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Postnationalism and Performance Culture: Questioning Culturally 'Scottish' Productions in Contemporary Television, Theatre and Film

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers representations of identity in key performative texts produced in contemporary Scotland. Drawing on the work of Eleanor Bell and Jürgen Neubauer, it is suggested that present-day Scotland is moving towards a postnational paradigm, rather than a national one. It is argued by these scholars that identity is becoming more multifaceted at a political level with the result that traditional notions of identity, informed by the cultural myths and discourses of nationalism, no longer seem relevant or useful in contributing to contemporary constructions of identity.

Clydesideism is used in this work as a case study to assess the uses and usefulness of tradition in the construction and representation of identity in recent fictional narratives. This Glasgow-based discourse has been selected for examination (as opposed to Tartanry or Kailyardism) due to the fact that many texts in recent performance culture are based, and/or set, in Glasgow. Even after a cursory examination of contemporary Scottish film, television and theatrical production, it is evident that Scotland's largest city is the preferred setting for fictional narratives. Cultural productions set in Glasgow - whether in film, theatre or television - are often studied in reference to, or classed as belonging to, the discourse of Clydesideism.

This research seeks to question the current usage of this discourse with the aim of assessing its relevance as a critical category in relation to current cultural productions (mainly those of the past decade). In doing so, it seeks to advance knowledge in the field by moving on from Petrie's celebratory, positive reclamation of Clydesideism in his 2004 publication *Contemporary Scottish Fictions*, which focuses on fictional narratives of the eighties and nineties.

It will be suggested throughout this work that productions such as the BBC Scotland's soap opera *River City* challenge the notion that traditional cultural national discourses can signify appropriate codifications of contemporary 'Scottishness'. Such productions are often *more* concerned with the postnational discourses of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. It is not the intention of this thesis then to contribute to the positive reclamation of traditional discourses, which is currently in vogue in Scottish studies, rather the usefulness of their reclamation in light of the

recent moves towards postnationalism (as it is defined by both Bell and Neubauer) will be questioned. It will be asked whether national myths still matter and if they continue to constitute an active and significant cultural referent at a time when, according to Bell, we should ‘view Scotland and Scottishness as, in part, the products of globalism, multiculturalism and consumerism in order to see that we are now ‘somewhere else entirely’’(Bell 2004a: 89).

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INTRODUCTION

> Postnationalism has been interpreted as an inevitable reality in the current global circumstances, but also as an attack on the democratic basis of current states, or on the basis of national communities and their identities. In the Irish context, where the construction of an Irish national identity is inextricably interrelated to cultural nationalism and the Irish Literary Revival, current interrogations of traditional definitions of Irishness also raise interest in contemporary literary responses to the problematisation of Irish national identity. (Gilsenan Nordin and Zamorano Llena 2007, unpaginated)

> If the nature of nations and nation-states really is changing as Hobsbawm suggests, then perhaps it is now also time to question the nature and purpose of tradition; time to at least be more self-conscious of its fundamental role. This is not to imply that traditions should be naively abandoned; yet neither should they be accepted unquestioningly. (Bell 2004a: 51)

Eleanor Bell, concerned with the general 'weakening of the nation-state' (2004b: 4), calls attention to the contemporary scholarly interest in the reconstitution of nationalism. Bell draws on the work of Eric Hobsbawm who, in his *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (1990), prophetically asserts what nationalism will mean in a world characterised by challenges to the validity of the nation state. Hobsbawm writes that the history of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century 'will inevitably have to be written as the history of a world which can no longer be contained within the limits of 'nations' and 'nation-states' as these used to be defined, either politically, or economically, or culturally, or even linguistically.' He adds:

> It will largely be supranational and infranational, but even infranationality, whether or not it dresses itself up in the costume of some mini-nationalism, will reflect the decline of the old nation-state as an operational entity. It will

> see "nation-states" and "nations" or ethnic/linguistic groups primarily as retreating before, resisting, adapting to, being absorbed or dislocated by the new supranational restructuring of the globe. Nations and nationalism will be present in this history, but in subordinated and rather minor roles. This does not mean that national history and culture will not bulk large – perhaps larger than before – in the educational systems and cultural life of particular countries, especially the smaller ones, or that they may not flourish locally within a much broader supranational framework. (1990: 191)

This undermining and restructuring of the nation requires other ways of thinking about, defining, and representing the nation and nationalism. In particular, it requires an assessment of the contemporary role played by national culture and traditions.[1]

In the Irish context, Richard Kearney suggests that postnationalism is an appropriate way of thinking about the role of nations in an age of interdependence, which moves 'beyond our inherited models of sovereignty, nation-state and nationalism, in order to create new paradigms of political and cultural accommodation between all citizens of these islands' (1997: 45). One of the inherited models Kearney refers to is Benedict Anderson's influential definition of the modern nation as 'an imagined political community', which is imagined 'as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson 2001 [1983]: 6).[2] The sovereign nature of Anderson's imagined nation is problematised in the case of nations like Scotland (and Northern Ireland), where sovereignty has historically been seceded at state (British) level, and

[1] Giddens states that '[t]wo basic changes are happening today under the impact of globalisation. In western countries, not only public institutions but also everyday life are becoming opened up from the hold of tradition. And other societies across the world that remained more traditional are becoming detraditionalised.' For Giddens, post-tradition is 'at the core of the emerging global cosmopolitan society' (2002 [1999]: 42-43). For more discussions of tradition and 'Post-tradition' see Giddens (1994) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983).

[2] Anderson's oft-quoted definition of the nation is as follows: 'it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their communion. […] All communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. […] The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries beyond which lie other nations. […] It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. […] Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.' In contradistinction to Hobsbawm, Anderson states: the 'end of the era of nationalism,' so long prophesised, is not remotely in sight.' Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time.' (Anderson 2003 [1983]: 3-7, emphasis in original)

more recently at European level. This fragmenting of the nation requires 'the re-ordering of identity at micro and macro levels, beneath and beyond the traditional concept of the nation-state' (Bell 2004a: 83). Kearney defines this reconfiguration of the nation from above (supranational level) and below (regional level) (Kearney 1997: 15) as postnationalism. In his discussion of the postnational reconfiguration of the nation, Habermas too highlights the undermining of Anderson's thesis: 'As nation-states increasingly lose both their capacities for action and the stability of their collective identities, they will find it more difficult to meet the need for self-legitimation.' (Habermas 2001 [1998]: 80) The boundaries of nation states, which Anderson describes as 'limited' are becoming increasingly problematic as American sociologist Daniel Bell points out, under the conditions of globalisation, the nation becomes 'not only too small to solve the big problems, but also too large to solve the small ones' (quoted in Giddens (2002) [1999]: 13).

Recognising the need for new ways of thinking about Scottish nationalism in an increasingly globalised world, Eleanor Bell imports Kearney's argument for consideration into the Scottish context in her monograph *Questioning Scotland: Literature, Nationalism, Postmodernism* (2004a), as well as the article 'Postmodernism, Nationalism and the Question of Tradition' (2004b). Bell focuses on the changing nature of belonging and identity under these conditions:

> If there is now an increasing gulf between the role of culture and that of the state, then this also has clear implications for national identity. For it is no longer strictly defined in and through the state. Instead, national identity becomes more amenable to what John Urry has described as 'information flows', processes of technology and consumerism as well as transnationalism, regionalism and localism. (Bell 2004a: 137)

Bell views postnationalism as a particularly suitable way of considering the contemporary political situation of Scotland, where there is a restructuring of the nation through devolution and Scotland's participation within the larger federal framework of the European Union. That Scotland has achieved devolution relatively recently could imply that Scottish nationalism is resurging, albeit in a peaceful way. However, in his book *Devolution and British Politics*, Michael O'Neill states that, far from fuelling nationalism, Scottish devolution is 'entirely consistent with a hybrid

liberal-progressive variant of social democracy [which is] receptive to new postmodern concerns about identity politics and cultural pluralism' (O'Neill 2004: 81). Under devolution, says O'Neill, Scottish citizenship is more cosmopolitan and prismatic and this is indicative of 'a new political climate' (O'Neill 2004: 368). Indeed, this is reinforced by the fact that the SNP, Scotland's current ruling party, 'espouses a 'civic' nationalism, based on allegiance to civic institutions and territoriality rather than an 'ethnic' nationalism based purely on ethnicity and descent' (O'Neill 2004: 92). The SNP also strongly advocate the position of Scotland 'in Europe', that is, existing as an interdependent region within the European Union.

The European Union encourages a degree of secession and pooling of sovereignty from nations that fit the criteria deemed necessary for access into the Union in order to achieve interdependence under the governance of a large democratic body. This supranational entity plays an increasingly influential role in contemporary Scottish politics and, significantly, it enables the production of multiple tiers of identification. Kearney explains that these new formulations of identity are still related to the nation, but are more plural in nature:

> In addition to the national identity afforded by one's belonging to a nation-state (or a nation in search of a state, viz. the Kurds, Palestinians, and Basques), it is now commonplace for people to lay claim to a model of multiple identity, extending from sub national categories of region, province, or county to transnational categories such as the EU or UN. (Kearney 2004: 29)

This pluralization of identity is significant for the focus of this thesis; national identity is becoming more multifaceted at a political level with the result that traditional notions of identity, particularly those informed by the cultural myths and discourses of nationalism, no longer seem relevant.

ISSUES OF SOVERIEGNTY

Scotland lost a degree of sovereignty in 1603 with the Union of the Crowns and then a further loss with political union in 1707 when it merged into the political framework of the British state. Sovereignty, then, has existed in a pluralized condition for much of Scotland's recent history, and where sovereignty is not classed as 'one and indivisible' (Kearney 2001: 21), where it exists in a more plural, divided form, multiple levels of identification are enabled. Commenting on Richard Kearney's work on national theory, Dennis Dworkin suggests that by 'advocating the disentangling of the nation from the state in order to conceptualise sovereignty in a pluralist way, thereby accommodating multiple identities in a given society', Kearney is 'moving onto postnational ground' (2007: 69).

The disentangling of the nation from state, and the proliferation of multiple levels of identity which predicates a move towards postnationalism, is of particular relevance to the contemporary Scottish situation.[3] The state and the nation, which have been historically separate in Scotland, can be discussed in terms of their constitutive parts, i.e. as politics and culture, respectively. Traditionally, the definition of a 'normal nation' is one in which 'national culture and politics are fused' (McCrone 1998: 136).[4]

In the absence of a 'normal' national identity, Scottish nationalism has been influenced by mythic cultural constructions, most prolific of which are Tartanry, Kailyardism and most recently, Clydesideism.[5] The contributors to the 1982

[3] This disaggregation of politics and culture is explained in more detail by Margareta Mary Nikolas (1999): 'Kearney's central focus is postnationalism. […] Kearney considers that the union formed between politics and culture at the onset of modernity should be redefined in postmodernity, with specific reference to Britain and the Republic of Ireland. Britain represents all that is positive in nationalism, the "civic, secular, pluralist, rational and multicultural" and Ireland the negative "irredentist, ethnic, primitive, reactionary." However, in this postmodern world there is, according to Kearney, a "revised Irish nationalism" that is a rational extension of the past, which is a consequence of postnationalism. Nairn also suggests that there is "a new civic nationalism" in Ireland that could easily be emulated by Scotland or Wales. Postnationalism in this context is the vehicle of "new paradigms of political and cultural accommodation" suggesting fresh separations of nationalism. Kearney seeks to do this by separating nation and state and by doing so separating culture and politics. Culture and politics are conjugal elements joined at modernity but Kearney seeks to divorce culture from politics calling this process postnationalism.' (Internet 1)

[4] Aaron Kelly highlights the 'abnormal' development of 'both Scotland and Northern Ireland [which] have long been the site of dominant, sedimented discourses claiming their historical anomaly within a broader framework of the normal development of the nation state' (Kelly 2007: 253).

