent nation. This is the first step. Furthermore, it is important to analyse the specific anthem as a national symbol. How does the anthem succeed in giving the population a sense of national cultural togetherness?

The national anthem is sought to understand the cultural demarcation of the Scottish collective and what should be avoided. So, what is the national anthem of the Scottish nation from the perspective of the members of this social collective? "Flag and anthem are conspicuous in that," Rudolf Stichweh has noted concerning the relevance of such an investigation, "they can embody the nation's own culture in a pure sense—without an ethnic background" (Stichweh 2000b: 53 translated by the author). However, what is this intrinsic culture of the contemporary Scottish nation,

under what historical conditions did the need for a separate anthem arise in the first place, and is the collective on which this national culture is based different from the political inclusion collective of residential demarcation?

In order to find answers to these questions, the following Chapter is divided into two sections. It begins with a sociological reconstruction of the problem to which the Scottish national anthem is supposed to offer an answer. In the second section, the anthem currently in use—The Flower of Scotland—is presented, and discussions on the use of this anthem are outlined.

## 5.1 Context of origin: Globalisation of sport

Why does the question of the Scottish national anthem arise at all? This question has arisen in connection with the globalisation of sport. The Scottish collective competes with its own national team in most international sports competitions. The only exception is the Olympic Games, which have been organised since 1896. Scotland participates in events organised by the International Olympic Committee under the designation 'GBR' or 'Team GB' with the other three constituent nations of the United Kingdom, the Crown Dependencies and some British Overseas Territories. In other international sporting competitions, Scotland competes with its national team. For example, Scotland competes in football, rugby, cricket, boxing and the Commonwealth Games as a national team called 'Team Scotland'.

As the following examples show, due to the globalisation of international competitive sport, these events have demanded a Scottish national anthem—a need to identify Scotland that does not exist within politics. Indeed, as part of the United Kingdom, Scotland has the same national anthem as the UK: God Save The Queen.[1]

The following quote from a UK Foreign Office memo shows how international sporting competitions are linked to the question of the Scottish national anthem. It is about an amateur boxing competition held in Prague in 1969: "the Scottish officials threatened to make a fuss and go home if they did not get their own way. […] We are not sure whether *Scotland The Brave* is a National Anthem of Scotland or merely a national song, and if the latter, whether it would be proper for it to be used instead of God Save The Queen." (cited in BBC 2003)

There were repeated comments during this period stating that parts of the Scottish population did not recognise the official national anthem of the United Kingdom—God Save the Queen. For example, booing can be heard from some stands in Scottish sports stadiums when this anthem is played, suggesting "impatience from youthful enthusiasts" and "a few hooligans" (Hansard 1976b: 1339; for a more recent

1 The title God Save The Queen is used below, as the primary period of interest here is the reign of Queen Elizabeth II.

example see ianjmcd 2010). Others have described this disdain and the practice of singing Scottish hymns at these events as 'anti-English' (Hansard 1976c: 1724). In particular, The Flower of Scotland, currently used by many Scottish national teams, was seen as nationalist politicisation even then, in the late 1970s. Scottish nationalists would use sports competitions to express disloyalty to the UK and demand more independence for Scottish policy (see Hansard 1976c: 1724). In general, there was too much discussion in Scotland about the national anthem and too little about policy, as Labour MP Roy Hughes described the situation at the time: "There are arguments about what anthem should be played on the rugby field or the football field, and arguments on the constitution, but the important issues of jobs, housing, and education, are neglected." (Hansard 1976a: 525)

For a time, the question of a Scottish national anthem disappeared from political communication. It was in the 1990s that it was discussed more frequently again. With the referendum held in 1997, in which the majority voted in favour of the concession of a Scottish Parliament (devolution), the search for an official Scottish national anthem was launched at various events. As early as 1998, the daily newspaper The Herald and the Scottish Media Group organised a competition for this purpose (Jackson 2015). The convening of the first Scottish Parliament in 1999 led to further discussion. Once again, sport, in particular, has raised the issue of Scotland's national anthem in politics.

The following two petitions show the link between the national anthem and modern sport. In both cases, the respective petitioner related the question of the Scottish national anthem to events in international competitive sports. Although God Save the Queen is formally recognised as the national anthem, sport shows that other songs are used for the Scottish national team instead of this anthem. This difference needs to be corrected.

In a petition, George Reid quoted the two best-known songs of Scottish national sports teams. These pieces of music are out of date and should be replaced by an official Scottish anthem:

> "In past years 'Scots Wha Hae' has been sung as the Scottish Anthem but the aggressive sentiments it embodies belong to times of division and strife and is no longer appropriate to twenty-first century Scotland. The doggerel that passes now for a Scottish anthem, 'Flower Of Scotland' (though never intended as such) is ungrammatical, backward looking and vindictive and probably embarrasses as many (perhaps more) Scots than it pleases." (Reid 2003)

He cites two songs. On the one hand, Reid talks about Scots Wha Hae, which has been used for the Scottish team since 1958, especially in rugby, and on the other hand, he mentions The Flower of Scotland, which has been used as the Scottish national anthem in rugby since 1990. The Scottish football team followed in 1993. Fol-

lowing a decision by the Scottish athletes in 2009, it has also been the anthem for the Scottish teams in the Commonwealth Games since 2010.

The petitioner, Chris Cromar, has also modelled his latest petition on international competitive sport:

> "'Flower of Scotland' […] is widely recognised as Scotland's unofficial national anthem. The song is used as Scotland's national anthem in the Commonwealth Games and also for Scotland's football, rugby union and rugby league teams and was sung at the opening ceremony of the 2012 Summer Olympics in London." (Cromar 2014)

In both petitions—Reid's petition as an alternative to the anthem used in sport and Cromar's, which argues in favour of this anthem being adopted as the official Scottish national anthem—the discussion is guided by two expectations: Rejecting God Save the Queen as Scotland's anthem and looking to sport to find an anthem.

As these examples show, the regular competitive nature of modern sport (see Werron 2010) provides political communication with possible contributions to attribute or deny the population a sense of belonging to a national collective. As sport begins to differentiate itself from politics and other function systems like education/cultivation (Tang 2010), the question arises as to which song should be used to greet and honour Scottish athletes at international competitions. Against the background of this problem of finding a national anthem for sport, the question of the self-description of the Scottish collective—here using the example of the national anthem—in political communications is addressed.

Sociologically, national teams in modern sports can be understood as structural couplings of the function systems of politics and sport, which are operationally closed through their communications (on this concept Luhmann 1998: 107-108). For example, teams financed by the state or state-owned companies or symbolically identified with a nation are founded and operated (see the former cycling team Euskaltel-Euskadi and cf. on Russia Abt, 2009) (s see the former cycling team Euskaltel-Euskadi and cf. on Russia Abt 2009). State-led doping initiatives prove how important this structural link between politics and sport is about the national team (on the GDR cf. Osterhans 2000; and the slump in performance after the Olympic Games, see Treutlein 1994: 153). In the Scottish case, the political relevance of international competitive sport lies above all in the regular and widely watched significant events such as World Championships and Commonwealth Games. Scottish nationalists use opening and honouring ceremonies to identify the Scottish people as their nation, as the following pages illustrate.

