	Soccer and Identity : A Case Study. (The Role Played by Soccer in Expressing and Reinforcing National, Religious and Regional Identities and their Myths in Scotland) (Part I)
	SMITH, Ian
	, 3 35-73
	1994-10-31

Soccer and Identity: A Case Study.
(The Role Played by Soccer in Expressing and Reinforcing National, Religious and Regional Identities and their Myths in Scotland.)
(Part I)

Ian SMITH

ABSTRACT

This paper will examine the impact of the sport of soccer on different tiers of group identity — religious, regional and ultimately, national — in Scotland, an area of Europe where such identities are much in evidence. The sport will be studied both as a means for expressing and reinforcing concepts of identity, and as an contributor to the myths that surround these concepts.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part presents an overview of the subject, beginning with an introductory passage showing the relevance of soccer to identity in the modern world. This is followed by a brief account of Scotland's history, explaining how concepts of identity, and the myths shaping and fueling them, were forged during the centuries before and after union with England in 1707. Further sections describe the development of soccer and its arrival in Scotland, and show how it interacts with Scotland's modern cultural myths to acquire a powerful place in the country's psyche.

With this background information in place, the second part looks at each tier of identity in detail. Firstly, there is an examination of how the soccer clubs Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers have become symbols of the Catholic and Protestant communities in the west of Scotland, and reinforce each community's sense of its position in

Scottish and British society. Secondly, the main soccer clubs of Scotland's north-east coastal region, Aberdeen and Dundee United, are studied as symbols of the region's new-found prosperity and confidence, and its distrust of central authority in Scotland. The final section investigates the links — in popular myth if not always in reality — between Scottish aspirations for political autonomy and the fortunes of its national soccer team; and between soccer and Scottish attitudes towards England and Europe.

A NOTE ABOUT TERMINOLOGY.

In this paper I will talk about 'soccer', as the sport is commonly called in Japan and the United States, though many of the sources quoted refer to it as 'football' (American football being so rare in Europe that there is little danger of confusion between the two).

Without entering into complex arguments of definition, I will describe Scotland as a 'country' or 'nation', but will refrain from using the term 'state' — the latter word suggesting that there is a political apparatus in place for independent self-government, which in Scotland's present case there is not.

PART ONE: AN OVERVIEW.

Introduction.

The past two years have been exciting for soccer enthusiasts. Their favourite sport has widened its already-global horizons and gained new fans in two countries where, hitherto, it had enjoyed relatively little popularity. On May 15th, 1993, amid much publicity, Japan saw the kickoff of a new, national soccer league; and June 18th, 1994, brought the biggest sporting carnival on earth, the soccer World Cup, to

the shores of the United States — a country which had once seemed perverse among the world community in its disdain for the game, regarding it until recently as a poor cousin to such activities as American football, baseball, basketball and ice-hockey.

However, it can't be said that soccer has won over Japan and the United States with equal success. The game has certainly made an impact on Japanese culture and indeed, the inauguration of the J-League was ranked fourth — after the Crown Prince's wedding, the Hosokawa coalition government and the Okushiri earthquake — among the country's biggest news stories of 1993. On the other hand, even after playing host to the World Cup, many Americans seem unimpressed.

Not a few sporting and social commentators have suggested that the reason lies with the jingoistic passions that international soccer often seems to unleash. George Vecsey, a columnist with the New York Times, described American unease thus: "This nationality stuff makes us nervous. It smacks of armies and barbed wire and tense orders in foreign languages. Many people in the United States — and Canada too — believe our ancestors came here to get away from that tribal stuff." American sport, Vecsey contended, took place in a safe, domestic environment where such feelings were not allowed to intrude. "We root for teams called Bulls and Blue Jays, maybe state teams like the Arkansas Razorbacks or the Michigan Wolverines."

Though at the World Cup's opening ceremony in Chicago US President Bill Clinton spoke hopefully of soccer being "a universal language that brings us all together," subsequent events might have suggested it more as a means for driving people apart. That same evening in Northern Ireland, Protestant extremists shot dead six Roman Catholics in a bar while they were watching television, cheering

on the Republic of Ireland soccer team during its first game of the competition. A fortnight later, in Medellin, Columbia, the soccer player Andres Escobar was murdered — days after scoring an own-goal which helped scupper his country's chances of progressing to the World Cup's second round. Rather than conform to cosy American ideals about the innocence of sport, soccer shows an alarming tendency to involve itself with that most un-American of phenomenon, tribalism.

The soccer team you cheer on is often a clue to who you are, ethnically: hence, in Northern Ireland, those Protestant gunmen were able to pick out their Catholic victims because, in supporting the Republic of Ireland, a focus of Irish, Catholic, nationalist loyalties, the victims had openly stated their identity. Victory on the soccer field may give a group a sense of superiority, while defeat inflicts on it a numbing sense of inferiority — a fact which might have led to the death of Escobar. As Vecsey implied, soccer arrived in the United States with a lot of psychological and sociological baggage one does not usually associate with the Arkansis Razorbacks or Michigan Wolverines.

None of these observations are new. A tour of Great Britain by a Russian soccer team, the Moscow Dynamos, in 1945 caused such patriotic indignation that George Orwell felt compelled to write a caustic article called 'The Sporting Life'. "The whole thing," grumbled Orwell, "is bound up with the rise of nationalism — that is, the lunatic modern habit of identifying oneself with large power units and seeing everything in terms of competitive prestige." Soccer was symptomatic of sport in general, which "is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words, it is war minus the shooting."

During this paper I intend to examine the relationship between

soccer and identity recognised by Vecsey and Orwell, though their respective talk of "armies and barbed wire" and "large power units" suggests both men were thinking solely of the identification a citizen makes with his or her nation-state. If identity could ever be described solely in terms of nation-states, I doubt very much if that holds true today; when many states find themselves pressurised from above, by recent, supra-national entities like the European Community, and from below, by newly-awakened, internal nationalisms; and when class-consciousness and gender politics, among other things, have given the individual new ways to consider his or her identity.

We are, after all, living in a world where Ainu activists can talk about asserting their Ainu identity while gaining equal status within the Japanese nation, while also trying to establish themselves as members of a Pacific rim-dwelling community of indigenous peoples; or where Australia's Anglo-Celtic-descended rulers talk about activating a new, purely-Australian nationalism removed from all the old trappings of British imperial influence, but also promote the concept that Australia is an 'Asian' country. Taking an extreme example of this, it could be possible to visit a Pakistani immigrant community in a working class area of London and find a woman who might, in different situations, consider herself primarily a woman, or working class, or Muslim, or a Londoner, or English, or British, or Pakistani, or European, or Asian.