[5] There are various spellings of this term: Clydesideism, Clydesidism and Clydeside-ism. For the remainder of this work the spelling Clydesideism will be employed.

collection of essays *Scotch Reels*, amongst others, have identified these myths as regressive and limiting.[6] These cultural constructions - or myths 'made out of affliction' (Nairn 1977: 150) - have resulted in what many commentators view as a distorted identity, or what McCrone terms an 'amplification of Scottishness' (McCrone 1998: 11). More recently, Douglas Bicket argues that these discourses are 'inherently regressive and mythic, placing Scottish cultural identity squarely in Scotland's past rather than its present or its expectations of the future' (Bicket 1999: 3). Bicket suggests that these discourses are too narrow and should be rejected in order to widen the terms of 'Scottishness' and create more international and plural identifications.

In line with this thinking, David McCrone points out that the 'power of nationalism now lies in its capacity to reconfigure personal identities and loyalties in a way more in tune with the social, cultural and political realities' of the twenty-first century (McCrone 1998: 183). Traditional myths and discourses of Scottish nationalism then, like Clydesideism, require further interrogation and possibly even

[6] David McCrone comments on the unsuitability of these discourses for contemporary notions of identity thinking: 'Unlike many forms of nationalism, the cultural content of the Scottish variety is relatively weak. Compared to Welsh, Irish, Catalan, Breton or Quebec nationalism, it is less ready to call up the ancient ghosts of the nation, its symbols and motifs, in its quest for independence (Brand 1978; Webb 1978). There is, of course, less to call up, for the lack of linguistic, religious or similar cultural markers in Scotland forces nationalists to conjure up an alternative 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983). […] There is a reluctance among many Scottish nationalists today to mobilize simply around the signs and motifs bequeathed from the Scottish past. This tendency within Scottish nationalism to look sideways rather than backwards has much to do with a wider characterization of this Scottish past. It is deemed to be dominated by negative motifs; it is deformed and distorted.' (McCrone 1989: 161) Brown, too, discusses the negative reading of myths of Scottish identity but he also highlights the more recent critical reclamation of these discourses: 'In McArthur's *Scotch Reels* collection of essays, John Caughie observed in 1982 "It is precisely the regressiveness of the frozen discourses of Tartanry and Kailyard that they provide just such a reservoir of Scottish 'characters', Scottish 'attitudes' and Scottish 'views' which can be drawn upon to give the 'flavour of Scotland', a petrified culture with a misty, mythic, and above all, static past." In fact, these discourses, as is shown by their continually developing and widespread presence – not to mention the range in topic and period of chapters in this volume – are far from frozen, rather being dynamic. As David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely observed in 1995 "A considerable literature has grown up to debunk heritage, to show that much of it is a modern fabrication with dubious commercial and political rationales. Being able to show that heritage is not 'authentic', that it is not 'real', however, is not the point. If we take the Scottish example of tartanry, the interesting issue is not why much of it is a 'forgery', but why it continues to have such cultural power. That is the point which critics like Hugh Trevor-Roper (1984) [1983] miss. As his fellow historians Raphael Samuel and Paul Thomson show, myths are no mere archaic relics but potent forces in everyday life. Myths are constantly reworked to make sense of memories and lives (Samuel and Thomson, 1990).' (Brown 2010: 10) See also Nairn (1977).

rejection in the light of postmodernism and globalisation and the associated discourses of globality, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and interculturalism.[7]

In the era of postmodernity, any reordering of identity has the potential to result in the *unfixity* of identities. Thus, through a postnational reconfiguration of identity traditional cultural constructions, such as Clydesideism, may - or perhaps, *should* - be 'forgotten' due to their inability to reflect contemporary forms of identity.

This 'forgetting' of traditional constructions of national identity, is, for some, problematic. In their book *The Postnational Self* (2002), Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort discuss the possible negative impact of "globality" - which they define as one of the conditions of postnationalism - on notions of belonging and identity.[8] They explain:

> On the one hand, globality can only constitute "belonging" in the most flimsy and liminal of senses; on the other, nationality increasingly appears to be no longer sufficient, though maybe a still necessary, linchpin of identity and belonging. This state of affairs, often compounded by new forms of individualism and migration, leads to feelings of uprootedness [and] identity loss. (2002: xvi)

Where identities are in flux in relation to the increasingly complex and fragmented state of the nation, there is the potential to produce anxiety over a sense of belonging in an increasingly globalised world. Yet, the 're-ordering of identity at micro and macro levels, beneath and beyond the traditional concept of the nation-state', need not necessarily be viewed as problematic (Kearney 1997, cited in Bell 2004b: 83). Sociologist David McCrone reinforces this point:

> The "crisis" of self has entered the discourse, not simply as a theme of social psychology, but in response to radical change in the social structures which

[7] I do not use postmodernism and globalisation as mutually exclusive terms, however, the postmodern form of nationalism (Kearney 1997) is closely associated with the globalisation of economics and technology. Indeed, Graeme Turner comments that 'one of postmodernism's own 'grand narratives', [is] the process of transnationalism and globalization' (Turner 1996: 211).

[8] Hedetoft and Hjort define globality thus: ' "Globality" – for want of a better term – spells significant changes in the cultural landscapes of belonging, not because it supplants the nation-state and the forms of homeness outlined so far, but because it changes the contexts (politically, culturally, and geographically) for them, situates national identity and belonging differently, and superimposes itself on "nationality" as a novel frame of reference, values, and consciousness, primarily for the globalized elites but increasingly for "ordinary citizens" as well.' (Hedetoft and Hjort 2002: xv)

> maintained a fairly consistent sense of self – family, marriage, occupation. Self appears to have become more fragmented, composed of several competing identities, and the generic process of identification has become more problematic and contentious. Increasing rates of social change help to destabilise traditional social structures, opening up new anxieties as well as new possibilities. (McCrone 1998: 32)

Through a postnational position, then, despite the potentially negative issues surrounding the loss of a 'stable' national identity, more opportunities for identification are actually enabled at various levels. This allows individuals to choose their affiliations at local, regional, national and/or global levels.[9] If identity is less bound to the narrow confines and traditions of nations, then citizens may identify themselves in a number of alternative ways.

Another positive element of this 'loosening of identity' is the enabling of more cosmopolitan notions of citizenship. Habermas points out that the conditions of postmodernity have caused an increasing 'trend towards individualization and the emergence of "cosmopolitan identities". Within a postnational configuration 'new modes of belonging, new subcultures and lifestyles' are enabled and this process is, for Habermas, 'kept in motion through intercultural contacts and multiethnic connections' (Habermas 2001 [1998]: 76). Identity becomes more fluid with the result that incomers to nations (such as refugees and asylum seekers) are less likely to be greeted with *hostility* and more likely, to use Derrida's terminology, to experience *hospitality* (see Derrida 2000, 2001).

These more fluid, inclusive modes of identity, indicative of postnationalism, oppose a traditionally fixed, exclusive national identity. Myths and traditions of nationalism such as Clydesideism, then, it seems no longer have a central role to play in constructing identity in a postmodern, postnational age.

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[9] Berthold Schoene's discussion of Hollinger's *Postethnic America* stresses the increased choice individuals have in the postmodern world: 'In his study *Postethnic America* David Hollinger envisages a form of nationhood that favours 'voluntary over involuntary affiliations, balances an appreciation for communities of descent with a determination to make room for new communities, and promotes solidarities of wide scope that incorporate people with different ethnic and racial backgrounds' (Hollinger 1995: 3). Post-devolution Scotland evidently holds postethnic potential, mainly due to its relatively flexible views on what constitutes a Scottish person, as detailed by its civic citizenship legislation, which values an individual's choice of residency as highly as their familial descent. As Michael Keating explains, ethnic citizenship 'presents membership of the national community as given, or ascriptive', whereas civic citizenship 'sees individuals voluntarily constituting themselves as a collectivity' (Keating 1996: 3)'. (Schoene 2007: 10)

Kearney discusses the new, more marginal role played by national myths and traditions, which engage with a postnational, as opposed to national, agenda:

> Do our writers not show us how indigenous material from Irish myth and history can be successfully conjoined with the most innovative forms of international literature? Do our artists and musicians not show us how to proclaim Irish origins while transcending national barriers and communicating with the citizens of other European and world cultures? (Kearney: 7, cited in Graham 2001: 97)

Here, Kearney highlights the international (European) and global nature of cultural forms, whose reach often transcends the nation. Further, by emphasising the shift in imaginative frameworks, from literary based to more populist forms, Kearney challenges and undermines Anderson's influential thesis that nations are imagined by a literate population through their shared experience of reading newspapers and novels. These are not the only, nor even the main, mediums through which contemporary collectivities, such as nations, are being imagined and culture represented. Indeed, it is David Goldie's contention that:

> The 'affective bonds' that Benedict Anderson, in *Imagined Communities*, thought so important to the construction of nations have expanded to the extent that they now stretch to include anyone wealthy enough to own a television set or a networked computer. Meaningful national cultures are fragmenting and in their place are appearing other forms of community that have, in some cases, very little cognisance of national borders (2000: 14). [10]

[10] Ruth Barton, too, discusses the importance of more popular forms such as television and film in disseminating cultural representations of the nation: 'The creation of a sense of national belonging, and its obverse, of exclusion, has traditionally taken place within the cultural domain. Timothy Brennan reminds us that, 'Nations…are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role. And the rise of European nationalism coincides especially with one form of literature – the novel' (1990: 49). For all this, however, he is forced to recognise that: 'under conditions of illiteracy and shortages, and given simply the leisure-time necessary for reading one, the novel has been an elitist and minority form in developing countries when compared to poem, song, television and film. Almost inevitably it has been the form through which a thin, foreign-educated stratum (however sensitive or committed to domestic political interests) has communicated to metropolitan reading publics, often in translation.' (Barton 2004: 5)

Forms of community based around notions of identity and belonging other than the national include sexuality, gender, class, and race. These categories seem increasingly useful ways to analyse and define identity, particularly when traditional ideas of national identity are becoming problematic under the conditions of postnationalism, where the nation is breaking down due to forces such as global capitalism, niche marketing and global communications technology (Bell 2004b: 84-85, see also McCrone 1992, Billig 1995, Schoene 2004, Whyte 2004).

The representation of Scottish national identity, then, which has, according to a powerful critical consensus, traditionally been restricted to a set of limited, regressive cultural signifiers, requires interrogation in light of the increasing influence of postmodern and postnational discourses, such as cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and interculturalism (these terms will be defined in more detail throughout this thesis).

The Glasgow-based discourse of Clydesideism has been selected for examination (as opposed to Tartanry or Kailyardism) due to the fact that many texts in recent performance culture are based, or set, in Glasgow. Even after a cursory examination of recent Scottish film, television and theatrical production, it is evident that Scotland's largest city is the preferred setting for fictional narratives. There are numerous reasons for this, including the centralisation of creative industries and industrial clusters around the city, e.g. the filming facilities at the BBC and STV studios at Pacific Quay, and funding opportunities, especially for film with the Glasgow Film Fund, Scottish Screen and Sigma Films all based in the city (see Turok 2003 for more on this).

DEFINING POSTNATIONALISM: SOME PROBLEMS AND PARADOXES

To date, two monographs provide a sustained examination of postnationalism in the Scottish context: Bell's *Questioning Scotland: Literature, Nationalism, Postmodernism* (2004) and Jürgen Neubauer's *Literature as Intervention: Struggles Over Cultural Identity in Contemporary Scottish Fiction* (1999). As their titles suggest, these accounts focus only on literature, thus there is a need for a sustained

investigation of the ways in which postnationalism is potentially impacting upon representations of Scotland and identity in more popular forms.