International sports provide events for the self-description of the Scottish people as a nation. Waving the flag and singing the anthem shows that people identify with the Scottish nation on their own terms.

The following juxtaposition of the Union and secession campaigns exemplifies this strategy. Before the secession referendum, the then Prime Minister David Cameron campaigned in favour of Scotland remaining part of the United Kingdom by referring to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London, among other things:

> "Everyone cheering as one for Team GB. And it's Team GB I want to talk about today. Our United Kingdom. […] Think of what we've done together, what we can do together, what we stand for together. Team GB. The winning team in world history. Let us stick together for a winning future too." (Cameron 2014a)

Conversely, in his last public speech before the secession referendum, Alex Salmond recalled the Commonwealth Games that had just ended and was being held in Glasgow (see 2' to 3' in WeeWildyCamper 2014). Scotland has been participating in these games, which were held in Scotland for the third time, with its national teams since 1930. These competitions, in which Scotland competes as a national team (Team Scotland), are used in the Scottish autonomy movement to distinguish Scotland from 'Team GB'.

Initially, the British Empire Games, which were held for the first time in 1911, were intended to strengthen solidarity within Great Britain, as stated in the following report on the Games in Hamilton at the time: "at Hamilton, where Britons alone were concerned, there was a warmth of comradeship, a spirit of cordiality and even self-sacrifice which will assuredly bear fruit among those young men and women of the British race." (Report of the Council for Great Britain and Statement of Account vom 10.11.1930 zitiert in Moore 1989: 249) Today, the opposite is the case.

Regarding the theory of inclusion, this already reveals a weighting explaining why 'Team Scotland' suits Scottish nationalism. It is not only the name that differs between 'Team GB' and 'Team Scotland' but also the importance attached to the inclusion of the individual and the collective. The inclusion of individuals is much more important for 'Team GB' than the question of whether the individual in question belongs to a specific political collective. Citizens from the entire United Kingdom and Ireland can participate in 'Team GB'.[2]

Conversely, this does not apply to participation in the Scottish team. Implicitly, 'Team Scotland' emphasises inclusion and exclusion in the political collective determined by place of residence. This is because the citizenship of a person, their place

2 This stems from an agreement between the British and Irish Olympic Associations and is still defended by the British Government today, as the relevant Under-Secratary responded in 2004: "The longstanding practice relating to athletes in Northern Ireland who qualify for participation at the Olympic Games is that an athlete born in Northern Ireland who qualifies for participation at the Olympic Games and who holds a UK passport, may opt for selection by either Team GB or Ireland. The British Olympic Association (BOA) and the Olympic Council for Ireland (OCI) have recently confirmed this agreement." (Hansard 2004)

of birth or their parents determines whether this person can be a member of the Scottish national team (see Commonwealth Games Federation 2014: §25(2)).[3] Sports competitions, taken up in the secession campaign, thus emphasise that the individual belongs to Scotland as a distinct political collective of inclusion.

For the aims of Scottish nationalism, the collective semantics of 'Team Scotland' are anticipatory. Team Scotland offers the Scottish secession campaign a "preadaptive advance" brought about by international competitive sport (Luhmann 1980: 49; Stichweh 2006b: 4). With 'Team Scotland', international competitive sport provides a semantic that can be politically instrumentalised. The national team recognises a team. Moreover, an audience that identifies with this team as a nation that belongs together becomes visible. Against this background, Scottish nationalism references the national symbols used in sports, as the following example shows.

This time, it is a naturalisation ceremony in the United Kingdom. Since 2004, naturalisation in the UK has been no longer finalised by post but through a citizenship ceremony. These ceremonies take place near the applicant's place of residence. The incident of interest here took place in Glasgow. Before the first naturalisation ceremony, Glasgow City Council announced that it would not use the flag or anthem of the United Kingdom (see also BBC 2004b; on Glasgow BBC 2004c). This announcement led to the following motion in the Scottish Parliament, in which Phil Gallie (Conservative) labelled this threat a "constitutional insult" and demanded: "That the Parliament considers the refusal by Glasgow City Council to fly the Union flag and include the national anthem citizenship ceremonies to be unacceptable" (Gallie 2003).

Scottish nationalists responded to this demand with an amendment tabled by SNP MP Nicola Sturgeon. The intention of Glasgow City Council is not "unacceptable", but as Sturgeon puts it in her amendment:

> "courageous, worthy of support and fully in keeping with the pride in their Scottish identity that new Scots feel and notes that more and more Scots consider themselves to be Scottish rather than British and that British identity is becoming increasingly artificial as the recent English rugby victory celebrations, with not a Union flag in sight, demonstrated." (Sturgeon 2003)

3 Paragraph 3 of this article stipulates that athletes may later compete for another Commonwealth member, provided they receive the approval of both national federations, the respective international sports federation and the Commonwealth Games Federation and announce the change at least one year before the next Games. Pedigree is prioritised over place of residence to get into a national squad. The place of residence can serve as a basis, provided that the person can prove that they have lived in the other Commonwealth member country for at least five years – and the respective federations agree to the change (for example Scottish Cycling 2016: Appendix 1:5).

In this amendment, Sturgeon calls for a cognitive approach to national identity in the United Kingdom. She calls for the use of flags and anthems that are used by the population. In the case of the "new Scots", Sturgeon's assessment of the national collective is based on the above-mentioned collective of political inclusion that promotes immigration.

How do you know which anthems and flags these are? Sturgeon mentions sports (rugby) in which Scotland and England participate with their national teams. Naturalisation should, therefore, not be finalised ceremonially by emphasising the local level but rather through the references expressed in the anthems and flags used to the demarcation chosen by the population itself as a trans-local collective.

Bridget Byrne's (2012) study of the speeches at these naturalisation ceremonies produces a similar result. According to this, the rights of new citizens towards the UK as a state would be described against the backdrop of the duties they assume towards the local community. In contrast, in the one Scottish example that Byrnes discusses, the obligation of the new citizen is related to a universalist principle (i.e. tolerance) and not to a specific local community (see on "tolerance" in South Ayrshire and "Community" in London-Barnet, Manchester und West Sussex by Byrne 2012: 537 and 539f.).[4]

George Reid makes a similar argument in his petition on the national anthem. He also emphasises that national symbols such as the anthem must reflect the will of the people who actively identify with Scotland as a collective. The national anthem is about the "distinctive culture" and history of this "country of ours", but this should imply an orientation towards the future, towards the "aspirations of the Scottish people" (Public Petitions Committee 2003; Reid 2003). What Sturgeon's 'new pride' implies is reflected in Reid's distinction between the history and aspirations of the Scottish collective. What is meant is a discontinuity. The Scottish population would no longer describe itself (only) through the national symbols of the nation-state. Reid, therefore, calls for a "Scottish anthem" to be identified, which would have its place "proudly alongside the national song" God Save the Queen (Public Petitions Committee 2003).