In the words of David McCrone, Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Edinburgh, "What is on offer in the late twentieth century is what we might call 'pick'n mix' identity, in which we wear our identities lightly, and change them according to circumstances. Those who argue for the paramountcy or even the exclusivity of a single identity have a hard time of it... The question to ask is not how best do cultural forms reflect an essential national identity, but how do

cultural forms actually help to construct and shape identity, or rather identities — for there is less need to reconcile or prioritise these." Soccer is, I believe, one of McCrone's 'cultural forms' that has played a role in moulding identity, not only of the national variety, but also the smaller, social as well as geographical identities he has described.

I have chosen Scotland as my area of study because differences in religious and regional identity have undoubtedly created internal pressures in Scottish society; and where those pressures have found themselves in opposition, soccer has long been a means of releasing some of the aggressive energy on either side.   Some readers might question my choice of Scotland as a forum for examining national identity, however. Can Scotland have such a thing when it is not a nation-state proper, but rather, constitutes a part of one — the United Kingdom — and is governed not from any internal point, but from outside, from a parliament in London, in southern England?

I would argue that Scotland is as close to being a nation-state as any territory could be, without actually possessing its own government. Certainly, it fulfills the criteria most experts have suggested for defining a distinct ethnic community — for example, Anthony D. Smith's 'six main attributes', which are a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific 'homeland', and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population. Furthermore, there is also a considerable political and legal framework in existence giving this ethnic community some semblance of statehood; a separate Scottish law system, a special administrative department within the British government called the Scottish Office, separate organisation of the Scottish education system and so on.

Indeed, in 1988, a group of Scottish politicians, trade unionists,

churchmen, academics and other dignitaries demanding home rule felt so confident of the legitimacy of Scottish nationhood that they made the following declaration in a document entitled 'A Claim of Right for Scotland':

"Much ink is wasted on the question whether the Scots are a nation. Of course they are. They were both a nation and a state until 1707. The state was wound up by a treaty which clearly recognised the nation and its right to distinctive government in a fundamental range of home affairs. The fact that institutional forms, however empty, reflecting these distinctions have been preserved to the present day demonstrate that no one in the British government has dared to suggest openly that the nation no longer exists or that the case for distinctiveness has now disappeared."

Finally — and crucially for this paper — Scotland differs from other nations 'submerged' within larger nation-states, such as Quebec or Catalonia, in that it has a national soccer team which competes in international competitions like the World Cup and European Cup. During such occasions its players are treated as the representatives of an independent country. In the world's soccer stadiums at least, Scots can call themselves 'Scottish' as legitimately as any Americans or Japanese can describe themselves as 'American' or 'Japanese" — and similarly, within this paper at least, I will take the view that speaking of a 'Scottish nation' or 'Scottish national identity' is wholly natural.

Some Scottish History and Some Scottish Myths.

What follows is a selective summary of Scottish history, containing only that which pertains to my general topic. The Battle of Bannockburn is mentioned, whereas the equally-famous Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 are not; because while the triumphalist Bannockburn

myth is still occasionally invoked at Scottish soccer grounds, the Jacobite one — regarded, popularly though not accurately, as an instance of Scottish defeat and humiliation by the English — isn't.

1. Wallace, Bruce, Bannockburn and the Myth of Resistance against the English.

According to an old joke, the first international sporting event was a lying contest — and the inhabitants of Scotland, the northern third of Great Britain, were its easy winners. Medieval Scottish kings were not reluctant to lie in order to encourage patriotism and a sense of national solidarity among their subjects. According to their extravagant genealogical propaganda, Scotland had been founded and the Scottish race sired by a Greek prince called Gedyl-Glays and his wife Scota, who was a daughter of Pharaoh in the era of Moses. Interestingly, the English equivalent of this genealogical nonsense held that England had been founded by the Trojan warrior, Brutus: since the Greeks had defeated the Trojans, the Scots could claim to have a bloodline superior to that of their southern neighbours. Thus, Scotland's medieval propagandists were trying to outdo the English long before it became an obsession for many of the country's sports fans.

The real origins of Scotland are less fanciful. A cocktail of northern-based Picts — who were themselves a cocktail of lesser-known peoples — Welsh-speaking Britons, Angles — the Germanic people who arrived in the country, via England, in the seventh century — and the original Scots, who had come from Ireland, those groups were gradually amalgamated to the point where, in 1034, Duncan (the ill-fated monarch in Shakespeare's 'Macbeth') could claim to be the first king of a united Scotland. Among the factors responsible for forging

a shared identity among these four peoples was the arrival of Christianity; the common Celtic heritage among Picts, Britons and Scots (and as they adapted to the rugged, inhospitable Scottish environment, the Angles must acquired many of the same traits as their Celtic neighbours); the external threat posed by marauding Norsemen; and most dramatically, the existence of a southern border shared with England.

As the Scottish writer Alasdair Gray has observed, "Our characters are shaped by the sort of houses we grow up in, but also by the character of our neighbours. If the people next door loudly intrude on us we will either shift house, grow grimly defensive or intrude noisily back." For much of its history as an independent country, Scotland had to contend with loud intrusions from its more populous and more powerful neighbour. There were some sporadic but unsuccessful intrusions in return: mostly, however, the Scottish response was one of grim defensiveness.

The territorial designs of the English kings Edward I and Edward II in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were instrumental in shaping that Scottish character. Initial resistance against the English was unsuccessful and managed only to provide Scottish history with its first great martyr, William Wallace, a warrior whose defiance of Edward I resulted in his head being impaled on London Bridge.

Fate was kinder to Robert Bruce, the next hero of the Scottish resistance. He secured a decisive victory over the English in 1314, at the Battle of Bannockburn; by 1320 they had been repulsed altogether and Bruce's countrymen had sent a letter to the highest authority in Europe, the Pope, informing him of their sovereignty and vowing that 'For as long as one hundred of us shall remain alive we shall never in any wise consent to submit to the rule of the English."

Distant as they may seem, these events still have a bearing on the modern Scottish psyche. Scottish politicians, trade unionists and other orators have cited the spirit of Bruce and Wallace on countless occasions, often during social and economic disputes with no proper link to nationalism. A song called 'Scots Wha Hae', penned in honour of Bruce and Wallace by Scotland's most famous poet, Robert Burns, was considered so subversive and rabble-rousing that it came close to being outlawed in one Scottish town during the nineteenth century. Even as recently as 1990, the Scottish Rugby Union made use of a similar battle-song called 'Flower of Scotland' — celebrating "proud Edward" being sent "homeward to think again" — and played it as the national team's anthem before a crucial rugby match with England. (Patriotic passions were certainly stirred: the lowly-rated Scots defied all expectations and won the game.)

To outsiders it may seem absurd that happenings at the start of the fourteenth century should have such relevance for modern-day Scots, especially when their territory no longer even qualifies as an autonomous nation-state, but the achievements of Bruce should not be ignored. In repulsing the English invaders, he ensured that Scotland had four more centuries of independence. When union with England and the formation of the British state finally came in 1707, the religious, judicial and educational institutions were already in place that would help preserve the Scottish identity into the modern era. In the words of David McCrone, Scotland "retains important historical and cultural residues of nationhood but also sufficient separate networks of interaction around which social and political consciousness can form." The Welsh, on the other hand, whose land came under English control in the thirteenth century, have a harder time arguing that Wales is anything more significant than a province of Great Britain.