These texts require a comparative examination as the definition of postnationalism in each differs in a number of ways; where Neubauer appropriates Jürgen Habermas's concept of postnationalism, Bell advocates Richard Kearney's version of postnationalism for use in Scottish studies. Where there has been very little discussion of Neubauer's book, Bell's work in the area of Scottish studies is becoming increasingly drawn upon.[11]

The aligning of postnationalism with a position against nationalism and national tradition may explain, in part, why Neubauer's espousal of the theory has been somewhat overlooked by most critics and scholars. It will be suggested that Neubauer's approximation of Habermas's cosmopolitan, civic formulation of postnationalism, which is linked with a rejection of the nation and nationalism, has so far proven too radical for many working in contemporary Scottish studies. [12] Indeed, Matt McGuire's *Contemporary Scottish Literature: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (2009) does not merit Neubauer's book a mention, even in a section titled 'Postmodernity and Postnationalism', in which only Bell's text is briefly discussed.

In his examination of contemporary Scottish literature, Neubauer is concerned with the Habermasian move beyond the nation-state. Habermas's theory of postnationalism focuses on the inability of national forms to adapt to the pressures of globalisation, consequently, he advocates a move out-with the nation:

> We will only be able to meet the challenges of globalization in a reasonable manner if the postnational constellation can successfully develop new forms for the democratic self-steering of society. Therefore I would like to test the conditions for a democratic politics beyond the nation-state through the exemplary case of the European Union. (Habermas 2001 [1998]: 88)

11 See Petrie (2009), Goode (2005), (2007), Thomson (2007), and Neely (2008). Borthwick in 'From *Grey Granite* to Urban Grit: A Revolution in Perspectives' quotes Neubauer in his 2003 article but does not discuss his stance on postnationalism.

12 Matt McGuire's *Contemporary Scottish Literature: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (2009) does not merit Neubauer's book a mention, even in a section titled 'Postmodernity and Postnationalism', in which only Bell's text is briefly discussed.

This movement beyond the nation is mirrored, Neubauer argues, by Scottish writers whose 'recent Scottish texts explicitly reject national identity' (1999: 23). Here, Neubauer acknowledges Habermas's influence:

> Habermas points out that there is an immense need to imagine democratic public spheres on a global level rather than hide behind national boundaries. I argue that Scottish writers are beginning to imagine life in postnational constellations in which interactions and relationships are both more local and more global than the nation. (1999:12)

Neubauer is overtly concerned with the ways in which Scottish literature can be read in terms of the local and the global throughout his examination. Through this position, the national may be forgotten, or 'lost', between these opposing poles. In their discussion of postnationalism, Willy Maley and Sarah Neely are concerned about this possibility, they claim: 'what gets lost between the local and the global is therefore precisely the national' (2004: 101). This is, however, exactly what Neubauer strives towards; he proposes a move to 'leave the paradigm of the nation all together' (1999: 18).

For some working in the area of Scottish studies, the move away from the nation is a goal worth pursuing.[13] Such scholars are wary of engaging with 'narrow' national frameworks based on mythology and cultural national discourses in a bid to read Scottish culture and identity more progressively (McArthur 1982).[14]

Jonathan Murray, in his exploration of contemporary Scottish cinema, is exemplary of this approach; he claims in a 2007 article that 'the national critical model may this time really have had its day' (88). He concludes:

[13] The criticism of Christopher Whyte is a case in point, as Berthold Schoene explains: 'Whyte is not simply after securing an author's or text's entitlement to momentary self-extrication from the national culture; rather, he regards it as imperative to strip Scottish literature radically of its context and apply purely aesthetic parameters of critical enquiry. In *Modern Scottish Poetry* Whyte voices his intention 'to reclaim a degree of autonomy for the creative (in this case, specifically literary) faculty', and deny 'both history and politics … any privileged status as tools for interpretation of Scottish literature' (Whyte 2004a: 7-8).' (Schoene 2007: 8)

[14] See David Goldie's discussion of Nairn, McArthur and Craig in 'Hugh MacDiarmid, Harry Lauder and Scottish Popular Culture', *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, No.1, Autumn 2006, for an example of such attitudes.

> Perhaps it is time that Scottish film criticism caught up with where Scottish filmmaking seems already to have gone, crossing the border once and for all, leaving behind the traditional compulsion to ponder obsessively and near-exclusively the state, whether psychological or territorial, of 'Scotland'. (90)

This position is at odds with the fact that many scholars and cultural commentators working across various disciplines in Scottish studies are reclaiming national culture, even in its most disparaged, popular forms. Cultural national discourses are often read as informing representations of the nation and identity in popular culture, indeed there is presently an influential strain of thinking which endorses the mythic discourses of Tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism as constituting a 'credible Scottish popular culture' (McArthur 2009: 83).

Adrienne Scullion has contributed significantly to the scholarly reclamation of Scottish myths, she explains:

> The dominant, or at least the significantly pervasive, representations of 'tartanry', 'kailyard', and 'Clydeside', for example, provide highly marketable, if conventional and even regressive, representations of Scots and Scotland. They elicit a predictable series of representations and narratives, with each being played out against their preferred topography of cityscape and rural landscape. But images, representations, and identities do not emerge unbidden or from thin air. As critics like Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull, Cairns Craig, and David McCrone have argued, these familiar representations are based on the economic, social, and historical realities of Scotland. […] Within an expanding arts and broadcasting industry, within an artistically varied and diverse Scottish culture, writers and directors are increasingly empowered to revisit, re-set, and re-use these traditions and emblems. (2001: 374)

More recently, David Martin-Jones recognises a strain in contemporary Scottish cinema that 'renegotiates' the discourses of Tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism (2009: 105). Sociologist David McCrone reclaims Tartanry as a 'radical', plural

discourse' which he suggests is 'relevant even in postmodern times'. [15] Ian Brown's edited collection *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (2010) continues this trend of reclaiming Tartanry, as does Brown's article in the journal *Scottish Studies Review* in which he 'interrogates the ways in which tartanry has been associated with a discourse of inferiorism' (2007: 69). Jane Sillars is concerned with the 'reworking' of dominant discourses on Scottish television (1999) and with 're-imagining the Kailyard' in Scottish cinema; she argues that being 'open to the Kailyard' offers a 'more nuanced approach to nationality, place and people' (2009: 137). Duncan Petrie's *Contemporary Scottish Fictions* (2004) analyses examples of the Clydeside myth in Scottish television, film and literature of the 1980s and 1990s in a Bakhtinian inspired reading; he concludes that the discourse is ultimately more complex and hybrid than early definitions suggested (20). Thus, cultural national discourses are being considered, not rejected or forgotten by a number of scholars in contemporary Scottish studies.[16]

POSTNATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM

Postnational theory is, however, often aligned with movements above and beyond the nation and its traditions, such as cosmopolitanism. Gerard Delanty's comments attest to this analogy: 'No account of nationalism in its relation to the global context can neglect a second dynamic, namely the emergence of postnationalism, that is a movement both within and beyond nationalism and which may be related to cosmopolitanism' (Delanty 2006: 357).

[15] Neubauer also discusses McCrone's reappropriation of tartanry as a useful discourse: 'The work of David McCrone marks a more decisive shift from identity politics to a postmodern politics of difference. *Scotland: The Brand* draws attention to popular culture and particularly the heritage industry as crucial to identity formation. Unlike Craig and McArthur, he is not convinced that tartanry even as a hegemonic regime of representation automatically reproduces Scotland's cultural deformity; hence, instead of looking for 'more appropriate' discourses, he investigates complex forms of consumption, negotiation and re-appropriation of tartanry as sites of identity formation and agency. Tartanry does not have one meaning, but can be taken up differently in different contexts: "The heritage icons are malleable. They take on radical as well as conservative meanings." (p.5) McCrone heretically concludes that in the context of postmodern consumer culture, tartanry can be a 'crucial cultural repository for answers to the identity question.'(p.6).' (1999: 33)

[16] For more examples of the critical reclamation of disparaged discourses in the Scottish context see Calder (1993), Scullion (1995), Craig (1996), Stevenson (1996), (2000), (2001), and Boden (2000).

It is this alignment of postnationalism with cosmopolitanism that leads some critics to question the validity of a theory that advocates moving beyond the nation towards a 'rootless cosmopolitanism' (Delanty 2006: 366). Neubauer's Habermasian inspired reading of Scottish literature is indicative of this approach, which can be considered 'non-nationalist',[17] in favour of 'going cosmopolitan'.[18]

According to Gerard Delanty, Habermas 'excludes most cultural problems from the sphere of cosmopolitanism' (2006: 365). The notion of constitutional patriotism, which forms the normative content of Habermas's postnational concept of identity, refers to citizens' identification with democratic or constitutional norms, but not 'with the state, nation or cultural traditions'; consequently, for some such as Delanty, it is too 'formalistic to be a basis of real collective identity' (Delanty 1996: 26-29). Yet, for Neubauer, 'Scottishness', or nationalism, *is* emptied of its usefulness as a basis for identification; it is not relevant in the contemporary world of interdependence, intranationalism and globalisation. He claims 'the category of 'Scottish literature' has no answers for the urgent questions of European Unification, global cultural exchange and postcolonial migrations, which writers in Scotland have long addressed' (1999: 219).

Neubauer's proposal to 'move beyond the nation to imagine possibilities of difference in a postnational constellation' (1999: 43) is undoubtedly useful for consideration in contemporary Scottish Studies, as this thesis will demonstrate. For the scholars interested in reclaiming tradition, however, the absence of an attendant focus on or interrogation of nationalism makes his theory problematically radical and Kearney's mediational, interrogative position more amenable for Scottish studies.

This attitude could be linked to a failure to recognise the multifaceted and plural nature of the theory (as posited by Neubauer and Bell); critics assume, in a somewhat reactionary fashion, that a rejection of the nation and national traditions are the only readings available through this position. Indeed, where the term has been mentioned in Scottish studies, it is usually held in this regard. In his study of Scottish fictions of the 1980s and 1990s, Duncan Petrie (2004) is dismissive of postnationalism:

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[17]Sociologist David McCrone and Richard Kiely recognise that 'the celebration of 'cosmopolitan' values over against 'nationalism' – the universal versus the particular – helped to sustain social science in thinking of itself as non – even anti-nationalist' (Kiely and McCrone 2000: 6).

[18] This term is used by Berthold Schoene in the title of his article 'Going Cosmopolitan: Reconstituting 'Scottishness' in Post-devolution Criticism', in Schoene, Berthold (ed.) 2007. *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp.7-16.

> These key sites of tension – between inclusive and exclusive conceptions of national culture and between the national and international circulation of cultural products – are further indications of the essentially Janus-faced nature of nationalism. But they are also fundamental issues which must be addressed if any account of the national dimension of contemporary cultural production and consumption is to avoid the Scylla of a regressive and essentialist nationalism, and Charybdis defined by the vague contingency of post-national identity politics (2004: 6).

Petrie links the possibility of Scottish national identity being subsumed within a confusing sea of unspecific identities formed outside of the nation with 'postnational identity politics'; he resultantly rejects this position. For Petrie, postnationalism is too radical a position to endorse; instead he champions a more balanced interrogation of the national, which sits in between traditional nationalism and postnationalism.