In various discussions, this break with the past was emphasised and the question of what the Scottish national anthem should be followed these considerations. For example, Sandra White (SNP), member of the Petitions Committee, expressed her dissatisfaction that there was no "national song" for Scotland. The Deputy Convener (Conservative) responded by referring to the official anthem of the United Kingdom:

4 See also the differences in the historical semantics of English and Scottish collectives. According to Robert Allan Houston (Houston 2016), a local-community self-image prevailed in England, whereas a religious-universalist self-image of the collective dominated in Scotland (Dawson 2014).

> John Scott (Conservative): "As things stand, we have a national anthem: it is 'God Save the Queen'."
>
> Sandra White (SNP): "That may be yours, John, but it is not mine. It is not the national anthem of anybody I know, either." (Public Petitions Committee 2005)

Concerning her own experience and with insinuations about the preferences of others, Sandra Whites rejects the continuity-orientated adherence to God Save the Queen—"[a]s things stand".

Surveys show how natural this attitude already is in Scotland. The distance from God Save the Queen as a binding anthem is also recognisable. Polls on the Scottish national anthem always ask for several candidates, but none of the polls asked for God Save the Queen. The Scottish national anthem must be a different song (see Broadfoot 2015; Kelly 2015; BBC 2010; Royal Scottish National Orchestra 2006).

The Scottish national anthem needs to be discussed. The Scottish collective has only begun to recognise itself as a collective 'we', which leads to the problem of a national sense of belonging, as Shiona Baird (Greens) explained in a committee meeting on the issue. We are only just beginning to get clear about ourselves as a national collective:

> "The fact is that we have a Scottish Parliament and are trying to strengthen our identity as a nation. We can still be a nation within the UK […] but, because we are trying to establish clarity on what we are about, there is a need for such a debate. We do not have to spend a great deal of time on it. I would really like to know how other countries resolved the issue of having a national song." (Enterprise and Culture Committee 2006)

Yet, who, if not the Scottish Parliament or its committees, should clarify "what we are about"?

## 5.2 Taking the national anthem from the people

Is Mycock's (Mycock, 2012), Miller's (Miller 2008) and Keating's (Keating 2010, 2013, 2015) assessment that it is the political elite who decide on the need for and content of national symbols correct? Whose responsibility is it to specify the national symbols of the Scottish nation? With the national anthem as an example, this section tests the following thesis: Performance roles (i.e. political elite) of the Scottish nation refrain from specifying the national culture, that is, the culture to which they are committed as bearers of a performance role. Politicians leave the definition of Scottish culture to their complementary audience collective—i.e. the people.

However, the people implied here are not delineated by their ordinary place of residence in Scotland but by the fact that they identify with Scotland. In the national cultural collective, autonomy is based on voluntarism. It differs from the inclusion collective of Scottish politics based on common residence in Scotland. This becomes clear in the following comment on the question of what the Scottish national anthem is: "We also can't forget the anti-Scots rhetoric in later verses of Goad [sic!] Save the Queen although principally aimed at Jacobites. The people chose Flower of Scotland first through singing it at international sporting events and then by making it our anthem." (BBC 2004a) Others ad: "We already have a national anthem. No-one I know in any generation sings God Save the Queen up here. Everybody knows our national anthem is Flower of Scotland". (BBC 2004a)

The commentary argues that individuals with a sense of national belonging choose their national anthem. Implicit is the assumption that experts should not be consulted to decide what the Scottish national anthem should be. Instead of considering the limitations of the setting—which instruments could even be used to play the melodies convincingly—the people are left to decide on their national anthem.

Reid's second petition on this subject was discussed using the same logic. In his petition, Reid called on the Scottish Parliament to decide whether there should be an official Scottish national anthem (Reid 2004a). The Petitions Committee responded cautiously to this request. The decision to raise the prospect of an authoritative Scottish national anthem through Parliament was described as 'starting the ball rolling'. It was considered whether the decision by the Scottish Parliament to seek a Scottish national anthem would not already be an unauthorised encroachment on "the public":

> "Could that not be perceived as the politicians pushing something on to the public, who would want to choose a song that was relevant to their own circumstances? […] There are times when we should not legislate but allow people to do what they feel most comfortable doing." (Public Petitions Committee 2005)

Labour MP Helen Eadie concludes that politics should not give an anthem but instead take its national anthem as soon as such an anthem emerges. Similarly, SSP MP Rosie Kane concludes: "It might be about taking an anthem rather than being given it." (Public Petitions Committee 2005) Once again, national cohesion refers to a collective united by will and not by a common place of residence. The Scottish nation is an independent collective formed by the expression of will but pre-structured by an appreciation of individual self-determination. Moreover, it is the people who give the nation and its political elite their national anthem. In Scottish nationalism, the nation is bottom-up, created by the people, rather than imposed top-down by

the nation on the people. The bottom-up emergence of the nation demonstrates a democratic nationalism based on self-determination.

In the discussion of a motion on this topic, which took place in the Enterprise and Culture Committee, the inclusion of the population is also called for. The motion was tabled by Michael Matheson (SNP), who had already tabled another motion on this subject two years previously (Matheson 2004). Although Conservative MP Murdo Fraser does not want to spend time on this issue, he agrees with Matheson on the basic approach:

> "Philosophically, it is not for politicians to try to dictate what song should emerge as our new anthem if we want one. […] If we are to get a new anthem for Scotland […] a song will emerge in time, it will be adopted by the people, who will start singing it on the terraces and stands and we politicians will take our lead from the people and adopt it as our anthem. We need a bottom-up approach, not a top-down one". (Enterprise and Culture Committee 2006)

Once again, sport is used as an example ("singing it on the terraces and stands") to assess the relevance of the question of the Scottish national anthem.

The concession expressed in these examples by the performance role bearers of the Scottish nation to the people who identify with the Scottish nation to specify the Scottish nation's culture also explains why sport is used to raise the question of a Scottish national anthem. What is essential about international sports for politics is that they allow preferences to be ascribed to the national collective. The cultural definition of the nation should be determined by those who identify as Scottish. The Scottish national anthem is an issue where the political elite retreats. It is not parliamentarians who should decide on the national anthem, but the people who feel they belong to this nation. The performance roles of Scottish politics leave the definition of national culture to their complementary roles, including those who sometimes do not even live in Scotland but feel a sense of belonging to the nation and express this, for example, in song at the sports stadium. I want to illustrate this argument empirically with all the motions tabled in the Scottish Parliament to date on the Scottish national anthem.

Motions allow Members of the Scottish Parliament to initiate discussions in this Parliament. By April 2018, there had been seven motions concerning the national anthem. All motions, including the number of their supporters (signatures), are listed in the following table.