2. The Scottish Presbyterian Church and the Myth of Egalitarianism

Continuing tensions with England meant that during the Middle Ages Scotland leant towards its enemy's enemy, France. At the time of Joan of Arc, for instance, Scottish soldiers were helping to defend Orleans against the English and the town even had a Scottish bishop. After Henry VIII tried to conquer Scotland in 1544/1545, the Scottish parliament went to the length of sending its monarch — an infant Mary Queen of Scots — to France for her education and arranged her betrothal to the French Dauphin: as the historian J. D. Mackie points out, by this time Scotland was "in danger of being absorbed by France".

What swung the Scottish pendulum in the other direction — towards England for the first time, and coincidentally sowing the seeds for the union of the two countries later on — was the Reformation. However, though the Scots were to embrace Protestantism, it was to be a more austere, more idealistic variety than that established in England: religion helped to draw the countries together but, paradoxically, it also cemented their differences.

The Reformation in England was due in a large part to a clash between Henry VIII and papal authority over the English king's desire for a divorce: Henry ended the Pope's sovereignty in England and made himself head of the church so that, effectively, English Christians were no longer under the jurisdiction of a Pope in Rome, but under that of a considerably less pious Pope in London. Scotland's Reformation was not enacted from above and didn't have to concern itself greatly with the monarch's role in the church — the queen was, after all, a slip of a girl in far-away France. Rather, it came from below, the result of popular discontent with a Catholic church that had become bloated and corrupt with wealth: its leaders were men with a genuine, ideological, reforming zeal, such as Andrew Melville and John Knox. Undoubted-

ly, they approved of events in England — Knox had acquired strong pro-English loyalties while spending time there during the reign of Edward VI — but the Protestant church they founded was to be more democratic in character than its southern counterpart.

There can be little doubt that the Scottish Presbyterian church — 'The Kirk' as it is commonly known — has given its country an outlook that is, to some degree, egalitarian. Unlike the Church of England, the British monarch is not seen as the supreme authority. It is not a church of bishops or cardinals: hierarchy is avoided and its leader, the Moderator, is elected for a single year only. Congregations get to choose their own ministers. Underlying all of this is a philosophy that all men are equal in the sight of God, irrespective of wealth or rank: "Nae king but Christ!" has been a popular rallying cry.

Knox was even to keen to create an education system whereby every child, however poor, received a Kirk-supervised schooling. His motives may have sprung from disdain for the inherent sinfulness of humanity — infants were "ignorant of all godliness" and needed their wickedness removed by education — rather than from any desire to improve the overall tone of society, but they brought great benefits to the country. By the end of the seventeenth century, Scotland had a population that was better educated than in most other parts of the world.

But the effect that the Kirk has had on Scotland has been schizo-phrenic at best. The basic philosophy might have been enlightened but Presbyterianism brought with it too a great deal of repression and severity, intolerance and bigotry. One only has to consider the number of witch-burnings that took place in Scotland during the sixteenth century to realise the church's dark side. Much praise has been heaped on the frugal, focused 'work ethic' engendered by the Kirk, but it could

lead to contempt for other races not deemed to be blessed with the same ethic: such people were to be exploited and subjugated, since they evidently lacked the capacity for Presbyterian self-improvement. The exportation of this racist mind-set with Scottish pioneers to Ireland and later to North America undoubtedly caused a great deal of human misery.

Many have blamed the Kirk too for a certain, life-denying coldness at the centre of the Scottish soul. The popular music-hall stereotype of later centuries, depicting the average Scot as a dour, penny-hoarding creature, a kind of Celtic Scrooge, probably owes something to the church's harshness. And Scottish literature has been full of writers and poets who haven't held back from showing their disregard for the national church. Most notably, the poems of Robert Burns delight in portraying the Kirk and its followers as an unsavoury gang of sancti-monious humbugs and hellfire ranters, while exalting such life-enhancing — but decidedly un-Presbyterian — activities as drunkenness and fornication.

3. Union with England and the Myth of Scottish Humiliation.

By the seventeenth century the processes were underway that would, ultimately, bring about the union of Scotland and England. The Scottish king James VI inherited the English throne left vacant by the death of the childless Elizabeth I, through virtue of being her second cousin. The two nations thus had one sovereign but the circumstances favouring the union of their parliaments — the moment when Scotland effectively ceased to be an independent nation and something approach-ing the modern entity that is 'Great Britain' came into being — didn't arise until a century later.

An ill-fated colonial scheme in central America had by then crip-

pled the Scottish economy, and another war between England and France was causing English apprehension that Scotland — which was, after all, France's old ally — might provide the route for a 'backdoor' invasion. The union of the parliaments agreed in 1707 was supposedly in the interests of both countries, providing some economic respite for the beleaguered Scots while allaying the fears of the English.

For the Scots, however, the deal was never as reasonable as that. The English were more numerous, and more powerful economically and militarily. Clearly the partnership was not going to be an equal one. Scotland would have to send its representatives down to a London parliament where they were outnumbered, where their interests would always be of minor consideration next to England's interests. The English had the upper hand, and they saw no reason to conceal the fact out of respect for Scottish pride. In the words of the historian John Prebble, "England's lack of sympathy for Scotland's particular needs seemed sometimes perverse and malicious, the triumphs of a small boy who is winning a game he has himself devised."

Real or imagined, this combination of Scottish humiliation and English condescension still rankles today. Sometimes, the English don't even have to try to be patronising, to raise Scottish ire. When an English politician or celebrity makes the seemingly-innocuous mistake of saying 'England' when he or she clearly meant 'Britain', Scotland's newspapers can usually look forward to receiving a glut of indignant letters. The process of marginalisation, supposedly begun in 1707, is perceived as having reached the point where the English have forgotten that Scotland even exists.

At any rate, the Act of Union was unpopular even in 1707. When word of it was announced, riots broke out in towns like Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dumfries. The deal was seen as a craven capitulation to

the English and rumours quickly spread about duplicious Scottish politicians having betrayed their own people. It was claimed — and widely believed — that the agreement had been influenced by English bribes. Thus, Robert Burns was able to sum up the feelings of many a disgruntled Scot with the celebrated lines —

"We're bought and sold for English gold,

Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!"

4. Post-1707 Cultural Myths: Tartanry, Kailyard, Clydesidism.

One result of the Act of Union was that, post 1707, Scottish history ceased. Scotland's fortunes were now bound up with the fortunes of this new super-nation, Britain; but the historians recording those fortunes were invariably doing so at the centre, in London, whereas Scotland was out on the rim. Alasdair Gray explains the problem eloquently: "Most British history books do not describe the Scots (and Welsh, and Irish) as neighbours with lives as valuable and complex as the English; they put them in isolated chapters or paragraphs which fit into the book like ghettoes into a big city."