Petrie is not alone in advocating this position. Irish cultural critic Matthew Brown states: 'postnationalism – if it is to have any traction in Irish Studies, if it is to avoid posing as a dilute strain of previous 'posts', if it is to invigorate new theoretical paradigms on the nation – needs to critically investigate rather than serve as a neutral term of accommodation for the interactions between regional and cosmopolitan forms of identity' (Brown 2006: 93). The critical investigation of the nation and its traditions is, it seems, an important element to concentrate on in Scottish studies where nationalism is being reconsidered and reconstituted in a number of ways. What Petrie does not take into account is the fact that postnationalism, as posited by Bell and Kearney, actually constitutes this balanced critical position.

Bell points to the usefulness of postnationalism as an appropriately interrogative position:

> The general move into postnationalism and deterritorialisation that is being advocated here is consequently one that will be able to critique previous formulations and structures of nationalism, without abandoning either the foundations of national identity or that of the nation-state. In *Postnationalist Ireland*, Kearney suggests that what is now required is a kind of postmodern hermeneutic that will be able to interrogate nationalism, whilst being able to

> salvage what is *potentially useful* within it, in order to build upon postnationalism. Postmodernism, in questioning the construction of history and by rupturing fixed notions of the collective in order to illuminate alterity, therefore has strong links with postnationalism. (2004a: 140, emphasis added)

By focusing on the postnational interrogation of nationalism, and the postmodern interrogation of history, Bell provides the critical investigation of tradition, or deconstructive approach called for by Brown. Bell insists on the notion of *in-betweeness*, which opens up a complex 'interstitial position' (Bell 2004a: 139) between the national and international, the past and the present, in which traditional formulations of identity may be explored and renewed alongside more international discourses.

Bell points out that 'fictional depictions of nationhood highlight the fundamental unpindownability of our own national identity, while also encouraging national identity' (2004a: 96). Yet, while Bell here complicates notions of identity without disregarding completely with national identification, she ultimately states that 'the project of nationalism may have not reached the end of its lifespan, yet its validity is nonetheless everywhere in question' (Bell 2004a: 16).

Bell's work, which draws not only on Kearney's postnationalism, but also the work of theorists of postmodernism and postnationalism such as Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck and Scott Lash, actually advocates a move beyond nationalism in the Scottish context. She claims:

> [I]t is now time for more discussion surrounding issues such as postnationalism, post-tradition, and the ways in which discourses of postmodernism might interconnect with these and affect the future of Scottish literary studies […] If, as many critics suggest, the nation state is now weakening alongside concepts such as tradition, then surely such cultural shifts need to be registered from a Scottish perspective. (Bell 2004b: 94)

The re-ordering of identity and questioning of tradition, then, are particularly pressing issues in Scottish studies where the discourses of cultural nationalism have been disproportionately influential on the construction of identity, due to Scotland's peripheral position within the British framework.

In contrast to the current positive reclamation of traditional cultural national discourses, the value of tradition has often been called into question in Scottish studies. There has been an attempt on the part of some academics to free Scottish nationalism from the 'debilitating' influence of cultural national traditions. Tom Nairn and Colin Kidd's advocacy of neo-nationalism is an example of this, as Ronald Turnbull discusses: 'An allied view [to Nairn's] is presented in a well-known study by Colin Kidd, in which the Scottish past is depicted as ideologically bankrupt, useless as a source of ideas and values that could have relevance to present and future politics' (Turnbull 2004: 47). Nairn and Kidd, amongst others, see little potential in traditional forms of identity thinking to meet the needs of contemporary and future constructions of nationalism.[19] These debates over the legitimacy - and usefulness - of traditional cultural national discourses and identities within contemporary Scottish studies are reflective of wider debates concerning postnational theory. In its concern with the movement beyond the nation, this anti-traditional, or post-traditional, stance is often identified as a facet of postnationalism.

The theory potentially invalidates traditional discourses of Scottish nationalism, instead advocating more 'unpindownable' identities and it is on precisely these grounds that scholars like Petrie reject it. However, postnationalism, is arguably a key conceptual framework through which to analyse contemporary fictional texts in Scottish studies, where often 'Scottishness' is problematised and reconfigured beyond anything that may be deemed recognisably or traditionally 'Scottish'.

[19] Indeed, Nairn sees little merit in Scottish culture for any purpose as Ronald Turnbull points out 'Nairn's theory of Scottish history, which finds nothing of value in Scottish culture, is reinforced by the theory of nationalism he adapts from Gellner in the conclusion that "standard-issue" nationalist discourse (which takes this culture as its object), though it is functionally essential – some set of myths and delusions is required to fire the masses – is unworthy of serious intellectual engagement.' (Turnbull 2004: 35)

MOVING FORWARD *AND* MINDING THE PAST? THE SUITABILITY OF POSTNATIONALISM FOR CONSIDERATION IN SCOTTISH STUDIES

A review of criticism in Scottish studies highlights the fact that many cultural critics are interested in pursuing new critical categories in which the opposing poles of internationalist cosmopolitanism and nationalism may be simultaneously considered. As early as 1984 the editors of a special issue of *Cencrastus* on the media in Scotland highlighted the need for a more balanced approach to the analysis and reception of Scottish filmic productions: 'What we have to avoid at all costs is a narrow 'little Scotlandism', but we also have to avoid a completely unspecific cosmopolitanism.'[20] Similar arguments are being traversed in the pages of contemporary critical literature. One example is Carla Sassi's *Why Scottish Literature Matters* (2005), in which she points out:

> If the promotion of the study of Scottish culture and literature has involved, until recent times, a struggle to curb Anglicisation and to restore Scotland's sense of a dignified and autonomous tradition, today it might imply a task which is no less exacting – that of checking globalisation and of resisting assimilation to the falsely multicultural, 'united colours', ideal promoted by glossy magazines on one side, and, on the other, the pull towards a closed national model (which seems to be dangerously gaining ground once again), based on exclusivity and intolerance […] a re-evaluation of Scotland's distinctiveness might, in fact, provide a valuable alternative cultural model between (or beyond) the two extremes described above. (12)

Critics then, it seems, are interested in moving beyond essentialist notions of nationalism by re-evaluating the *usefulness* of cultural national discourses for describing contemporary constructions of identity, without having to resort to an unspecific, disorientating, 'rootless' cosmopolitanism.[21] Berthold Schoene, in the

[20] Ouaine Bain, Jean Barr, John Caughie, Cairns Craig, Colin McArthur, Dave McKie, Andrew Tolson 'Editor's Introduction to the Media Section', *Cencrastus*, New Year, 1984, No.15, 37-38, p.37.

[21] Kwame Anthony Appiah provides an anecdotal defence of cosmopolitanism in which he defines it in opposition to these negatives: 'The favourite slander of the narrow nationalist against us cosmopolitans is that we are rootless; what my father believed in, however, was a rooted

introduction to *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature* (2007), reinforces the need for this more balanced position, asking whether 'post-devolution Scottish literature is about to lose its distinctive 'Scottishness', or if it is now more 'typically Scottish than ever?' Schoene continues:

> [O]ught Scottish literature to continue to be burdened with an alleged national specificity, or should it be allowed to go cosmopolitan rather than native? What if it is indeed the case that, as suggested by Alan Bisset, for a whole new generation of Scottish writers 'Scotland barely exists now? It's just a name we give to the place we live. Scotland or something' (Devine and Logue 2002: 22). (Schoene 2007: 8)

A negotiation between nationalism and cosmopolitanism is called for by Devine and Logue, amongst others in order to open out these discourses, without rejecting either. Bell reinforces this point: 'Arguably, what is needed here is a way of negotiating between the discourses of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, a form of ethical interrogation that will critique the seeming binary opposition between the two' (2004a: 135).

In opposition to this more intermediary, nuanced position, Neubauer concludes his study polemically with the statement that:

> Scottish Literature should not exist: not, as nationalists could now assume, because no writing of 'merit' is being produced in Scotland, but exactly because so many important texts have been written there that have a lot to say about the complexities of life at the end of the twentieth-century. 'Scottish literature', as a special shelf in High Street bookstores and as an academic discipline, is segregationist, and demands authentic and codified expressions of Scottishness. (Neubauer 1999: 219)

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cosmopolitanism, or, if you like, a cosmopolitan patriotism.' (Appiah 1998: 91) Cosmopolitanism is also defined positively by Giddens, who states: 'The battleground of the twenty-first century will pit fundamentalism against cosmopolitan tolerance. In a globalising world, where information and images are routinely transmitted across the globe, we are all regularly in contact with others who think differently, and live differently, from ourselves. Cosmopolitans welcome and embrace this cultural complexity.' (2002 [1999]: 4-5)

As has been highlighted above, for many scholars rejecting nationalism, or the concept of 'Scottish' literature, seems too radical in the context of a recently devolved nation. Critic A.J.P Thomson reflects this position:

> Beyond any overt political engagement, a text announces an excess of identity which affirms the promise of democracy: as we have seen, something 'beyond Scotland'. But this does not imply that we should simply dismiss Scottish literature as a myth. Only by reconsidering what we mean by 'Scottish' can we allow the breadth of the literary engagement with the politics of identity to emerge, and this means rethinking the notion of context. (Thomson 1999: 152)

Reconsidering, not rejecting, Scottishness is an apparently more popular enterprise as Scottish cultural producers are, according to many cultural commentators, engaging with national culture in ways that are 'more open to cross-fertilization and change' (Goldie 2006, unpaginated). Thus, critical moves that interrogate Scottish nationalism and Scottish culture in order to "open them out" (Neely 2008, Bell 2004) are presently in vogue. Bell reinforces this point:

> The debates surrounding post-tradition do not seek to evacuate our sense of the Scottish past, or even the Scottish future. Rather, they wish to interrogate the ways in which the concept of identity itself is now in the process of change. They also explore how common notions of national identity might now have to open up in order to accommodate a variety of other concerns. In this respect national identity necessarily becomes more global, and perhaps more local too. The inclusion of postmodern and postnational readings of the nation are not intended to negate the importance of tradition and tradition-inspired readings. Rather, the objective is to suggest that these newer discourses may help enrich historical readings. (2004b: 85-91)

It is undeniable that cultural producers and commentators are dealing with Scottish myths and discourses in more complex ways, endorsing the position that 'myths must be analysed and not just dismissed' (Munro 2010: 182).

However, it will be posited throughout this thesis that recent popular cultural texts and media representations often move completely beyond traditional concepts of the nation and nationalism.[22] These texts challenge the notion that traditional cultural national discourses can signify appropriate codifications of contemporary 'Scottishness' in that they are often *more* concerned with the postnational discourses of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. It is not the intention of this thesis then to contribute to the positive reclamation of traditional discourses, following scholars like Petrie; instead the usefulness of their reclamation in light of the recent moves towards postnationalism (as it is defined by both Bell and Neubauer) will be questioned. It will be asked whether national myths still matter and if they continue to constitute an active and significant cultural referent at a time when, according to Bell, we should 'view Scotland and Scottishness as, in part, the products of globalism, multiculturalism and consumerism in order to see that we are now 'somewhere else entirely''(Bell 2004a: 89).