*Table 3: All motions in the Scottish Parliament on the national anthem (May 1997 to April 2018)*

| Motion | Supporters of the 129 MSPs in total |
|---|---|
| Scottish Women's Football Anthem (Denham 2017) | 20 |
| Scottish National Anthem (Matheson 2004) | 18 |
| National Anthem (Ballance 2004) | 3 |
| Glasgow City Council Constitution Insult (Sturgeon 2003) | 17 |
| Rugby World Cup (Watson 2003) | 2 |
| James Thomson Memorial (Allan 2003) | 2 |
| Hamish Henderson (Peattie 2002) | 17 |

Three of the seven motions refer directly to sport to discuss the issue of the Scottish national anthem in Parliament. Nicola Sturgeon's motion, cited above, refers to the national rugby teams (Sturgeon, supported by 16 MSPs in 2003). The motion also refers to sport, with Mike Watson (Labour) criticising England's exceptional position. In rugby, England uses the official anthem of the entire United Kingdom God Save the Queen. Watson "hopes that, before defending the title in 2007, England might commission a National Anthem of its own." (Watson 2003) This hope, which has only been supported by Carolyn Leckie (SSP), once again puts sport front and centre—and has yet to be fulfilled (see Syxius 2018; Rugby 2015[2003]). International competitive sport is also at the centre of the following and the last motion on this topic. In it, SNP MP Ash Denham calls on the Scottish Parliament to recognise Girl (Daughter of Scotland) as the official national anthem of the Scottish women's football team (Denham 2017).[5] This proposal, which once again explicitly recognises the theme of the national anthem from what has been decided by a national sporting body, was supported by 19 other MSPs out of a total of 129.

Even if the other four motions do not explicitly refer to sport, the argument is factually the same. This is because these four motions are also orientated towards the preferences of the majority of the Scottish population to address the issue of the Scottish national anthem. In some cases, reference is made to the majority, as in

5 That the Parliament recognises that the song, Girl (Daughter of Scotland), by the singer/songwriter, Sharon Martin, is the official anthem of Scottish Women's Football; appreciates that Sharon wrote the song to promote gender equality, celebrate Scottish women *and Scotland's contribution to the globe, as well as to be a message of self-belief* […]; supports Sharon's vision and ambition *to make the song a Scottish women's national anthem, and notes that the song can be heard at scottishfa.co/girl/.*" (Denham 2017)

this motion by an SNP MP, which was supported by 18 other MPs out of a total of 129 and called for: "it [is] necessary to have a Scottish national anthem that is endorsed by the majority of Scotland and that embodies the rich cultural heritage and strong character of Scotland" (Matheson 2004).

Two other motions are based on major political events or Scottish national heroes. Emphasising a major political event of the Scottish nation, Chris Ballance (Greens) proposes A Man's A Man For All That, chosen for the opening of the Scottish Parliament, as the Scottish national anthem (Ballance 2004). Only two SSP MPs supported this motion. In memory of Hamish Henderson, who did so much for the Scottish language, Cathy Peattie, Labour, describes The Freedom Come All Ye as a very special anthem. Many believe that this song should become "Scotland's (inter)national anthem" (Peattie 2002: supported by 16 MSPs).

Finally, there was a motion by Alasdair Allan (SNP) criticising a monument to the author of Rule, Britannia and interpreting the Scottish nation as a Jacobite nation. In it, SNP MP Allan calls: "to call on the UK Government formally to disassociate itself from the offensive verse still associated with another song from the period, the UK national anthem, which refers to crushing rebellious Scots." (Allan 2003) However, this motion only received one other support (also SNP).

In Scotland's autonomy movement and politics, its national anthem emerged as a product of the spontaneous will of the people. The national anthem is what those who identify with the Scottish nation use as an anthem in sports or at major political events.

For example, members of the Scottish Culture Committee call for an "organic" or "bottom-up approach" to the search for an anthem (Enterprise and Culture Committee 2006). This committee sees itself as a "facilitator". A Scottish national anthem must emerge from the people that sees itself as a nation.

This view is also shared by the person responsible for the Scottish Government. In his response to the latest petition on the Scottish national anthem, he says that although Scottish ministers are convinced that a national anthem is "an important part of a nation's culture and heritage", the Scottish Government has decided to refrain from deciding in this regard at the moment, because:

> "it is important that any choice has wide public support. […] Scottish Ministers believe that consideration of whether Scotland should officially adopt a national anthem and if so, what that might be, should not be led by the Scottish Government or by any single political party. We therefore have no current plans in this regard." (Scottish Government 2015)

According to the government representative, the demarcation of the Scottish nation symbolised by the national anthem should be separate from everyday political decision-making. The role of government and political parties is not to build the Scot-

tish nation. Rather, the political elite protect what the people have chosen to identify with as a national collective. The political elite interpret the people as a population of changing opinions that form the nation. According to the last petition to date, the question of a national anthem is "an important issue for Scotland and we should give other people an opportunity to comment." (Public Petitions Committee 2015)

## 5.3 The meaning of the anthem

If the people are to choose the national self-description themselves (see Chapter 5.1), can they agree on an anthem at all? Either an entirely new composition is chosen, or a song is chosen that has been considered as a possible anthem from time to time. The latter applies to these seven songs:

- Auld Lang Syne (*1788)
- Scots Wha Hae (*1793)
- A Man's A Man For All That (*1795)
- Scotland The Brave (*1950)
- Freedom Come-All-Ye (*1960)
- The Flower of Scotland (*1968)
- Highland Cathedral (*1990)

Some of these seven pieces have already been performed at important national events. For example, A Man's A Man For All That opened the first Scottish Parliament in 1999. Hamish Henderson's Freedom Come-All-Ye served as the opening song of the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow. Holders of Scottish national performance roles have variously associated these songs with the identification of the Scottish nation (e.g. in Calney/Burdman 1999; Dewar 1999; Scottish Government 2015; see Peattie 2002; Ballance 2004). Some of these have been used as national anthems for Scottish sports teams. In the past, Scotland The Brave was mainly used for this purpose, but since the 1990s, The Flower of Scotland has generally been played everywhere to welcome Scotland's national teams. These songs have also been put forward in polls and political consultations as candidates for a Scottish national anthem (see Public Petitions Committee 2003; Broadfoot 2015; Royal Scottish National Orchestra 2006; Kelly 2015; Murray 2019).[6]

Which of these seven songs is the anthem with which the Scottish people currently identify themselves as a nation? It is The Flower of Scotland, written by The Corries in 1968.

6 The exception is Scots Wha Hae, which is rarely considered as an option today (it was only surveyed as an option in Kelly 2015: where it ranked fourth with 12 %).