Scotland was, in effect, in a kind of historical limbo. Nothing 'happened' to Scotland any more — it was no longer a participant in 'real' events. To fill this void, Scottish culture had to content itself with imagining new sets of national myths. Of course, myth-making was nothing new — witness Bruce, Wallace and the wars against the two Edwards — but at least those things could claim some historical legitimacy. The post-1707 myths were powered by altogether more dubious factors like nostalgia, parochialism and identity crises.

Though by the word 'myth' I am referring to a whole realm of phenomena — all those beliefs and traits of identity imposed on an ethnic community by itself or by outsiders, the result of historical truths

and half-truths, of fiction, folklore and at times outright fantasy, of images propagated by advertising, commerce, politics and so on — I would like to describe these Scottish myths largely in terms of the arts, particularly literature.

In his book 'Imagined Communities', Benedict Anderson links the age of nationalism, the eighteenth century, with the growing popularity of entertainments and modes of communication like novels and news-papers: "these forms provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation... The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history. An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240,000,000-odd fellow-Americans. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity."

Thus, the network of characters making their way through the narrative of a book, sometimes only very tenuously linked to one another, yet still, somehow, mysteriously linked (by the omnipotent author's imagination) can be seen as a microcosm of the nation; where individuals are encouraged to share a similar sense of kinship with members of the same community, even though those members are and most probably will always remain strangers.

Regrettably, Anderson declines to tell us how the writers' own assumptions and biases might colour the 'imagined communities' of their novels: creating not just the idea of a society or nation in readers' minds, but also a particular character for it, a group of myths in which it comes clothed. Certainly, when writers have described communities in Scotland — from Scott and Barrie to literary practitioners of the

present day — they have often used (or even created) such myths to colour their descriptions, 're-presenting' the Scottish nation in fanciful terms that many outsiders and Scots alike have readily accepted as truth. Thus, in literature, we find Scotland's post-1707 myths in their most persuasive forms.

Most famously for the outside world — though least relevant for our discussion here — there is the myth of 'tartanry'. It would be wrong to attribute all the responsibility for tartanry to one man, but, undoubtedly, the novels of Sir Walter Scott went a long way towards romanticising the ancient (and by the nineteenth century, virtually extinct) society of the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in the mountains of Scotland's north and north-west. Quietly ignoring the fact that until the years after the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century, the Highlanders had been despised as savages by their southern countrymen, he commandeered the trappings of Highland culture — kilts, tartan, bagpipes, claymores and so on — and used them to embody Scotland as a whole; something for which Scotland's modern tourist industry, happily flogging expensive tartan souvenirs off to visiting European, North American and Japanese tourists, owes Scott an eternal debt.

Less internationally famous, but equally potent for Scots, is the 'kailyard' myth inspired by a school of popular literature that flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — its most notable practitioner being the creator of Peter Pan, J. M. Barrie. Using rustic or small-town settings, celebrating supposed Presbyterian values like decency and piety — and less Presbyterian, more obviously Victorian ones like sentimentality and deference to authority — kailyard could be seen as a hankering for a simpler, more pastoral era that had existed before the dirt and clamour of industrialisation.

To its detractors, the cosy domesticity of kailyard fiction was a blight on the Scottish imagination, encouraging its readers to wallow in a bog of servile tweeness. Though it was effectively dead as a literary genre by the time of the first world war, kailyard's spirit has survived in, for example, the Scottish-accented period dramas that Britain's television companies are fond of broadcasting, or in the small-town gossip and folksy prose of Scotland's most popular weekend newspaper, the Sunday Post.

A more recent kind of Scottish myth has enjoyed greater intellectual respectability, perhaps because of its inherent politicism. Sometimes dubbed 'Clydesidism' — after a group of trade unionists in the Clydeside shipyards of Glasgow who, during the first world war, resisted Lloyd George's attempts to import cheaper, less skilled labour into their workplaces — this myth is the result of Scotland's experiences as a heavily-industrialised nation, with a large working-class population, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; but it has been conditioned too by the church and education system's ideas about equality and fairness.

Events in the later twentieth century, which saw Scotland's hardworking but (supposedly) dignified industrial communities decimated by economic decline, closures and unemployment, have given Clydesidism an extra potency, suffusing it with a tragic romanticism that augments its central idea that, to quote the literary critic Alan Bold, "the working-class character is simply too good, morally, for the life he is obliged to lead by economic pressure."

At its worst, Clydesidism has produced art sentimental enough to suggest the kailyard in dirty, smoke-blackened overalls, or as simple-minded as the propaganda posters commemorating the Russian revolution, depicting heroic workers marching shoulder-to-shoulder behind

red flags; but at best, it has had an energising influence on recent Scottish culture. A fairly typical example of Clydesidism is the novel 'The Big Man' by William McIlvanney, which uses many of its common themes — industrial decline, working-class integrity, callous manipulation by capitalist forces — in its tale of an unemployed miner who, in order to find money to provide for his family, is compelled to participate in an illegal bare-knuckle fight for the amusement of two wealthy gangsters in the nearby city.

I will return to the kailyard and Clydeside myths later in this paper.

5. A Postscript: Scotland since the Union.

Though its history may have congealed into cultural myth, there is little doubt that post-1707 Scotland saw a great revival both intellectually and economically. Voltaire quipped that "At the present time it is from Scotland we receive rules of taste in all the arts", and indeed, a remarkably fruitful period during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw Scotland produce David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Alexander Carlyle, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, John Galt, the historian William Robertson, the architect William Adam and a host of other thinkers, artists and innovators.

Meanwhile, by the reign of Queen Victoria, the country had become an economic powerhouse for the burgeoning British Empire. Agriculture improved and mining increased. The linen and cotton industries saw enormous advances, helped by the appearance of mechanisation at the start of the nineteenth century, and these were followed by new, rewarding ventures in jute, wool and steel. The arrival of ironworks and, later, steel-making, heralded a prosperous shipbuilding trade: later diversification saw Scottish works churning out locomotives, factory machinery, girders, rails and engineering components.

Much of this development took place in and around the western city of Glasgow. Although the intellectual renaissance had centred mostly around the country's capital, Edinburgh, in the east, the growth in trade with North America meant that economic activity moved across to its less culturally prestigious but more robust neighbour on the other coast: from about 12,500 people in 1708, the Glaswegian population had expanded to 200,000 in 1831, and by the close of the nineteenth century the city could justifiably boast of being the 'second capital' of the British Empire.