[22] The contributors to *Beyond Scotland* look to situate Scottish literature and criticism in a more international context, *beyond* the confines of the nation. They comment that: 'It has only been in recent times, as the need to disaggregate political from cultural nationalism has become apparent, than an end to the critical impasse has come into view, and we can discern more clearly the damage wrought by an over-determined, self-defeating essentialism fostered by Scottish criticism's overweening desire for cultural self-determination. It is significant in this respect that Scottish literature in the twentieth century has been much less inhibited by such considerations than Scottish criticism, much less beguiled by the apparent need to untangle a single-stranded Scottishness, and has found its "proper ground" in heterogeneity and *inter*-dependence. Sorely Maclean, for example, remade "authentic" Gaelic poetry with his lament for the effects of facism in "The Cry of Europe", while Edwin Morgan, George Campbell Hay, Ian Hamilton, Ian Crichton Smith and Muriel Spark have all found in ostensibly foreign cultures the elements necessary for the various cross-fertilisations on which their art depend. What these and other writers have shown is that throughout Scotland's long experience of the vagaries of European and global religious contention, war, trade, emigration and immigration, Scots themselves have shown a greater gift for interdependence than independence. […] This book arose from the conviction that Scottish culture was and is emerging from its long subservience to its darker "polar twins". It aims to explore and reaffirm the centrality of international contexts to the Scottish literary experience in the twentieth century, to highlight the continuing dialogue – in its successes and its failures – between writers in Scotland and other countries.' (Carruthers, Goldie and Renfrew 2004: 14-15)

THE ETYMOLOGY OF CLYDESIDEISM: EXAMINING THE ORIGINS OF THE DISCOURSE

> Glasgow is familiar as a post-Victorian, modern industrial city, progressive with industry and social consensus, home of ship-building, heroic with the huge ambition of capitalist enterprise and the pathos of the socialist effort. Clydesidism is one of the great mythologies of the Scottish twentieth century. (Riach 2007: 242)

> The final dimension of Scottish identity on Clydeside is the most divisive, but also the hardest to assess – what 'Scotland' means in terms of a positively-constructed national culture. Papers by Bicket (1999) and Cohen (1997) have argued that the traditional tripartite model of Scottish cultural identity, reflecting urban-rural and historical divides (Tartanry, Clydesideism and Kailyardism) needs refining to cope with recent trends. This is despite the fact that, as an ethnically-based model of the nation would suggest, they retain strong popular resonance, and enable the location and embedding of national groups in time and space. (Clayton 2002: unpaginated)

Pacione comments that 'popular images of Glasgow' are of a city characterised by 'militancy and ultra-left politics, heavy drinking, sectarianism and football' (Pacione 1995: 239). These associations are heavily influenced by the 'great' mythic discourse of Clydesideism, and constitute the most potent way in which Glasgow has been codified in popular culture for over a century (Bicket 1998). Clydesideism's very specific connotations include; male employment in heavy industry (particularly shipbuilding), a socialist ethos influenced by the Red Clydeside of the early 1900s and strong community values related to tenement living.

The labour history of the Clyde basin, with its radical communist politics providing the colouring of Red Clydeside, formed the basis of this discourse (see Smyth 2000, Kenefick and McIvor 1996). In its nascent stages, Clydesideism

celebrated an uncompromisingly strong, masculine, socialist work ethic, which was subsequently enshrined in Scottish art, literature, film and theatre.[23] Sentimental accounts of male comradeship inform the literature of the period like George Blake's *The Shipbuilders* (1935), in which male friendship crosses class divides. Griersonian inspired documentaries, such as the Oscar winning short film *Seawards the Great Ships* (Dir. Hilary Harris, UK, 1960), demonstrate the pride skilled Clysideside craftsmen takes in their work (see Petrie 2000 for more discussion of this). The paintings of Ken Currie, notably his 'Glasgow Triptych', and Peter Howson's 'The Heroic Dosser' powerfully convey the strength and dignity of Glasgow's working class males.

In its early manifestations, the West of Scotland phenomenon of Clydesideism was invoked as representative of the whole of Scotland; it stood for a version of national culture in which Glasgow seemed to be a microcosm of Scotland itself, i.e. left wing, and essentially working class. While all cities have urban mythologies and urban stereotypes, such as Edinburgh as aristocratic (Pacione 1995: 236- 237), Glasgow was distinct in that the Clydeside discourse became hegemonic (see McArthur 1997 and Whtye 1998).

Initially, the urban discourse was viewed as a positive move away from 'unrealistic' ways of defining and thinking about cultural identity in Scotland (i.e. through the rural-based mythic discourses of tartanry and Kailyard) towards a more realistic mode. Pattie discusses this point:

> Clydesideism seemed to offer something that other versions of Scottishness lacked: an authenticity, a sense of real lives lived in the real, modern world. The experience of the worker would not be necessarily better than that of the crofter or the small-town dweller; but it would be more authentic in itself, both because it was more historically accurate and because it spoke more directly and more healthily to the Scottish psyche. (Pattie 2000: unpaginated)[24]

[23] Clydesideism in theatre will be explored in greater detail later in this thesis.
[24] David McCrone, too, comments on the apparently more progressive and 'realistic' discourse of Clydesideism: 'There are, according to this analysis, other discourses which are healthier, and indigenous to Scotland, 'Clydesidism' is one such which is spoken of with approval by some of the critics. It is 'extremely refreshing in the Scottish context', says McArthur, it is not a pernicious discourse. He contrasts the comedy of Billy Connolly (good) with that of Harry Lauder (bad). What Clydesidism has in its favour is that it is constructed from 'real' images of working-class life, from the discourse of class, and from naturalism. Says John Caughie, the traditions are "based in working-class experience which, since the twenties, have seemed to offer the only real and consistent basis for a

In popular culture, particularly film and television, aesthetic practices, namely social(ist) realism and documentary style film making, highlight the 'reality' of images associated with Clydesideism.[25] The discourse is particularly prolific in popular culture during the 1970s, constituting a strong tradition of Glasgow-set 'working class' plays, films and television programs. Petrie reinforces this point, commenting that; 'Shipbuilding was to remain a matter of great cultural pride in the West of Scotland, and the epithet 'Clyde-built' became as applicable to a particular kind of hard-living, hard-drinking, working-class masculinity immortalised in numerous novels, plays and films.' (Petrie 2000: 79-80)

Yet, despite seeming like a more realistic discourse capable of accurately representing 'Scottish' identity, the parameters of Clydesideism, in this early definition, are narrow; it constitutes a closed, fixed point of reference, where identities are constructed stereotypically (as 'hard men') and notions of place regressively (Glasgow as a 'hard city') (Fraser 2009: 26). For Pacione, amongst others, the representation of Glasgow through this discourse has been largely derogatory:[26]

> The overwhelming impression of Glasgow […] was negative, with a clustering of images centred on violence, depression and slums with the Gorbals featuring as the quintessence of environmental decay. […] This negative popular image of Glasgow is reinforced by novels such as *No Mean*

Scottish national culture" (my emphasis) (1982, p.121). And that is it. The search is for a national culture which will speak to people in their own terms, an integrated discourse which will connect with political and social realities in Scotland. The problem, however, with Clydesidism as a discourse is that it is resonant of social realism (heroic workers and all: 'Stankhanovite political iconography', says McArthur 1983, p.3) and, as Cairns Craig (1983) has pointed out, it is itself becoming a 'historic discourse' even in its heartland of west central Scotland in the late twentieth century. Its language is redolent of early twentieth century Clydeside, with its appeal to the industrial masses.' (McCrone 1989: 168)

[25] See Petrie's (2000) discussion of John Grierson and the origins of the British documentary film movement.

[26] In his brief overview on the literature of Clydesideism, Tristan Clayton highlights the negative reception of this term amongst various scholars working in the field of Scottish studies: 'Bicket argues […] that such nationalist identities are 'pernicious', their deep historical roots (despite frequent presence in Scottish film and literature) meaning that they have been unable to adapt to modern change. These discourses have little stable or widely-accepted anchor in the present, and have not kept pace with the processes of cross-national migration and industrialization that have produced an urbanized, materialist and culturally diverse Scottish people: a key reason for Nairn's growing suspicion of such exclusive historicist nationalisms […] Cohen argues, following Nairn (1995), that cultural nationalisms of this sort are a 'lower case' and decreasingly relevant form of identification, subordinated to modern personal and class interests that the Clydeside identity continues to represent, and which are predominantly politicized with a Labour vote.' (Clayton 2002: unpaginated)

> *City* (McArthur and Long 1935), by journalists on flying visits and by television programmes like the highly popular *Rab C. Nesbitt* and *Taggart* series, which perpetuate the image of the Glasgow hard man. (Pacione 1995: 238)

Even the means by which these images are portrayed has come under criticism, particularly surrounding issues of class and gender: 'Social realism lends itself to representations of progress and the concentrated power of the workers – represented by men – hard-bitten, hard-drinking men' (Bain 1984: 12).[27] For Bain, the images associated with the discourse of Clydesideism are highly partial, portraying a simplistic, stereotypical and one-sided version of the city and its inhabitants:

> Eddie Boyd makes the case for the proposition that Glasgow does not exist. Certainly, if you are a woman in Glasgow, you might get the idea, from this series of films that *you* don't exist. The myth is male. The Hard Man, the patter-merchant, the shipyard worker on Red Clydeside. Our proposition is that if you're a woman, even on a Saturday night, Glasgow doesn't belong to you. (Bain 1984: 11, emphasis in original)[28]

Such limited associations are especially problematic in an era of post-industry, given that Glasgow's industrial base has changed from being defined by employment in heavy industry to one based predominantly in the service sector.[29] Petrie notes the

[27] Pattie discusses the masculine nature of this discourse: 'Clydesideism as a tradition had an obvious hero, and a recognised code of behaviour. It prized manual work; the worker was exploited, but he was at least good at his job. He was skilled, and he had pride in that skill; his position within his society was governed both by his skill and by his attitude to it. Work was, therefore, both an economic necessity, and therefore bad because he would be exploited, and an existential good, because it could define him.' (Pattie 2000: unpaginated)

[28] McArthur also highlights some of the problems and limitations associated with the discourse, namely its limiting representation of gender identities: 'The other area in which the discussion moved on from the publication was in the identification of another discourse, Clydesidism, alongside the other pernicious discourses (Tartanry, Kailyard and the social democratic discourse of 'Scotland on the Move') within which representations of the Scots have been constructed. Clydesidism – articulated by Dougie Bain on the basis of collective work done in Glasgow – is that discourse which affects both direct politics and art and which constitutes political activity as residing solely in the mass action of heavy industrial workers in the Clyde basin. The Stakhanovite political iconography and severely limited conception of politics (e.g. the contempt for women's and crofter's struggles) which this discourse sustains both need interrogation.' (McArthur 1983: 2-3)

[29] Maley's assessment of Glasgow's transition towards a post-industrial economy serves to dilute the perceived differences between Glasgow and Edinburgh: 'Unlike Middle England, the Central Belt is Centre Left, but Red Clydeside – Scotland with Substance – has yielded to Scotland with style. Bing

ramifications of this transition for gender identities: 'as 'real' productive industrial labour has historically given way to an economy based on consumption, so this has marked a shift which can be characterized in gendered terms as a move towards a more feminised mode' (Petrie 2000: 80).

De-industrialisation has therefore altered a monolithic definition of Clydesideism. Glasgow's traditional, proud, working class culture based on hard manual labour, with its 'masculine leisure pursuits' of hard drinking (see Petrie 2004), usually portrayed through a social realist aesthetic, has given way to a city now defined by male unemployment and social dislocation, portrayed by a 'gritty naturalist' mode of representation in film and television (see Caughie 1990). While this goes someway towards complicating Glasgow's mythical status, a fact celebrated by Petrie (2000, 2004), the Clydeside discourse arguably remains limited in its representations of identity.