*Table 4: Favourite Scottish national anthems based on the latest polls*

| **Candidates** | **Results in the surveys** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Flower of Scotland | 41 % | 93 % | 65 % | 40 % | 26 % | Yes |
| Scotland The Brave | 29 % | 7 % | 8 % | 8 % | 6 % | Yes |
| Highland Cathedral | 16 % | | 5 % | 4 % | 5 % | |
| A Man's A Man For A' That | 7 % | | | | 8 % | Yes |
| Scots Wha Hae | 6 % | | | | 9 % | |
| The Freedom Come-All-Ye | | | | | 19 % | Yes |
| Auld Lang Syne | | | | | 5 % | |
| Others | - | - | Yes | Yes | Yes | - |
| Poll | Poll by the Royal Scottish National Orchestra (June 2006, 10k votes) | Binary decision by Scottish team members (Jan. 2010, 226 votes) | Scottish Football Association survey (Feb. 2015, 22,6k votes) | Poll by the SSC (Feb. 2015, 12,6k votes) | Poll in a Blog (Feb. 2015, 710 votes [Kelly, 2015]) | Candidates named by the Scottish Government (Feb., 2015) |

The Flower of Scotland has won all polls concerning the Scottish national anthem in recent years (since 2006). The following lines, written by the journalist Peter Ross, give us an idea of how closely this song is linked to the Scottish quest for autonomy. In it, he describes the hustle and bustle in so-called "Independence Square" (George Square, Glasgow) on the day after the Scottish referendum on secession:

> "[A] few dozen, a mere rump in comparison with the thousands of recent days, gathered around a man with a guitar and sang a frail, lamenting 'Flower of Scotland'. 'But we can still rise now and be a nation again' – many choked on that line. […] 'Rule Britannia', one side sang. 'Flower of Scotland' was heard from the other." (Ross 2017: 8, 10)

The popularity of The Flower of Scotland is to be recognised among those actively campaigning for Scotland's secession. The popularity of this song as a Scottish national anthem is also evident outside of the separatist movement. For example, during the onset of winter in March 2018, when Lesley Mair wrote a tweet quoted "tens of thousands of times" (Clark 2018) in which she rewrote The Flower of Scotland into the song "No flour in Scotland!". Another example is Anne Bardsley, who distances herself from the "radical nationalist who believes that Scotland should be an independent nation". In response to the question "What's it like to be Scottish?", Bardsley replies: "The sound of the pipes and drums stirs national pride like no other musical instrument that I know. Can you really imagine singing 'Flower of Scotland' to the piano or the guitar? It just does not have the same ring to it." (in Devine/Logue 2002: 13)

Hence, The Flower of Scotland is also popular as a Scottish national anthem because it can be played with instruments—Great Highland bagpipe and drum—associated with Scottish national culture.

Let us summarise this first result: One song is particularly favoured from the repertoire of possibilities: The Flower of Scotland. It has won all surveys by a large margin and is used as the Scottish national anthem in sport and nationalism.

How does the people describe itself as a nation when it uses this song as its national anthem? By remembering its history and, in particular, the defence of national independence with respect to "Proud Edward's Army".

In terms of content, the three verses of The Flower of Scotland are about the Scottish Wars of Independence in the late Middle Ages. The Battle of Bannockburn, which took place in 1314 in what is now Scotland, takes centre stage. The three stanzas are shown in the box below.

The italicised insertions (Against WHOM?) show how the song is actually performed in sports and on numerous other occasions. I will refer to this variant below as the 'Against WHOM?' version of The Flower of Scotland (see for football AllezVusal 2016; Rugby Syxius 2018; in a fundraising gala Kiltwalk 2018).

In terms of content, the very first verse commemorates the Battle of Bannockburn, in which the outnumbered Scottish troops defeated the English. A comparable collective achievement to the victory over the English monarchy at that time is metaphorically expressed in this stanza with the admiration for the flower of Scotland. With the subsequent question of when we will see something comparable again, this strength and the reasons for using it are also actively longed for. In contrast, the second verse deals with the present. References to the emptiness, the silence despite the autumn and the loss of the dearly loved and defended land reveal sadness. However, the next verse breaks with this grief. Here, the impression is created that the loss is a temporary compromise. The defeat should not be seen as a defeat of the Scottish nation. Even if the Scottish wars of independence are a thing

of the past, there is always the possibility of rising as a collective to be a/the "nation again" and achieving a victory as improbable as that of Bannockburn.

*Table 5: Lyrics from The Flower of Scotland (the insertions correspond to the frequently used 'Against WHOM?' variant)*

| |
|---|
| O flower of Scotland,<br>When will we see your like again,<br>That fought and died for<br>Your wee bit hill and glen,<br>And stood against him<br>*[Against WHOM?]*<br>Proud Edward's army<br>And sent him homeward tae think again. |
| The hills are bare now,<br>And autumn leaves lie thick and still,<br>O'er land that is lost now,<br>Which those so dearly held,<br>And stood against him<br>*[Against WHOM?]*<br>Proud Edward's army<br>And sent him homeward tae think again. |
| Those days are passed now,<br>And in the past they must remain<br>But we can still rise now<br>And be the nation again.<br>And stood against him<br>*[Against WHOM?]*<br>Proud Edward's army<br>And sent him homeward tae think again. |

The following links are recognisable in the song and music video: the past is linked with longing (1st verse); the present with mourning (2nd verse); and the future with the threat of dissolving as a nation again at any moment (3rd verse). This can also be seen in the choice of colours and scenes. The Corries pose under a cloudy sky in front of the ruins of a fortress with a severe look to the south.

### 5.3.1 Forging the Scottish nation

As a national self-description, The Flower of Scotland emphasises national independence from England. It forges the people who identify with Scotland into a nation based on its history. Specifically, the story told in the song is about Scotland's national independence in relation to England. This emphasis makes the song both likely and dangerous as a national anthem. The meaning of the song can be precisely identified with the pattern variables proposed by Talcott Parsons. The semantics implicit in the song are to be understood with the variable pair universalism/particularism, whose disjunctive alternatives Parsons describes as follows: "between evaluating the object of an action in terms of its relations to a generalised frame of reference [i.e. universalism], on the one hand, and evaluating it in terms of its relations to the actor and his own specific relations to objects, on the other [i.e. particularism]." (Parsons/Shils 1951: 48 insertions by the author)

Therefore, the meaning of the current Scottish anthem can be interpreted either as a universal or a particular interpretation of this nation. The former is the case when the self-description is orientated towards an abstract framework. The Flower of Scotland is then interpreted as a national anthem that construes the self-description of the Scottish nation in a universalistic way. Scotland's national self-description is thus bound to the rules of the respective category—in this case, nation. Normative standards of the function system are in the foreground as a "generalised frame of reference". This universalist interpretation can be found in the third stanza, where the nation is interpreted as the self-defence of a collective that unites to form a nation. However, this universalistic interpretation differs from what is associated with this song as Scotland's nationalistic-cultural self-description. As a nationalistic self-description, the song primarily emphasises the particularistic, historically and regionally-based enmity between Scotland and England, representing the second variant.