One side-effect of this expansion was the arrival in Glasgow of countless poor, work-seeking immigrants from Ireland, especially during the traumatic years of the Irish potato famine. The gulf between the mainly-Presbyterian locals and the Irish Catholic newcomers was to have a lasting influence on the psychology of the west of Scotland: and as we shall see, this Protestant-Catholic schism was to manifest itself peculiarly in Scottish soccer.

In effect, Scottish pride rode high while the British Empire lasted. Presbyterianism had instilled in the people a dedicated work-ethic that allowed them to take advantage of new opportunities both in the healthy economic environment at home, and in the far-flung outposts of the British Empire where there were plenty of openings for administrators, entrepreneurs and soldiers. Thus, nineteenth-century Scotland should not be likened to Ireland, where the English intrusion had never been welcome and lack of economic development had meant little improvement in the circumstances of ordinary people. The historian and sociologist Tom Nairn has described the difference bluntly: "Scotland is not a colony, a semi-colony, a pseudo-colony, a near-colony, a neo-colony or any kind of colony of the English. She is a junior but (as these things go) highly successful partner in the general business of

Anglo-Scots imperialism."

Scotland may not have been a colony, then, but neither had it lost all vestiges of autonomy and become a simple province of Great Britain, the equivalent of, say, Cornwall or Yorkshire or East Anglia. The Act of Union had allowed it to retain an important trinity of institutions; its church, its legal system — a blend of early, continental law and more modern Anglo-Saxon influences — and its educational system, which crucially ensured the distinctly-Scottish character of its universities. All these things gave Scots a reassuring sense of separateness and continuity, even while they played a commanding role on the international stage as 'British' imperialists.

Inevitably, the demise of the British Empire in the twentieth century affected Scotland badly. From the aftermath of World War One onwards, Scottish industries found themselves in a decline that was always more extreme and damaging than that experienced in England. Even after the second world war, with British governments taking a more enlightened and combative approach towards social deprivation and its economic causes, blighted industrial Scotland continued to decay. Furthermore, the country fared far worse than its southern neighbour in attracting new, science-based light industries. Needless to say, the consequences for Scotland's working class — for whom the benefits of even the prosperous Victorian economy had been fleeting, at best — were disastrous. By the early 1930s nearly 70% of the workers in the shipbuilding and repair yards were unemployed: some 8% of the Scottish population was lost through emigration between 1921 and 1931 (compared with 0.5% during the equivalent period in England.) Glasgow acquired a damning reputation for unemployment, slum housing, malnutrition, disease and violence, which it only began to shed in the 1980s.

Politically, the twentieth century has witnessed two notable trends

in Scotland.   With a few exceptions — most spectacularly in the 1955 general election, when Britain's right-wing Conservative party won 36 of Scotland's 72 seats — the country has shown itself to be more left-wing than England.   The arrival in power of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 did nothing to steer Scotland away from the left.   With its plethora of now-outmoded heavy industries, a mass of public housing and a high level of trade union membership — a national character that was effectively socialistic — Scotland represented everything about Britain that Thatcher's dynamic, right-wing premiership was determined to change: however, in trying to dismantle those old, leftist institutions, Thatcher was perceived to be attacking Scotland itself, and her party's fortunes north of the border suffered accordingly.   By the 1987 general election the Scottish Conservatives could muster only 24% of the vote.   A rise in support of 1.6% at the subsequent election in 1992 was hailed by them, with more than a hint of desperation, as a 'revival'.

A second trend has been pressure for Scottish home rule, for an assembly giving the Scots at least some measure of autonomy outside of the London parliament — if not, as some have demanded, full-scale independence.   The formation of the independence-seeking Scottish National Party in 1934 added momentum to the debate, but Scottish home rule had been discussed as early as the British premiership of Herbert Asquith.   Since 1912 some 19 parliamentary bills on the subject have been bandied about by London politicians, but none have ever become law.

The left-wing Labour party, often dependent on Scotland for many of its parliamentary seats in London, has been reluctant to tamper with the machinery of government in any way that might reduce Scottish representation on a British level.   Conservative governments have

simply shown disinterest. Meanwhile, home rule and nationalism — in both mild and hard-headed varieties — remain the issues that refuse to go away in Scottish politics. Recent events have done nothing to suggest that they will: in the 1994 elections for the European parliament in Brussels, the Scottish National Party won the support of 32.6% of the voters, its healthiest showing yet in a Scottish election.

The Arrival of Soccer in Scotland.

I have by now, hopefully, provided some insight into the influences which have shaped the modern Scottish identity: historical feelings of having both courageously resisted and ignominiously capitulated to the English, and a continuing unease at having to share an island with such a larger, more prestigious and powerful neighbour; a sense of belonging to a society where some value (though no doubt not as much as many Scots would like to think) is attached to fairness and equality, tradition- ally inspired by the Presbyterian religion; other Presbyterian-inspired values, such as pragmatism and single-mindedness, as embodied in the Protestant work-ethic; pride in the achievements of Scotland during the British Empire and dismay at post-Empire industrial decline; cultural myths like tartanry, much loved by foreign visitors, and more home- bred myths like kailyard and Clydesidism; and in contemporary politics, a tendency to vote for the left, and a restlessness about Scottish home rule.

I would now like to spend some time addressing the other theme of this paper, detailing the history of soccer and how it came to Scotland.

Ball games have been a popular form of human recreation since the days of ancient China, Greece and Rome, but the establishment of universal sets of rules and official respectability eluded these games

until the nineteenth century. Over the centuries, there have been reports of sporting contests which used prototypes of the modern soccer ball, though little distinction was made about whether these balls could be kicked, thrown or carried: the general circumstances of these contests could be similarly haphazard, with the playing area being as much as three or four miles long, the teams containing enough people to populate a village (and, in fact, many of the games were contests of strength between villages), and the playing time sometimes lasting all day. Amid the chaos of this medieval 'mob football', there was damage to property, scores of broken bones and even occasional deaths, and in all probability it made much of the hooliganism that plagued soccer in the late twentieth century look tame in comparison.

Instances of these unruly contests appeared in the British Isles at an early date, in places as far apart as Dorset, Chester and, in Scotland, Perthshire. Originally, they were a way of celebrating festival days, but if we examine the unfavourable statutes passed by Scottish kings in the Middle Ages, we find evidence to suggest that the rough-and-tumble of mob football was becoming more popular and, presumably, was no longer confined to certain days of the year: from the fifteen century onwards, James I, James II, James III and James IIII of Scotland all tried to legislate against the playing of football, viewing it as a worthless distraction and a threat to public order. The fourth James, for example, wanted his citizens to pursue the more militarily-valuable sport of archery.

Football survived in Scotland, however. It was still around at the beginning of the nineteenth century and had captured the unlikely but prestigious enthusiasm of Sir Walter Scott, who even wrote a ballad to commemorate an especially-epic footballing battle between Yarrow and Selkirk, two villages in Scott's home area of south-east Scotland.