A 'masculinity in crisis' (see Whtye 1998 for more on this) is synonymous in the Scottish context with this latter definition of Clydesideism, as McMillan explains:

> In any case, the "working-class hero" as such no longer exists. If he does, the destruction of the industrial base, the dislocation of traditional communities and the ostensible collapse of radical socialism have cut him off from much of the context which once made him such a potent figure. What we expect to find in men's writing of the 1970s and beyond is what Willy Maley calls a move from "'workerist' fiction to a literature of unemployment" (Maley 2000, 193), what I would consider as a shift in focus from heroes to zeroes. (McMillan 2003: 73)

Clydesideism is now essentially what Caughie (1990) and McArthur (1993) term an 'elegiac discourse', denoting loss. The loss of heavy industry, the rise in levels of unemployment, particularly for males due to the concentration of employment in this type of work, the associated male-angst and urban social deprivation, linked with alcoholism and, more recently, drug taking, contribute to a 'miserablist' tradition of

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has turned to bling. Edinburgh might like to think of itself as the king of the castle looking down on Glasgow's dirty wee rascal, but the difference between Mean City and Auld Reekie was never clear-cut.' (Maley 2007: 28)

representation. [30] Resultantly, there are some problematic representations of a depressed urban Scotland through this discourse, with unwelcome images of urban squalor (see MacDonald 2005, Petrie 2006, Yule 2010).

Although, in some cases, Glasgow's negative and stereotypical reputation as a violent city with a history of heavy industry is invoked in order to sell an easily recognisable image of Scotland on screen, as will be explored in the chapter on television.[31]

In recent times, however, the limitations of this discourse have been challenged; it has been revised and reclaimed in a more positive fashion by a number of scholars. Most prolific of these scholars is Duncan Petrie (2000, 2004) who suggests that there has been 'too simplistic a response to the range of creative responses that have been subsumed under the category of Clydesideism' (Petrie 2004: 19). In his book *Contemporary Scottish Fictions*, Petrie turns his attention 'to some of the key cultural works of the 1980s that would appear to be central to the Clydeside discourse, in order to provide a more complex and nuanced assessment of this particular vision of working-class Scottish culture' (Petrie 2004: 20). Petrie's research successfully highlights the complexity of this discourse, particularly through his examination of the changing nature of Clydesideism.[32]

Yet, despite having undergone significant change in the past thirty years, it is questionable whether Clydesideism is actually refined *enough* to reflect more recent

[30] This is not just a Glasgow-based representational problem, as the section on film will demonstrate; much has been made of the perceived 'crisis in masculinity' in British film, particularly of the 1990s.
[31] Matthew Reason discusses this particular brand image of the city in relation to the cultural events of 1990, Glasgow's 'Year of Culture': 'Clearly *The Ship*, let alone the Saatchi advertising campaign, never really had a hope of representing the whole, diverse and contradictory identity of Glasgow. Even the idea that there is any single Glasgow identity is problematic. Yet within a globalised economy and following corporate templates, it is exactly such a unifying brand image that discourses of city marketing demand.' (Reason 2006: 80) Ian Spring's authoritative work on Glasgow and its urban mythology, *Phantom Village: the myth of the new Glasgow*, also recognises the diversity of the city, as Charleton's comprehensive review of this book highlights: ''While he is clearly more than capable of doing an efficient "hatchet job" on the multiple and contradictory one-sided mythologies of Glasgow – whether they be the Culture City, Red Glasgow/ Worker's City, Mr Glasgow-ism, The Workshop of the World, the Hard Man's town, Glasgow Style, 'Stairheid' nostalgia or whatever – he always refrains from delivering the final axe blow; recognising that each one of these has their truth – partial as it may be. He [Spring] recognises the near-absurdity of trying to encompass the whole of a vast sprawling post-modern post-industrial conurbation, the near-absurdity of assuming that there is even such a place as Glasgow – a way of life, an experience, a spirituality which brings together the yuppies and the underclasses, the blue and the green, the new-young and the traditional-old, and all those other tired dichotomies.' (Charlton 1992: 38)
[32] Petrie's work builds on John Caughie's earlier (1983), (1984), (1990), foundational scholarship on Clydesideism. Both figures constitute the main scholarly engagement with the discourse in Scottish studies.

trends in identity thinking in a postnational age. Glasgow is being branded in new and different ways, such as the 'Glasgow with Style' advertising campaign (see Murray 2007 for a discussion of this) and this new image of Glasgow is being portrayed in popular cultural representations of the city.

Glasgow is increasingly represented in popular culture as a global city with a more postnational identity, resultantly, the discourse of Clydesideism, despite being complicated and reclaimed by Petrie, is arguably not sufficiently complicated enough to reflect recent trends in identity thinking. In a section titled 'Broadening the Cultural Franchise', Petrie dedicates part of his *Contemporary Scottish Fictions* to analysing key works by female cultural producers of the 1990s like Donna Franceschild to suggest that the Clydeside myth is becoming less hegemonic in the arena of Scottish popular culture. Arguably though, a more sustained examination of the decreasing usefulness of Clydesideism as a critical category in the twenty first century is required.

More work needs to be done on the contemporary usage of this term in order to assess the ways in which it is being deployed in criticism and what exactly the term refers to. Some important questions therefore include: does Clydesideism still inform representations of the city in popular culture at a time when Glasgow 'now has aspirations towards being that displaced and postmodern location, a world city' (Goldie 2000: 15)? Further, if Glasgow has indeed made the transition from a city based on heavy industry to its present day manifestation as a postmodern city, moulded by the forces of late capitalism, then what exactly are the city's 'pop cult expectations' (Scullion 2004: 222)? Are images of a 'hard city' populated by 'hard men' still the type of images recognisable as representative of Glasgow, and indeed Scotland, on stage and screen?[33]

[33] In an early article David McCrone similarly suggests the need for a more questioning approach to this discourse: 'It is fine, says Craig, to break out of the mental traps of the historic myths of Tartanry and Kailyard, to imagine a future, even a revolutionary future, through which to overcome the static quality of the dominant myths, but we risk embracing another myth based on a fast-disappearing working class culture. Says Craig, "What is worrying in the contemporary situation is the way that the death throes of industrial West-Central Scotland have become the touchstone of authenticity for our culture," (1983, p.9) and he continues, "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 on-going struggle of our experience by freezing its real meaning in a particular defeat." (1983, p.9) This, to my mind, is a more fundamental criticism, and much more to the point. It seems to me that we search in vain for the 'true' image, because none such exists, nor should we be looking for it in the late twentieth century. To take McArthur's comment and play it back on its own analysis: "a limited number of discourses have been deployed…to give an impression that no other constructions are possible." Not only are Tartanry and Kailyard such discourses, along with Clydesidism, but so is this radical discourse

These are particularly pressing issues to examine given that cultural productions set in Glasgow - whether in film, theatre or television - are often studied in reference to, or classed as belonging to, the discourse of Clydesideism. Thus, regardless of whether this myth has been received by scholars and cultural commentators in a positive or negative fashion,[34] as a category, the term remains potent and salient in critical discourse.[35] This thesis seeks to question the current usage of this discourse with the aim of assessing its usefulness as a critical category, particularly in the context of postnationalism, in relation to key contemporary cultural productions (mainly those of the past decade). In doing so, it seeks to advance knowledge in the field by moving on from Petrie's celebratory, positive reading of the 'national' nature of this discourse in popular fictional narratives of the eighties and nineties.

By concentrating on theatre, television and film, the three main performance mediums through which fictional narratives of the nation are traditionally played out, this project is unique. Petrie's seminal study, *Contemporary Scottish Fictions* focuses on literature, television and film; Steve Blandford's work *The Break-Up of Britain*, dedicates only two chapter length studies to Scottish theatre and film. Alan Riach and Richard Zumkawala-Cook have also produced two monographs on Scottish popular culture, but neither provides a sustained focus on Clydesideism.

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itself. And its problem is that it asks a particularly inappropriate question: What is (distinctive about) Scottish culture? My question is: why should there be an obsessive search to find one; why is the question even framed in this way; where does it come from? The answer is that it derives from an older, essentially 'nationalist' assumption that all societies worthy of the name should have a distinctive culture.' (McCrone 1989: 168-169)

[34] See Caughie (1990), Scullion (1995), (2000), (2001), Edensor (1997), Petrie (2000), (2004), David Martin-Jones (2009), Blaikie (2010). For negative assessments see Nairn (1977), McArthur, Murray (2007a).

[35] There are, however, some recent exceptions to this rule, particularly in the area of film studies, as the chapter on Scottish film production in this thesis will discuss.

CHAPTER 1

CHANGING CHANNELS: ALTERING NOTIONS OF CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN 'SCOTTISH' TELEVISION DRAMA

> Television plays a more important part [than film], packaging the myth for national consumption. We should be fair about this. It is not that Scottish television, its producers or its writers, set out consciously to exploit or perpetuate the myth. It is simply that the economics and politics of British television allow a very small space on the national network for the representation of regions on the periphery, even when that region is a nation. Within that very small space it is impossible to represent the diversity or the contradictions of a peripheral nation, a region or a city. What is asked for is what is special, what is nationally recognisable, what is different: the signature of the city. A national television service, like a national culture, demands from the peripheries their difference. The core is defined by diversity, the periphery is defined by its difference from the core […] for Glasgow, its difference is the myth. (Caughie 1984: 9)

> In the British instance, the representation of Scottish and Welsh identity on their national television is suffused with a mythologised past that prevents a new, more accurate representation of the nation in all their multiplicities being achieved […] The practice of representing national or regional identity in terms of a mythologised past, bypassing the multi-ethnic, multicultural, localised present is inherently problematic. (Scriven and Roberts 2004: 148)

Since Caughie's time of writing, discussion of Scottish television has been mired in debates surrounding the problematic nature of representations of the nation and identity on screen. Concerns focus on the proliferation of images and identities associated with Tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism, which are frequently held to be regressive and stereotypical (Bicket 1999, McArthur 1982, Gibson and Neely 2007).

Caughie's concern in particular is with Clydesideism and its negative associations such as violence, deprivation, hard-men and working-class unemployment (see also Caughie (1990), Spring (1990), Petrie (2000), (2004), Cook (2008)). Representations informed by the Clydeside myth saturated Scottish television during the 70s and 80s, particularly through Peter McDougall's television drama.[36] McDougall's work included; *Just Your Luck* (1972), *Just Another Saturday* (1975), *Just a Boy's Game* (1979), *A Sense of Freedom* (1980) and BBC Play for Today *Willie Rough* (1975).[37] This drama focussed specifically on 'depicting the trials of west of Scotland, working-class masculinity' (Sillars 1999: 249).[38] More recently, Clydesideism is seen as continuing to inform television productions like *River City* (2002-present), *Still Game* (1999) *Tinsel Town* (2000-2002), and *Rab C. Nesbitt* (1990-present) (O'Donnell 2009: 471). For David Hutchison, this is regrettable in that representations focus narrowly on the working classes and the negative associations this entails. Such associations include the social-realist mode, which most television, and indeed film, productions utilise in their depiction of this stratum of society. John Hill explains that social realism in the British cinematic tradition 'has generally involved the representation of the working class.' He continues:

> In so far as the working class is neither more nor less 'real' than other social groups, the idea that realism is linked to the representation of the working class derives in part from context, and specifically the perceived absence of

[36] According to David Hutchison, this trend in Scottish television emanated from stage drama: 'Urban working class life has come to the fore on the stage the bigotry of the Orange Order depicted in Hector McMillan's *The Sash* (1974), the grim glassware workshop presented by Roddy McMillan in *The Bevellers* (1973), the extraordinary journey of Jimmy Boyle chronicled in Tom McGrath's *The Hard Man* (1977), the carpet factory so hilariously set before us in John Byrne's *The Slab Boys* (1978). Broadcasting, particularly television, has taken its cue from this work in the theatre, and so we have had Peter McDougall's visits to the lower depths made by the BBC's London drama department it should be added and Byrne's account of the fortunes of an ageing rock group, *Tutti Frutti* (1987).' (1988: 22) See also Scullion (2004).