This particularistic interpretation becomes clear from the fixed rhyme with which each verse of The Flower of Scotland ends: "And stood against him …". Each stanza ends with this reminder of the Battle of Bannockburn and the underlying enmity between the Scottish and English monarchies. Scotland is primarily demarcated from England. These are the interpretations of the wars of independence in the 14th and 15th centuries, which point to the "strong monarchy" of Scotland:

> "Already in the 1370s John Barbour's epic, The Bruce, had laid out an anti-English history of the Wars of Independence and lauded freedom as the goal and meaning of Scottish identity. […] This flowering of poetic and prose 'histories' became the basis of subsequent assertions of Scottish identity, and fed the popular hostility to the English which culminated in the disaster of Flodden in 1513 and the death of James IV." (Smith 2008: 103-104)

In the official lyrics, this implication can be recognised using the definite article to describe the Scottish nation ("be the nation again" instead of "to be a nation again").[7]

This particularistic demarcation is emphasised by the variant "Against WHOM?". The fixed rhyme "and stood against him", which recurs in every stanza, is answered by the stands with "Against WHOM?" before being followed by "Proud Edward's army". This adds a stanza to the fixed rhyme that reduces the Scottish nation to hostility towards England (on the problem and strategies concerning potentially incessant struggles see Hahn 1989; Heuer 1998).

Accordingly, the Scottish nation is formed from the memory of sacrifices. These sacrifices make Scotland contrast above all with England. With this particularism of the nation, i.e. pointing to the historical and regional conditions of its emergence, Ernest Renan had distinguished the nations of Switzerland and Italy from the example of expansion-oriented Turkey:

> "A nation is thus a great community of solidarity, sustained by a sense of the sacrifices one has made and the sacrifices one is still willing to make. It presupposes a past, but it is summarised in the present in a tangible fact: the agreement, the clearly expressed desire to continue the common life. The existence of a nation is – allow me this image – a daily plebiscite, just as the existence of the individual is a continuous assertion of life." (Renan 1993 [1882]: translated by the author)

The nation is interpreted as a nation of will. This interpretation characterises the meaning between the stanzas of The Flower of Scotland: Shared sacrifice (1st stanza) and shared grief (2nd stanza) as well as the prospect of being able to achieve as a national collective such improbable things as victory at the Battle of Bannockburn at any point in the future again (3rd stanza). These three stanzas create a sense of belonging for those who identify with Scotland. They forge the people into a nation of will and history in terms of national independence from England.

The national symbolism of this song is also expressed in the title: The Flower of Scotland. For what flower symbolises the Scottish nation in the collective singular? Even if it is not explicitly mentioned, this focus on Bannockburn clarifies that only the thistle can be meant (for domain-specific inferences in expressive self-descriptions, see Boyer 2018: 262f.). Accordingly, the original music video from 1968 begins with a close-up of a thistle blooming in front of a ruined fortress.

However, why is the thistle a national symbol of Scotland today? For two reasons, which once again make Scotland stand out above all England. Firstly, the thistle

7 In contrast, in the version used here by the Scottish Royal National Orchestra, "a nation" is used as an indefinite article (Royal Scottish National Orchestra 2006), which makes Scotland's national self-description universalistic. In the version with the indefinite article, Scotland is one nation among others.

symbolises Scotland's oldest and most continuous monarchy—the Stewarts (Muirhead 2015: 7). The thistle was probably imported from France as a symbol of the Scottish monarchy as early as the end of the 14th century—the Order of the Thistle was founded in France in 1370. However, the symbol has been used in Scotland since the 15th century. Mary of Guelders (1434–1463), married to James II (1430–1460), had already used the thistle as a symbol and a motto comparable to the Stewarts' "Nemo me impune lacessit" motto—'Do not touch me or I will prick you' (Dickson/Walker 1981: 107, 116). In any case, the thistle has come to symbolise the Scottish monarchy and nation since the coinage of James III (1451–1488).

Secondly, the silhouette of the thistle should be noted. It is reminiscent of the war formation of the Battle of Bannockburn, as the writer Richard Mabey notes in a handbook on botany: "Possibly the thistle also emblemised the Scots' chosen arm of defence—a prickly fence of massed spears, the schiltron." (Mabey 1996: 455)

Thistles, such as Cirsium Vulgare, native to Scotland and used on coinage since James III, are an image of schiltron formations due to their long and prickly leaves (see Dickson/Walker 1981: 110).[8] This formation was typical during the Scottish Wars of Independence and secured victory for the Scots in the hopeless Battle of Bannockburn (1314). This battle is also the subject of The Flower of Scotland, and the silhouette of the thistle shown in the video corresponds to it.

How widespread is the thistle today as a national symbol in Scotland? Veerle van den Eyndens writes that the thistle is omnipresent as a national symbol in Scotland:

> "The thistle is truly used everywhere in Scottish society nowadays, as a logo for businesses and national institutions (Scottish Natural Heritage, National Trust for Scotland, the Scottish rugby team), as well as on stamps, Scottish pound coins, jewellery, biscuits, in architecture etc.". The Scottish Tourism Board awards not stars, but thistles, to value tourism facilities. The thistle represents Scottish identity, both to Scottish people themselves, and to visitors." (van den Eynden 2011: 240)

In addition, van den Eyndens spoke to over 80 people in the Scottish Highlands and Islands and surveyed 38 students at the University of the Highlands and Islands (van den Eynden, 2011, p. 241). His results confirm the naturalness with which the thistle describes Scotland as a nation.

The results of his survey also highlight the link between the thistle and Scotland's national independence. A third of respondents recited the legend that was created in 1829. According to this legend, an attack by the Vikings was thwarted because they

8 Paradoxically, the schiltron formation can be recognised in the silhouette of the Cirsium Vulgare introduced by James VI (Dickson/Walker 1981: 107), who as James I became joint king with England in 1603.

stepped on a thistle and gave up their nightly cover in the ensuing clamour. The thistle protected Scotland from invasion. It symbolises Scottish independence not only from the troops of English monarchs but also from the Vikings.

The connection between the thistle and independence can also be seen in the other answers (two-thirds). According to these responses, this plant symbolises qualities that the people living in Scotland need due to the climate and geography:

> "[T]he thistle as embodying the Scots character and personality (resilient, prickly, tall and proud) or ascribe the symbolism to the thistle's common habitat on waste ground. The Scottish thistle does not refer to any particular species of thistle, although botanists have tried, without success, to establish a botanical link." (van den Eynden 2011: 241)

Attributes that emphasise the independence of a person and Scotland are mentioned here as typically Scottish characteristics. This also explains the references to the lack of identification of a particular thistle and the thistle's habitat. Comparable to the phoenix rising from the ashes, the thistle blooms on scorched earth—"waste ground", as thistles belong to ruderal vegetation.