Elsewhere, though, there is evidence to suggest that Scott was ambivalent about the social influence of the sport: he is on record as commenting that "it was not always safe to have even the game of football between villages; the old clannish spirit is too apt to break out." Some followers of the modern Scottish game would add sourly that the clannish spirit has been breaking out ever since.

The nineteenth century saw a decline in the popularity of bloodsports in Great Britain — a trend that was helped immeasurably by the founding of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in the 1820s — and this, along with the Victorians' belief in the character-building virtues of team sports, helped to create a climate favourable to the establishment of new ball-games with universally-accepted codes of play. England's prestigious public schools can take much of the credit. Harrow School and several others developed a ball-kicking game for their students — soccer — and by 1863 its popularity both inside and outside the schools had given rise to the Football Association, a legislative body which looked after the game's interests in England.

Meanwhile, parallel developments saw the creation of a ball-kicking and ball-handling game at Rugby School and the founding in 1871 of the English Rugby Union — which split in 1895 with the establishment of the rival, professional sport of rugby league. Other countries were formalising their own ball-sports during the same period. 1884 witnessed the appearance of Gaelic football in Ireland which, when combined with elements of rugby, evolved into Australian Rules Football in the southern hemisphere: and in 1874 American football had come into being on the other side of the Atlantic. However, none of these other varieties of football, not even rugby, have enjoyed anything like the huge, worldwide appeal of soccer.

Soccer's secret weapon has always been its utter simplicity. It is not a sport which is bound by a myriad of complicated playing rules, or which requires its participants to use costly equipment, or to play on a well-tended pitch. It is an activity which is accessible for nearly everyone, irrespective of social circumstances. Undoubtedly, this helps to explain how, in so short a time, a sport conceived as a worthy amusement for the privileged young gentlemen of England's public schools had become an obsession among the working class of industrial Scotland.

Scotland's first soccer club was called Queen's Park, which was created in 1867 and took its name from a park in Glasgow where its members met for their games. Queen's Park was to have a huge influence on the development of the sport in Victorian Scotland, imbuing it with high-minded, amateur principles and even helping to pioneer soccer's first international fixture. In 1872, the club was invited to participate in the English Football Association's cup competition, and it made such a good impression south of the border that a match between 'England' and 'Scotland' — Queen's Park supplying nine of the players in the Scottish team — in Glasgow was arranged later that same year.

The effect of this contest on the Scottish consciousness was profound. As the soccer writer and historian Bob Crampsey has noted, "Rivalry with England was to be the oxygen which kept the fire of Scottish football burning. Here was an area where Scotland could compete with remarkable success against its much bigger and wealthier neighbour, here was a theatre in which the Scots sense of nationhood and difference could assert itself. A country lacking in political and artistic self-expression turned to its footballers as other small European countries were turning to their composers, their artists and their writers as visible proofs of national identity and uniqueness."

The significance of the fact that it was England those players were pitted against cannot be understated. I have already described the potency of the Bannockburn myth: here was an opportunity for the Scots to re-enact Bannockburn every year, though in a wholly civilised way, without pain or bloodshed, in Orwell's words as "war minus the shooting."

Truly, soccer had arrived in Scottish culture. The following year, 1873, saw the formation of the Scottish Football Association and the Scotland-England match became an annual fixture. From all accounts, the attitude of the English players towards their northern counterparts was scarcely less patronising than that of their ancestors who'd agreed to the Act of Union with the Scots 165 years before: they were, they felt, performing a great deed of generosity in showing the Scots "how to play the game". They were certainly made to pay for their complacency. Of the first eleven matches played between the countries, England managed to win only two, compared with seven victories for the Scots. Considering that Queen's Park was providing most of the talent for the national team, this seminal Glasgow club could claim with some justification to have been the greatest amateur soccer club of all time.

But it was already becoming clear that amateurism had only a limited future in the exciting new world of soccer. For one thing, games were attracting large numbers of spectators and the size of the gate revenue was persuading soccer officials that their clubs could exist as profit-making businesses. Showing an opportunism that was supposedly characteristic of his nation, William MacGregor, a Scotsman who was an official with an English club called Aston Villa, suggested that a league be established where "ten or twelve of the most prominent clubs in England combine to arrange home and away fixtures each

season." Obviously, this arrangement would be the sporting equivalent of a closed shop, its fixtures confined to only the most accomplished and popular teams, attracting the largest crowds with the promise of high-quality soccer every week.

The league he envisioned came into being in 1888. As some English players had already been receiving payment for their services for three years before that, the evolution of soccer in England from a pastime into a profit-generating, self-financing industry was complete.

Following the English example, a Scottish soccer league was founded in 1890, though it initially upheld the principles of amateurism. Tellingly, however, Queen's Park kept its distance from the league, fearing that in time it could only lead to the introduction of profession-alism and the eradication of many of Scotland's smaller, financially-weaker clubs. The amateur-professional issue certainly caused the young league a lot of problems. There were scandals about clubs making illegal payments to players; and the whole country was in danger of being bled dry of its footballing talent by English clubs and their agents, who would lure away Scottish players with the promise of wages for games played down south, as well as jobs in local industries when they weren't playing. (Indeed, in one celebrated incident in the town of Kilmarnock, soccer fans beat up an agent who was sniffing too closely around a local footballing hero called 'Bummer' Campbell.)

Finally, straining from pressures both internal and external, the Scottish Football Association embraced professionalism at its general meeting in 1893. Although a few alterations and interruptions have taken place in the century since then — the establishment of a Scottish second division at the same time professionalism was introduced, seven years without soccer at the time of the second world war, and the creation of three groupings (premier, first and second divisions) in 1975

— the basic character of the Scottish footballing system had been determined before the end of the Victorian era.

Soccer and the Scottish Psyche.

Before looking at soccer's connection with particular types, or layers, of identity in Scotland, I would like to look at the general myths which the game has fostered in Scottish society. In doing so, I would like to mention some parallels between soccer and the cultural myths of kailyard and Clydesidism which I mentioned earlier, and perhaps show why the game has taken such a firm hold of the Scottish imagination.

1. Soccer and Clydesidism.

For great numbers of working-class Scots, stuck in grimy industrial surroundings where life was harsh even when the factories and yards were rumbling with activity — and where things seem even bleaker now that many of those same factories and yards have closed down and job opportunities have dwindled — soccer has offered a spiritual release. The critic Alan Bold made a stark assessment of the impact of soccer on such communities when he wrote: "Today when football supporters are widely execrated for their violent enthusiasm I condemn not them — but the appalling domestic, educational and social environment that makes football all there is to live for, the one bright light in a blank, dark space... In such circumstances football becomes not so much a substitute for life as the quintessence of life itself."

For a minority of working-class Scots, however, soccer could provide a physical as well as spiritual deliverance from social misery. If you were uncommonly talented on the soccer field, you could hope for a wealthier, more rewarding life with a professional club. A few

aspirants did make it into the glamorous, lucrative world of big-time soccer: and among their compatriots who had to be content to watch from the terraces every Saturday afternoon — no escape possible from their drudgery and servitude — these proletarian soccer stars quickly became figures of legend.