[37] See Duncan Petrie's chapter 'Down Among the Big Boys' in *Contemporary Scottish Fictions: Film, Television and the Novel.* 2004. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp.17-25, and chapter six, 'The Role of Television' in *Screening Scotland* (2000), for an in depth discussion of McDougall's television drama and, in the former, for an analysis of Clydesideism in the television, literature and film of the 80s and 90s. See also Ian Spring's chapter 'Just a Boy's Game', in *Phantom Village: The Myth of the New Glasgow* 1990 (Edinburgh: Polygon), pp.76-91 and Cook (2008).

[38] Tim Edensor however claims that these television plays, and their more recent counterparts, are actually rather complex productions: 'although films such as *Small Faces*, and TV series such as *Tutti Frutti*, *Taggart*, *Bad Boys*, and the plays of Peter MacDougall play on the themes of urban Glasgow and Clydesideism, the ways in which these programmes deconstruct and parody the themes of the Glasgow hard man, the brutal gangs and the urban culture underline the efforts being made to construct new representations.' (1997: 139)

> (adequate) representations of this group within the dominant discursive regimes. (Hill 2000: 251)

This is problematic in terms of the representation of Glasgow, however, when such 'discursive regimes' involving only the working classes become the dominant mode of representation, to the exclusion of other types. Robert Crawford comments on the 'unrealistic' nature of such representations, claiming 'even today, Glasgow, a predominantly douce, middle-class city, remains for many imaginations the territory of the urban savage now popularly portrayed as BBC television's Scottish 'heidbanger', Rab. C. Nesbitt' (2003 [1997]: 88).

Hutchison concludes his brief overview of representations of Glasgow in contemporary Scottish television with the assertion that 'when it comes to television drama, Scotland's largest conurbation is being represented in a highly partial fashion' and that this is a deliberate attempt on the part of programme makers to sell a version of Scotland to a market which is 'all too easily satisfied' with the recognisable urban representations associated with Clydesideism (2005: 206).

In a similarly pessimistic reading of the narrow nature of representations on Scottish television, Steve Blandford claims the BBC's drama department in particular 'remains resolutely wedded to 'dominant imagery and traditional iconography'' (2005: 179). For both commentators, recent fictional Scottish television series problematically continue to trade on the recognisable imagery associated with national myths and discourses, to the detriment of 'more accurate' portrayals of the nation.[39]

The other 'hegemonic' (McArthur 1997) myths referred to by Blandford are that of Tartanry and Kailyard and he identifies a number of programmes which draw on these rural mythic discourses such as *Monarch of the Glen* (BBC 2000), *Hamish McBeth* (BBC Scotland 1995-1997), and *Two Thousand Acres of Sky* (BBC 2001-2003).[40] Blandford claims that each of these productions 'owes more to the

[39] Glasgow's status as a hard city of violence and criminality has also featured in 'factual' television series such as Bravo's *Donal McIntyre's World's Toughest Towns*, where it was lauded as the 'murder capital of Europe'. Further, each episode of the recent Australian import *Underbelly* showing presently on STV, which is a gritty portrayal of a particularly violent reign of gangland crime in Melbourne and Sydney, is preceded by an introduction by *Taggart* actor John Michie (DI Robbie Ross), who stresses Glasgow's own reputation for gangland violence and crime.

[40] Other critics have also identified this trend including Blain (2009), Sillars (1999) and (2008), Gibson and Neely (2007), Conroy (2001) and Jamieson (2001).

discourses of tourism than of drama' (2005: 173). More recent TV offerings drawing on these discourses include STV's *Cracked* (2008) and BBC1's *Hope Springs* (2009). The latter is set in a remote Scottish village, the eponymous Hope Springs, and is centred round the exile of four city living women on the run from a gangster. *Cracked* is also set in rural Scotland and depicts life in a rehab clinic.[41]

Such facts seem to give contemporary credence to Caughie's argument that 'Scotland is still more readily imagined, and those imaginings are more easily sold, along the predictable lines of the scenery, the small community, and the post-industrial male angst' (1990: 25). Yet, as pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, these representations are being read in nuanced, positive ways in recent criticism.[42] Scullion argues that the discourses informing such representations are not problematic in themselves; instead they are rendered limiting and reductive through their critical reception. She explains:

> It is their [Scottish myths] limited, one-dimensional interpretation which has compromised contemporary culture to the point of psychosis. Debate around the semiotics of Scotland, laid bare in engagements with popular culture, has failed to advance beyond a tendency to categorise texts and images into a series of more or less predictable classifications. It is almost redundant to name them; but they are, of course variations on the themes of tartanry, Kailyard and latterly Clydeside-ism. The continued currency of these discourses reveals a crisis not of the culture *per se* but of the critical agenda. It is a restrictive and destructive cult which has allowed Barrie to be, at best, ignored, at worst, blamed for traitorous excesses of couthy parochialism, Byrne to be dismissed as kitsch purveyor of irrelevant and apolitical escapism and Scotland's stories to be reduced to Glasgow's stories, narrated by a hard-bitten male detective. (1995: 202)

Cairns Craig's suggestion that 'the death-throes of industrial West-Central Scotland become the touchstone of authenticity for our culture, and nowhere more so than in

[41] This series may be compared with the feature films *Regeneration* (1997) and *The Last Great Wilderness* (2002), which are both set in communes in Scotland 'in which people are coping with a variety of psychological traumas' (Martin-Jones 2005: 230). These texts create 'an image of 'therapeutic Scotland' and draw on the 'tradition of Scotland as rural idyll' (Martin-Jones 2005: 229-231). *Cracked* may also be considered a rural descendant of the Glasgow based drama *Psychos* (1999, Kudos), which is set in a psychiatric ward in a Glasgow hospital.

[42] See Edensor (1997), Jane Sillars (1999) and John Cook (2008), Martin-Jones (2009).

television' (1983: 9) is exemplary of the 'synechdochal approach' Scullion alludes to with her reference to *Taggart*, in which a small element of the culture is taken to represent the whole (O'Brien 2009). This significantly restricts the range of cultural signifiers and possible identities associated with Scottishness.[43] For Scullion, then, there is an inferiorist element informing the critical reception of national myths and discourses; where cultural commentators negatively assess the influence of such discourses as they are disseminated through popular cultural forms.[44] However, in line with Scullion's work, there is a contemporary critical agenda that is increasingly inclined to read the parameters of the mythic discourses of cultural national representation more positively. Indeed Jonathan Murray notes that 'in recent years […] Scottish and Irish scholars have commonly reassessed what were previously understood to be almost wholly regressive externally produced texts and national stereotypes for their respective national cultures' (2005: 148).

The reclamation of indigenous culture(s) carries particular resonance in the contemporary era of globalisation, where the nation-state is being 'hollowed out' and the transnational 'trade in sounds and images between countries and between continents opens up and transforms local cultures' (Harvey 2006: 47). While disregarding national cultural identities in favour of more international, plural and hybrid identities is a worthy and timely enterprise, there is concern over 'losing tradition' and 'erasing the marks of difference' (Harvey 2006: 47, see also Caughie 1990: 30). For Sylvia Harvey, a nuanced, considered and positive re-appropriation of indigenous traditions and cultures is a more worthy endeavour:

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[43] Christopher Whyte also reads these narrow signifiers as being representative of the nation, as Aileen Christianson points out: 'In an essay interrogating the concept of the 'hard man' ('terminal form of masculinity') as representative of Scottishness or Scottish maleness, Christopher Whyte perceives a 'hegemonic shift' where 'urban fiction in Scotland has increasingly and explicitly assumed the burden of national representation. […] Once urban fiction was assigned a central position, its class and gender placements took on national implications' (1998: 278).' (Christianson 2002: 72-73) Christianson goes on to discuss the 'problematic' and limiting ramifications of this critical reading in which: 'one region, class, or gender (for example, Glasgow, working-class, male) is used for the representation of the 'whole' nation to the exclusion of others. This hegemonic hold of the lowland Scottish working-class male (Whyte's 'hegemonic shift') on perceptions of 'Scottishness' contrasts with the lack of power this grouping has in 'real' life. The urge to universalise from the gendered particular is problematic, leaving, as it does, half of the nation unrepresented in the imagined world being put forward as 'Scottish.' (Christianson 2002: 75) In his 2008 article 'Scotland's Other Kingdoms: Considering Regional Identities in a Growing National Cinema', David Martin Jones also challenges the 'synechdochal appropriation' of the regions typically associated with the discourses of Tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism to stand for Scotland as a whole. He examines the ways in which recent Scottish films draw on regional identities and places typically associated with hegemonic cultural national discourse, without reading them as nationally representative.

[44] See Caughie (1990), Scullion (1995), (2000), (2001), Edensor (1997), Petrie (2000), (2004), Martin-Jones (2009), Blaikie (2010).

> In a world of widespread migration and widespread racism, it has seemed preferable to validate the process of a dynamic mixing or interleaving of cultures. Within this frame of reference the positive advocacy of traditional indigenous culture has come to be seen – by some commentators – as isolationist, exclusionary and regressive […] And yet the role of the nation state and of indigenous, not imported culture are also *worthy of careful attention*. (2006: 49, emphasis added)

While it is undoubtedly true to say that representations of Scotland in some Scottish television dramas continue to follow traditional lines, this is not interpreted by some critics as being problematic. If national myths and discourses are considered more attentively, then, as Scullion suggests, they may not be seen as purely regressive or limiting.[45] Traditional indigenous cultures are evidently being viewed more positively.

A positive critical (re)evaluation of Clydesideism as it appears in television is already underway as a number of recent assessments of Scottish drama series attest: Sillars and McDonald (2008) discuss the 'reworking of the 'masculine' space of the post-industrial city' in relation to Annie Griffin's Channel 4 series *The Book Group* (2001) and Gibson and Neely argue that in her series *The Key* (2003), Donna Franceschild 'adopts and adapts the critically suspect discourse of Clydesideism' by 'placing women of resilience at the heart of her representation' (2007: 112). Scullion too offers a celebratory reading of the *Taggart* series (1983-present), which is widely

[45] John Caughie discusses the dichotomy between the local and the global in British television: 'The specificity of the local has an 'upside' and a 'downside'. The 'upside' lies in the resistance which television poses to universal theories and the confusion it brings to hegemonic common sense and international standards of what television is. Clearly, in the face of global systems of diffusion this becomes more of an uphill struggle, but the global media always come into being in specific relations to the local, and these little contests of the local and the global are what make the difference.' (2000: 17) Alan Riach comments on the movement towards more plural readings of Clydesideism in Scottish screen culture: 'The story of Scotland on screen charts a successful journey away from the homogenised, platitudinous comforts of the small-town 'Kailyard' version of Scottishness, a journey out of the ineptitude and infantilism of fantasies unconnected to reality, a movement towards a tougher sense of what myths like 'Clydesidism' are, how they are made and why they are needed. This movement need not seek to destroy or reject such myths but to reveal their purposes and principles of construction, and ultimately to redirect their potential and force. This is a journey towards a position which might, as Petrie says, 'demonstrate the expression of cultural specificity in terms that are both resolutely national and international in their relevance and appeal.' (p.142)' (Riach 2005: 202).

held as embodying the tropes of Clydesideism,[46] by discussing its diverse range of identities and its 'revisioning of the city' (2004a: 51).[47]

However, rather than contributing to the positive critical reassessment of Clydesideism, this chapter will assess the usefulness of this reclamation and revisioning of Clydesideism in light of the moves towards postnationalism. Given that Glasgow as a city is being defined in new ways, i.e. as a post-industrial 'shopping mecca', as the recent 'Glasgow with Style' campaign suggests, it is pertinent to ask whether Clydesideism is an appropriate lens through which to view the Glasgow-based identity narratives on offer in recent television shows. Focus will be on contemporary Scottish television series which are set in or around Glasgow, including; *River City*, *Glasgow Kiss* (2000), *Tinsel Town* (2000), *Limmy's Show* (2010), *Burnistoun* (2010) and *Being Victor* (2010).