Scotland's conflict-related self-description centred on England is also evident in the discussions on the use of The Flower of Scotland. The discussions always centre on that Scotland should be described through something other than this historical enmity with England. Take, for example, the assessment of the song by singer Bob Murray. During the Edinburgh Festival Fringe (2019), Murray suggested and commented on eight potential anthems on his website. He also criticised the hostility towards England implied in this song:

> "[The Flower of Scotland] holds that position which only good anthems do; it carries some official status, yet it is still sung voluntarily by people when drunk! In my view, the worst thing about the words is that they refer to things past, to one victory in a history that records just as many defeats. […] [It] [c]arries an attitude which is insular and negative, and can be seen as anti-English. Much of the section of the population who like it so much think of it as being anti-English." (Murray 2019)[9]

9 Finally, Murray asks: "Who should decide? Being all in favour of democracy, I don't think this is something for a popular vote! I once stood in the street during a very large Devolution demonstration in Edinburgh, and ran a questionnaire past numerous people, asking them about the songs listed above. Interestingly, Flower of Scotland received almost a 100 % vote from those people who knew little or nothing of most of the other possibilities. […] Of those people I questioned who did know most or all of the contenders, only very few voted for F.o.S. That is, Flower of Scotland got the large but largely ignorant vote, the knowledgeable voters going elsewhere, and quite well spread also." (Murray 2019)

Murdo Fraser also saw the problem with this song as a national anthem in this particularistic or relativistic-regional interpretation of Scotland. Individual passages in The Flower of Scotland are chauvinistic and anti-English ("jingoistic and anti-English"), which is why this song is "inappropriate" as a national anthem. Tam Dalyell concluded of this song: "That is all anti-English", emphasising a potential conflict between the Scottish and English nations (Hansard 1976c: 1724).

The same aspect was also discussed in the subsequent petition on the Scottish national anthem. At that time, Chris Cromar had called for The Flower of Scotland to be adopted as the Scottish national anthem in his petition. As the petitioner, Cromar anticipates this issue of "anti-English" and objects because the song attributes this hostility to the past: "It has been said that the song is anti-English and stuck in the past, but it is anything but, as is shown by the lyrics: 'Those days are past now, And in the past they must remain'." (Public Petitions Committee 2015)

However, the very first question in the petition committee comes back to this:

> "I believe that "Flower of Scotland" is a good song about a historical event, but does that make it a good national anthem? I believe that the song has an anti-English theme […] and is about things that happened nearly 700 years ago. I would like to think that, some 700 years on, Scotland is a forward-looking, welcoming country and that things that happened in the past should be left in the past." (Public Petitions Committee 2015)

The objections sent to the Petitions Committee about this petition express the same view. The Flower of Scotland should be rejected as the Scottish national anthem because it reduces the Scottish nation to its old antagonism with England. This, for example, is the argument in the letter from singer Alan Garrity:

> "Part of the sentiment it expresses is anti-English – and I suggest that the predominant thought of a new anthem should not be anti any other group, nation, race etc. – but should be for justice, equality, inclusion, promotion of what enriches the life of the nation and its relationship to other nations etc." (Garrity 2015)

Garrity's description of the desirable alternative to The Flower of Scotland as the Scottish national anthem once again reveals the disjunctive distinction between particularist enmity and universalist nationhood. Enmity should be entirely replaced by an anthem that expresses values that are particularly important to the nation: "[J]ustice, equality, inclusion", as well as everything that enriches the life of this nation against the background of its relationship with other nations is indispensable for its differentiation as a nation.

The same 'progressive'-inclusive rather than degressive-conflictual attitude shows the final verse of the following proposal, which John Walker submitted to the

Petitions Committee at the time as a national anthem: "We are close-bound forever by joy that we share –/our love of fair Scotland, home beyond compare." (Walker 2015) Although the Petitions Committee did not take up this proposal, it once again illustrates the universalist expectations of the Scottish nation.

As in George Reid's petition, the song is located in a context to be rejected because the past and conflict determine it. According to Reid's assessment, this song does not correspond to the future-oriented convictions of the "Scottish people": "'Flower Of Scotland' (though never intended as such) is ungrammatical, backward looking and vindictive and probably embarrasses as many (perhaps more) Scots than it pleases." (Reid 2003)

Instead of emphasising values, The Flower of Scotland offers a bleak song of mourning ("a dreary dirge"), as is also stated in the discussions: "Many Scots cringe when 'Flower of Scotland' is sung." (Public Petitions Committee 2003) The same association with hostility and orientation towards the past is also expressed in Anne Mackay's letter, which she sends to the petitions committee during the renewed discussion. She also rejects The Flower of Scotland as an anthem because this song motivates "enmity with our nearest neighbour" (Mackay 2015).

These discussions also show that The Flower of Scotland is primarily interpreted as a reminder of Scotland's enmity with England. Even if the song motivates Scotland's quest for independence from England/UK, it is unlikely that it will officially become the Scottish national anthem. It is improbable because the particularism it expresses violates the political system's fundamental norm of national self-determination. By the end of the First World War at the latest, the norm of national equality no longer referred only to the internal relationship of the nation (Wimmer/Min 2006) but also to the relationship between nations (see Mayall 2013; Weitz 2015; Wilson 1918; Stichweh 2000b: 57; on the most recent "break point", see Meyer 1999: 135)

Nevertheless, the song lends itself to calling for Scotland to be removed from the democratic social system of the UK demographically determined by England. As the anthem of Scottish nationalism, the song has its plausibility and appeal.

### 5.3.2 Modern sports, auld enemies

The Battle of Bannockburn was a long time ago. But why is the interpretation of Scotland as England's enemy still so popular today? The cause is to be found in the emergence of modern sports. Modern sports competitions give nationalists a platform to call themselves a nation (Chapter 5.1). They have also brought back old, hard-to-shake memories, giving Scotland a national anthem that defines it through its rivalry with England. The hostile interpretation of these two nations is compelling in sports, especially rugby and football, because there are special global situations here.

An example of this is the following meeting between the Scottish and English rugby teams at the annual Six Nations tournament in February 2018 (Syxius 2018).

Of particular interest is the Scottish rugby team's welcome ceremony. First, the visitors from England are welcomed with God Save the Queen played by an on-field orchestra. The Scottish team are then greeted by a solo bagpiper accompanied by the drums of the orchestra. Contrary to what you might think, this soloist is not on the pitch, but on the roof of the stadium. From the roof of the stadium she plays The Flower of Scotland.

This performance clearly identifies Scotland as a nation. The soloist is playing the anthem (The Flower of Scotland); the instrument she is playing (the bagpipes) and the clothing (the kilt), which shows the tartan pattern as a recognisable symbol of Scottish clans, make the Scottish nation identifiable. The fact that the soloist is standing on the roof of the stadium reinforces this (kilt and family tartan are recent inventions originating from England, see Trevor-Roper 1983: 23 belegt). On the other hand, it also implies hostility, as tartan became the pattern for uniforms of all UK troops stationed in Scotland in 1881 (Devine 2012: 240f.). This performance is reminiscent of the military, which may suggest an agonal interpretation of this ceremony, especially when the threat comes from a part of one's army (the troops stationed in Scotland).

This agonal interpretation is also evident in the singing. In this performance, too, the audience sings The Flower of Scotland in the version of Against WHOM?