Scotland can boast a gallery of such characters, men whose athletic prowness and magical skills with a soccer ball would be mentioned in the same breath as their impoverished origins. Hughie Gallacher, a dimunitive striker who in the early part of this century enjoyed a marvellous career with Airdrie, Newcastle, Chelsea and Derby soccer clubs and was the only Scot ever to score four hat-tricks for his country in international fixtures, was born into a mining family in the industrial county of Lanarkshire. Tommy Docherty, famous first as a captain of the Preston team and then as a manager of Chelsea and Manchester United, grew up in the notorious slum-ridden Gorbals area of Glasgow and was reputed to have spent his infancy sharing a 'bed' — which was in fact a single plank of wood protruding from a wall — with his mother and two sisters.

Jim Baxter, who played brilliant soccer for Glasgow Rangers, Sunderland and Nottingham Forest during the 1960s and was idolised by younger Scots in a manner usually reserved for rock stars, worked in a coal mine until the age of 23. Even as recently as the 1980s, when the soccer player Frank McAvennie made a name for himself with Glasgow Celtic and West Ham, he could boast a curriculum vitae which included a period spent as a road-sweeper in Glasgow's unglamorous Milton housing scheme.

It is not difficult to see how, with this background, Scottish soccer has become bound up with Clydsidism, that body of working-class myths which have coloured much of Scotland's culture in the industrial

and post-industrial twentieth century. Perhaps the most complete fusion of soccer and this Scottish form of 'romantic proletarianism' occurs with the trinity of Jock Stein, Matt Busby and Bill Shankly, three working-class Scotsmen who by the 1960s could justifiably claim to be the greatest club managers in the history of British soccer; Stein with Glasgow Celtic, Busby with Manchester United and Shankly with Liverpool.

All three men were raised in (now obsolete) mining communities in Lanarkshire, south of Glasgow, within a 20-mile radius of one another. At the height of their powers, when the three managers enjoyed a near-legendary status among thousands of soccer fans, it was easy to suppose the patriarchal wisdom which they imparted to their players and with which they guided their clubs had been acquired in the communities of their youth; environments where personal integrity was forged amid numbing hardship and labour, where "the working class character" was indeed "too good, morally, for the life he is obliged to lead by economic pressure."

Take, for example, what has been said by and about Jock Stein. He didn't embark on a full-time playing career until the relatively-late age of 27: before that he had spent eleven years working in a Lanark-shire coal-pit. Stein once said of his fellow coalminers: "They didn't just get their own work done and go away. They all stayed around until every man had finished what he had to do and everything was cleared up. Of course, in the bad or dangerous times that was even more true. It was a place where phoneys and cheats couldn't last for long." Stein's biographer, Bob Crampsey, noted how this pre-soccer period left a lasting mark on the man: "He could never rid himself of the notion that professional football was not really a job, certainly not in the sense that coal mining was a job."

Stein proved to be a solid but not outstanding player.   However, it was in the field of soccer management which he entered after his playing days came to an end that he proved his remarkable abilities, eventually masterminding Glasgow Celtic's campaign in the 1967 European Cup competition: the club overcame the best opposition that Europe could offer and lifted the trophy.   "Jock Stein," wrote the sports journalist Ian Archer, "was, in all senses, a big man.   For over 20 years he was the greatest figure in Scottish football and probably the best-known person in the country as well.   He knew everyone and everyone thought they knew him."

Even the manner of Stein's death had a romantic, though obviously tragic, quality.   While managing the national Scottish team in the mid-1980s, he collapsed and died on the touchline at the end of a qualifying game that would would ensure Scotland's participation in the 1986 World Cup finals in Mexico.   That this footballing icon from the Lanarkshire coalfields had passed away in the middle of a decade when the right-wing creed of Thatcherism was stressing the value of individual ambition and initiative over more traditional, community loyalties was an irony picked up by at least one commentator: the journalist Hugh McIlvanney wrote in an empassioned tribute in the Observer newspaper that "Stein was the unpretentious embodiment of that older, better code that was until not so long ago the compensatory inheritance of all who were born of the labouring poor... there was never the remotest danger that he would be contaminated by the materialism that engulfs so many of those who find prosperity through sports or other forms of entertainment."

In the quotations of the previous three paragraphs we can locate a variety of befiefs that suffuse the myth of Clydesidism.   Stein's recollections provide a powerful illustration of the feeling of equality that

supposedly pervaded and bound such communities, a feeling strengthened by Scotland's church and education system: all men are equal and every man must contribute equally to the well-being of the group. Crampsey's observation suggests the common Clydesidian idea that no work could be 'purer' — perhaps because it involved physical pain and sacrifice — than that performed in the traditional coal pits, factories, shipyards and industrial workshops. Indeed, Stein's lasting notion that mining had been his one 'proper' job prefigures the identity crisis, almost a national sense of loss-of-virility, that afflicted Scottish society in the 1970s and 1980s when it was forced to abandon many of its heavy industries and adapt, as best it could, to newer service and light industries.

Archer's comment about Stein being the 'big man' embraces the proletarian myth too: Clydesidian culture is full of physically and morally strong patriarchs, struggling to protect their impoverished communities. (Witness even the title of William McIlvanney's novel mentioned in the earlier description of Clydesidism.) And Hugh McIlvanney's epitath echoes the final concept of the myth: that the whole thing is doomed. "An older, better code" of "not so long ago" — but one that is nonetheless defunct in a modern society whose members are "contaminated" by self-serving greed, where the most successful operators are those "phoneys and cheats" who would have been excluded in a fairer, more honourable age. Incidentally, the McIlvanneys — William and Hugh — are brothers, an explicit example of how closely-entwined sport, art and myth can be in Scotland.

An industrial landscape, closely-knit communities, powerful notions of equality, class-loyalty, honour and common justice, the purity of physical labour, patriarchal figures who embody the common experiences and common values of their communities: all in terminal decay,

undermimed by the schemings of capitalists and mercenary politicians. Such are the themes which have preoccupied much of modern Scotland's fiction, drama, poetry, paintings, journalism, folk and pop songs.   As such, the conventions of Clydesidism — some romanticised or exaggerated, some undoubtedly genuine — can be seen as an asser- tion of national integrity, of proud defiance, in the face of inevitable decline.

Some commentators have been disturbed by this pessimistic, at times almost masochistic preoccupation with what is irretrievably past. Furthermore, it offers a highly exclusive concept of Scotland, for many parts of the country outside Glasgow, the west and central areas never had such experiences of industrialisation.   The commentator Cairns Craig expressed his misgivings thus: "What is worrying in the contem- porary situation is the way that the industrial death throes of industrial west-central Scotland have become the touchstone of authenticity for our culture... if we make the victims of that decline the carriers of our essential identity, we merely perpetuate the cultural alienation in which we negate the ongoing struggle of our experience by freezing its real meaning in a particular defeat."

Significantly, there is a territorial parallel in the case of soccer. Much of Scotland's broadcasting and publishing media are based in Glasgow, and it has been a common complaint among soccer clubs in other parts of the country that centralised reporting by television, radio and newspapers sometimes gives the impression that 'west-central' Scotland is the only place where the sport is played.

2. Soccer and Kailyard.

Soccer's relationship with the older kailyard myths is more prob- lematic but still, I feel, worth considering.   If Clydesidism indicates a

marshalling of defiance by a large section of traditional Scottish society, in the midst of decline, then kailyard represents a schism in that society as a whole.

Some pertinent remarks about this topic have been made by Tom Nairn, who has identified, since the Act of Union, a gulf in the national psyche between a Scottish 'heart' and a British 'head'. Scotland's intellectuals — politically, philosophically, artistically — have deserted Scotland for southern England so that, in terms of intellectual fulfilment, London has come to represent a "mature, all-round thought-world": to use a colloquialism, it is where the action is. Even a supposed victory for Scotland like the 'enlightenment' of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was more a phenomenon of the 'British head', according to Nairn, since — with a few exceptions — the home culture had little bearing on the thought-processes of the leading actors. Edinburgh might have provided a physical home for Adam Smith, David Hume and company, but intellectual London with all its new theories and fashions was the centre of their spiritual universe. (Indeed, a well-known anecdote has Hume lying on his death-bed, apologising not for his sins, but for his Scotticisms.)

Nairn's comments have been echoed by the historian Christopher Harvie, who sees a gap necessarily appearing between 'red Scots' — those who leave their country to seek larger, more exciting opportunities — and 'black Scots', who remain to make the most of a more impoverished culture at home.

And just what is left for the 'Scottish' heart', for the 'black Scots' whose society has been deprived of its ambition, of its intellectual vitality? Nairn talks scathingly of a stunted, in-bred thing called 'sub-cultural Scotchery', and he seems in the main to be refering to the kailyard genre that began as a type of late-Victorian novel and later

saw numerous television, film and journalistic incarnations.   As I have said, kailyard offers a cosy, pastoral world of fond nostalgia, easy conformity, Christianity, stasis.   The literary expert Ian Campbell noted that "the kailyard wrote about a well-known expected Scotland in well-known expected ways, and was thus readable and comprehensive in a way which offered few challenges... In sexual morality, in political challenge, in representation of rapid social change, the kailyard was safe ground.   The reader did not come to it to change his views fundamentally."   In other words, it was perfect reading for a society that didn't want to think about itself too deeply, or had lost all propensity for self-analytical thinking.

Having been so embraced by Scotland's masses more than a century ago, soccer too should belong to that thin culture at the Scottish heart: but it also mirrors the loss of ability and self-belief that, according to Nairn and Harvie, has stricken Scotland at an intellectual level. Humble, working-class Scotland may have produced some brilliant soccer players, but not so many of them have chosen to enjoy their fame in their home country.   They have been easy targets for English soccer clubs who, traditionally, have viewed themselves as richer, slicker, more cosmopolitan outfits than their kin in the north.   As one soccer encyclopedia has claimed damningly, "Scottish soccer... is the history of three very great clubs, of an epic series of internationals against the old enemy England, of a constant stream of talent leaving the country for richer rewards south of the border, and of very little else."

Thus, from its sporting culture, the Scottish psyche has received much the same message that it has received from elsewhere: Scotland is not a place for the ambitious.   Rather, it is a backwater they must escape from before they can find genuine success.

Kailyard fiction too has had its share of talented young men keen to get out of their rural communities, to find an education, a vocation and eventual wealth and prestige in the big cities. In fact, the character is common enough in Scottish literature (and in real-life experience) to have merited a special name for himself, the ambitious, applicable 'lad o' pairts'.

While these lads o' pairts may have been demonstrating an accepted Scottish virtue in their zeal for self-improvement, kailyard literature's attitude towards them — perhaps shared by Harvie's 'black Scots' generally — suggests ambivalence. They are, after all, sacrificing the innocence of their home community for the more predatory world of the city. The lad o' pairts in Iain MacLaren's kailyard novel 'Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush' enjoys great success at university but finally, succumbing to illness, returns to his mother's cottage in the Scottish countryside to die in "a low-roofed room, with a box bed and some pieces of humble furniture, fit only for a labouring man." In George Douglas Brown's 'The House with the Green Shutters' — written in 1901 as a satire on the kailyard tradition — the lad o' pairts fares even more badly: he leaves his village, enters university in Edinburgh, becomes an alcoholic, returns home in disgrace and murders his father during a furious row. The rustic community may be dull and unchallenging, but at least it offers safety.

In real life, many of Scotland's footballing lads o' pairts have suffered their own misfortunes when they've ventured south. Feeling the pressure induced by their hefty pricetags, by the expectations of fans and the scrutiny of the English media, subjected to all the social distractions that a huge city like London has to offer, some have failed dismally to fulfil their potential in England. Scottish players like Hughie Gallacher in the 1930s, Peter Marinello in the 1960s and Charlie

Nicholas in the 1980s have seen promising careers in England implode amid loss of footballing form, bad health, depression, alcoholism, broken marriages, bankruptcy and public scandal. Many have returned to Scotland as older, sadder but wiser men.

Kailyard's grip on the Scottish imagination has been condemned for its celebration of the unsophisticatedly parochial over the cosmopolitan — but looking at the negative experiences of the country's footballing prodigal sons, some would argue that the parochial is a safer environment for a naive and impressionable Scot.

3. A Feminist Postscript.

Thus, in the Scottish psyche, soccer can be seen as representing some of the proud, working-class defiance of Clydesidism, and some of the parochial-cosmopolitan tension that lurks beneath the surface of kailyard. One further point is worth noting. In the male-dominated industrial landscapes of Clydesidism, and in the pastoral villages of kailyard (where the local dignitaries — doctors, teachers, church ministers — are all male), there is little room for women. At best, they are devoted wives and mothers, stuck at home, tending to children and housework: at worst, they are invisible.

Similarly, Scotland's soccer pitches and soccer terraces have been almost-entirely male domains. A fairly typical example of this is a comment from a sporting publication called the Scottish Sport, which greeted an early attempt to initiate ladies' soccer in Scotland at the end of the last century:

"The members of the new Ladies Football Association, of which we have recently heard so much, do not play in fashion's dresses, but in knickers and blouses. They actually allow the calves of their legs to be seen, and wear caps and football boots. The more shame to them

is our retort."

Many Scottish feminists would claim that such chauvinistic attitudes have persisted in their country's culture during the 100 years since then.

Part 2 of this paper will appear in the 5th issue of 'Studies in Culture'.