Another welcoming ceremony, the football match between Scotland and the Czech Republic (September 2011) at Hampden Park (Glasgow), also reveals this hostile interpretation. Again, The Flower of Scotland is performed, at least by the audience, in the Against WHOM? version. But unlike the rugby match described, some Scottish players do not join in. Four Scottish players assembled on the field judged this song too much of a commitment to a different function system (i.e. politics instead of sports) and remained silent. Apart from Allan McGregor, who was born in Scotland and played for Glasgow Rangers (a team historically associated with the British Empire), the other three silent players are individuals who play their professional club football roles in England, and two of these three players are from England themselves (James Morrison and Phil Bardsley).

A final example of the handling of the particularist, hostile interpretation of The Flower of Scotland comes from two surveys. In the course of Chris Cromar's petition, the petition committee commissioned these surveys in the Scottish Football Association. The results showed that members of the official national football supporters' organisation, the Scotland Supporters Club (SSC), were far less likely to favour The Flower of Scotland as the national political anthem. 40 % of the responding SSC members (fans' association) affirmed the question: "Should Flower of Scotland be recognised by the Scottish Government as the official national anthem?". However, in the Scottish Football Association survey, which was not restricted to SSC mem-

bers only, 65 % of the votes affirmed the same question, and a clear majority voted in favour of The Flower of Scotland as the national anthem (Broadfoot 2015).[10]

How can these results be interpreted? I suggest that the organised fans of Scottish football are aware of this anthem's conflictual nature, which is why they use it as an anthem in sports. However, the majority are sceptical about using this anthem of sport as an anthem of the Scottish nation for self-description of national politics. In football, there can be relativism between Scotland and England. This is because, in football, the clash between Scotland and England (comparable to rugby) is a historically significant encounter for world sport, if only because England is involved. Most modern sports based on the accurate measurement and improvement of physical performance originated in England: "This transition from traditional to [measurement based] modern sports took place in England much earlier than in the rest of Europe. In this sense, the English can be said to have invented modern sports." (Guttmann 2004: 196-197; an exception is cycling, invented in France at the end of the 19th century, see )

Modern sports were invented in England. That is why the enmity with England associated with The Flower of Scotland is not particularist-provincial to the same extent in sport, as it declares the historical centre of modern sports to be the enemy.[11] As an official nuclear power, the United Kingdom is also vital in politics, and London is still a cosmopolitan city. However, as a state, it no longer has a global political relevance that would allow it to be seen as a centre of world politics. This illustrates the interdependency-interruption of functional differentiation of world society: what is a historically explainable circumstance in sport cannot be adopted one-to-one as a self-description of politics from the audience's perspective but instead encounters its expectations determined by the function system of politics. What is expected is an egalitarian self-description of the nation that is orientated towards the internal relationship between nations.

The variant The Flower of Scotland offers as an anthem to present the Scottish collective to the world as a national entity demonstrates the improbability of finding such an anthem. Nations are historical individuals, as can be seen by the fact that the Scottish people currently use an anthem that is primarily associated with Scotland's particular and regional history. However, this history associated with hostility to England is to be forgotten. Although the song's emphasis on national independence motivates the Scottish independence movement, its equally implied hostility

10 A total of 12.6 thousand votes were cast by SSC members, while 22.7 thousand votes were counted in the other, more extensive survey.

11 From a Scottish perspective, the persistent relativism in national team football can be recognised because the Scottish team is primarily perceived by the public as different from the English team and the public is more indifferent towards other nations (see the poll from May/June 2018 by Smith 2018).

is incompatible with Scottish democratic nationalism. The song contrasts the democratic principle of individual self-determination with a focus on hostile collectives. Reciprocal migration would be extremely unlikely under this ethnic interpretation of Scottish politics.

With the inclusive imperative of politics and its collectives, democratic nationalism is more likely to produce an anthem with the "dreary uniformity" that characterises all national anthems, according to Yuval Noah Harari. Harari argues that anyone and everyone can sing all the hymns, and they all sound the same (Harari 2018: 2013; cf. Gellner 1983: 124). This conceals the phenomenon of an inclusive reinterpretation of exclusionary mechanisms like the national-cultural collective (Stichweh 2019)

## 5.4 Conclusion: Two collectives

Scottish politics and the Scottish independence movement search for a national anthem based on what those who identify with the Scottish nation use as their anthem. Even the SNP government is reticent regarding a collectively binding definition of the national anthem. For example, the latest draft of the Scottish constitution deals with the issue of the Scottish national anthem as follows: "The Scottish Parliament may choose, as it sees fit, a national anthem for Scotland." (Scottish Government 2014: §8(2))

The national cultural collective that identifies with Scotland creates the national anthem. This leads to a 'long-standing debate' (Scottish Government 2014: 30). As shown above, this debate is either about a more inclusive and forward-looking nation and its anthem. Or, it is about forging the Scottish nation through a sense of being anti-English due to the history of the Scottish nation. The first is the variant of democratic nationalism, which is based on individual self-determination and orientation towards the future and those who actually live in the territory. The second, hostile interpretation is the autocratic variant of nationalism, which is based on the history of a particular collective for which it claims self-determination.

Nationally determined politics observes these debates and adopts the national symbols from them. However, the collective of the national anthem differs from the political inclusion in Chapters 3 and 4. Residing in Scotland demarcates political inclusion. The national cultural collective should decide the national anthem, formed by a sense of belonging.

The role of the Government and voters determined by residence in Scotland is not to construct the Scottish nation but to protect what the people recognises as its national culture. Members of the Government or party differentiate between the definition of the nation and the individuals who should be included in political performance roles of the Scottish nation. In Scotland, the people elected to represent

them in politics retreat when they need to make an important decision about the country's national culture. The Scottish autonomy movement is a spontaneous ordering of the people claiming a to represent a national-cultural collective. It should only include those who voluntarily identify as Scottish. This has nothing to do with residency.

Sociologically, the discussion of the Scottish national anthem shows a separation between the boundary-building mechanism of the political collective (residential inclusion in the input and output of Scottish politics) and the national-cultural collective (voluntarism). On the other hand, a link determined by democracy is also recognisable. In petition committees, petitions or motions deal with the issue of a Scottish national anthem. Politicians assume in their arguments that there is a Scottish national cultural collective. This collective is not conceptualized as a mass, but as a 'population' that takes the individuality of its members as its starting point. It has distributed and constantly changing opinions about its national cultural identity as a collective (Stichweh 2005: 87). For this reason, people constantly observe chants in stadiums, surveys, and tenders. They want to find out which national anthem the Scottish population prefers.

However, is the national anthem an exception because it is primarily an outward-looking symbol for other nations seeking support for the autonomy movement (see the legitimacy competition of scarcity nationalism in Werron 2012: 348-349, 2018: 35)? What about the symbolisation of national unity in one's own country? In connection with the national cultural symbols, we also find the democratic orientation of the Scottish autonomy movement here. The following Chapter shows this in decisions about the architectural design of the Scottish Parliament.