RE-READING MASCULINE DISCOURSES: CLYDESIDEISM AND SOAP OPERA

BBC Scotland's soap opera *River City* stands in complex relation to the debates concerning the representation of progressive or regressive images of the nation on screen. It has been the centre of much critical debate in the media and, latterly, in academia, where it has been variously celebrated for its inclusive portrayal of gender identities (Quinn 2002), as well as derided for being too parochial (see Neely and Gibson 2007, Cook 2008) and for focusing narrowly on the working classes (Hutchison 2005).

As pointed out above, *River City*'s setting in Glasgow has led some commentators to associate it with the discourse of Clydesideism (Hutchison 2005,

[46] Meech and Kilborn's claim that *Taggart* deals with 'familiar stereotypes of Scotland and the Scots' by displaying 'the gritty Glasgow world of the "hard man"' is indicative of this critical reception (1989: 99).

[47] Duncan Petrie also comments on the progressive depiction of Glasgow in *Taggart*: 'In addition to its sheer popularity, *Taggart* also helped to establish a new image of Glasgow as a vibrant, heterogeneous modern city, a space defined as much by culture as heavy industry, populated by different ethnic as well as socio-economic groups.' (2000: 142) See also Scullion (2004) and Sillars (1999) for a similar discussion of *Taggart*.

O'Donnell 2008, 2009, Castello 2009). Indeed, Enric Castello claims that *River City* is the latest Scottish soap opera, after *High Living* (1968) and *Garnock Way* (1976), to transpose the discourse of Clydesideism onto the soap opera genre (2009: 314).[48] This categorisation is, however, somewhat ill fitting, as Hutchison concedes: '[t]he scripts clearly acknowledge that we are in a post-heavy industry world and a much more multi-cultural one, one too where sexual attitudes are rather different from the old macho postures associated with Clydesideism' (2005:203). Arguably, then, the fact that *River City* is set in Glasgow does not mean that it should automatically be read as representative of Clydesideism.

The generic conventions of the soap opera permits a wide exploration of the increasingly complex nature of contemporary notions of identity thinking through its 'multiplicity of characters and plot-lines', which allows 'a variety of topics to be introduced and explored from a variety of positions' (Fiske 1987: 179-180). [49] The genre's variety of plot lines, which resist narrative closure, means that 'all sides of an issue can be explored and evaluated from a variety of social points of view, and in contrast to masculine narrative[s], no point of view, no evaluative norm, is given clear hierarchical precedence over any other (ibid: 195).[50] The interaction between the soap opera form and the nature of its representations will be considered here in order to problematise the extent to which *River City* can be considered in terms of Clydesideism.

In line with Petrie's definition, John Caughie defines Clydesideism as 'the modernised myth of male industrial labour […] which becomes more desperate as 'real' productive industrial labour (the culturally inscribed 'masculine domain') disappears into consumption (the 'feminine domain')' (1990:16). The Glasgow hard man is the result of this cultural transition, as Caughie explains: 'when masculinity

[48] For more discussion of Scottish soap operas see Hugh O'Donnell (2008).
[49] With reference to the Irish soap operas *Fair City* and *Glenroe*, Helena Sheehan 'explores the soap opera form in terms of its potential for imagining Ireland in a more expansive and penetrating fashion', although her paper 'draws strong conclusions about the failure of existing serials to fulfil this potential.' http://webpages.dcu.ie/~sheehanh/itvsoap.htm This is an electronic version of the paper given by Sheehan at the Imagining Ireland Conference, Irish Film Centre, Dublin, 31 October 2003. Accessed 17/04/10. Sheehan's later assessment of *Fair City* in 2005 is more celebratory however (www.estudiosirlandeses.org/Issue1/FilmReviews.htm) Accessed 10/04/10. My own analysis of River City (and indeed, all of the television texts examined in this chapter) questions the potential of any fictional form to encapsulate the 'essence', or represent the cultural imaginary, of Scotland, instead I suggest that this type of production is not 'representative' of the whole of Scotland (Caughie 2000), but instead seeks only to reflect an element of its present social and cultural reality.
[50] It will be suggested later in this chapter that *River City*'s transformation from a twice weekly soap opera into a once weekly drama series has had some negative effects on the range of identities it is capable of portraying.

can no longer define itself in hard work it increasingly identifies itself with the 'hard man' for whom anguish, cynicism and violence are the only ways to recover the lost dignity of labour' (ibid).

The 'Shieldinch' of *River City* constitutes an ideal breeding ground for the hard man, its regenerated urban landscape - complete with nouveau cafés, pubs and clubs – is overlooked by a decaying dockyard, a constant reminder of the loss of heavy industry. The figure of the 'hard man' has frequently arisen in *River City* in the past eight years, including most recently the ruthless gangster Lenny Murdoch (played by Frank Gallagher), notorious drugs baron McCabe (Tam Dean Burn) and violent bully JP (Gary McCormack). On the surface, it seems the show has fallen into the trap of representing Scottishness in easily recognisable stereotypes, although many of these characters resist fitting comfortably into the stereotypical hard man persona.

River City's most notorious hard man and gangland figure, Tom McCabe, provides an interesting case study to examine the ways in which the soap interrogates the gendered identities normally associated with Clydesideism. Drug dealer McCabe caused a mini crime wave in Shieldinch, enforcing protection payments from local business and forcing Stevie Adams into selling drugs from his ice-cream van. However, McCabe's gangster image is significantly undermined in the plot line in which his disabled daughter, Donna (Donna Sage), turns up (in typical soap style) completely unexpectedly. The show's then executive producer Sandra MacIver explains how this storyline was conceived:

> McCabe had been established as the 'gangster' of the show. He's a fantastic character for us. But up to the point when his daughter was brought in, he was very much the 'hard man', the gangster. There was no softening round the edges, you only saw him in the context of 'gangster land' mode and work. I was very keen to bring Paula Sage, the actress who played his daughter, into the show. We thought she would be a great counterbalance to McCabe.[51]

McCabe's unsuccessful attempt to build a relationship with his daughter is rescued by Scarlett, the rather voluable matriarch of the Adams family. A typical example of the virile, vitriolic urban hard man, McCabe does not embody the necessary feminine

[51] All quotes from Sandra MacIver are from an interview conducted by Aimee McNair in the BBC' s *River City* studios, Dumbarton, on 26 April 2007, unless otherwise stated.

characteristics of patience, understanding and caring for charges, and is therefore reliant upon Scarlett to take over care of his daughter. Unsuccessful in his personal relationships, his role as hard man is ultimately questioned; he is incapable of buying his daughter's affection or bullying her into giving it. Only with a woman's help is McCabe able to build a relationship with Donna. Latterly, McCabe further undermines the heterosexual hard man typology by revealing his homosexuality.[52] In this, McCabe ultimately transcends the hard man stereotype.[53]

[52] Jill Plain discusses the deconstruction of the hard man stereotype in popular culture in relation to Ian Rankin's successful *Rebus* novels. She says: 'the question of whether the Scottish hard-man can change is perhaps the same question that feminist critics and writers have been asking of the crime genre itself over the past two decades: can the leopard change its spots, and yet still be a leopard? Can the detective genre survive the rehabilitation of its detective? Thus both Rankin's novels and my analysis seem to arrive at a similar quandary: after deconstruction, can there be reconstruction? Is there some new mode through which gender, genre and nation be articulated?' Plain concludes that the generic form of the detective novel enables a space in popular culture through which stereotypical identities may be challenged, 'to think of Rebus as the archetypal hard-boiled detective is thus to mis-read him, and to see the expected stereotype rather than its actual re-inscription. The form offers a space through which Rebus can be written anew without everybody noticing and, although this might not seem much of an achievement, it does give a brief moment's thought to the millions of readers who have accepted, through the security of genre fiction, that big boys *do* cry' (2003: 65-67).

[53] Interestingly, the hard man stereotype is not just depicted in *Scottish* television shows. James D. Young highlights the fact that this stereotype has been evident in British soap opera *Eastenders*, through 'the wife-beating' Scots character Trevor. He comments on the sense of 'cultural cringe' associated with this exported image of Scottishness: 'Few Scots are not touchy about the way Scots are portrayed in British/English soaps, but Trevor is a well-known Scottish type' (*Cencrastus*, Issue 72 [2001]). A more recent manifestation of this 'Scottish type' is the character Tony Gordon (played by Gray O'Brein) in *Coronation Street*, who is a psychopathic murderer from Glasgow.

MEN AND WOMEN IN THE SCOTTISH SOAP OPERA

Clydesideism has been labelled a masculine discourse (McCrone 1995: 69), which 'glorifies the strength of the working-class male' and produces 'heavily masculinsed narratives, drawing from 'hard man' mythology, and overlooking the woman's perspective in favour of the working-class male's' (Neely 2008: 152, see also Spring 1990: 80). *River City*, however, is at odds with this position, through its medium - the 'feminine form' of the soap opera - with its 'emphasis on dialogue, problem solving and intimate conversation, and its typical cast of male characters who are "sensitive men" [and] female characters who are often professional and otherwise powerful in the world outside the home' (Fiske 1987: 180). The soap represents alternative identities in opposition to the male-centred narratives of Clydesideism, by portraying strong, confident women, particularly women at work.[54] In this focus on women, the Scottish soap can be likened to the British soap *Coronation Street,* which has been commended for its progressive depiction of women. From its first broadcast, *River City*'s portrayal of women has been particularly celebrated in the press. One optimistic review of the soap's first episode entitled 'Girls are cleaning up in new telly soap; men had better watch out in *River City*', is indicative of this.

> *River City* is brimming over with feminine wiles and womanly wit. The Rossi sisters, Joanne and Ruth, sum up the new breed of street-wise young women who can out-drink and out-think the boys. However, the woman who can talk the open-toed stilettos off both Jo and Ruth is their mum, Gina – the merry widow in charge of Shieldinch's Italian café. (Quinn 2002: 17)

In Sheildinch, practically every establishment is owned and/or run by modern, professional women: Roisin and her sister Iona own and manage 'The Deli'; Shirley (Barbara Rafferty) owns the local hairdressers 'Moda Vida'; Charlie (June Brogan)

[54] In Scottish television drama, John Byrne is credited for producing more complex, progressive representations of (Glaswegian) women than the traditional Clydesideist narratives, such as McDougall's, allow. For example, Howson comments that Suzi Kettles in *Tutti Frutti* 'is representative of new images for women in Scottish culture: strong, independent, humorous and smart, she cannot be conventionally pigeon-holed, and is pivotal to the dramatic action, not as a device, but as an essential participant' (1993: 45). Howson also names Tilda Swinton's character, Cissie Crouch, in Byrne's later Glasgow-set drama *Your Cheatin' Heart* (1990) as similarly complex.

has her own cleaning business; Heather (Annmarie Fulton) owns and manages the bar 'Versus'; Gina (Libby McArthur) owns the 'Oyster Café' and her sister Eileen (Deirdre Davis) is Shieldinch's local councillor. These representations challenge the inherently masculine nature of Clydesideism, as Quinn puts it 'with so many 'gallus girls' packed into *River City*, Glasgow's reputation for cultivating hard men will surely be under threat' (Quinn 2002: 17). The soap undermines the 'traditional image of the Glasgow worker' as a 'male industrial worker' (MacInnes 1995: 15). Instead, it depicts more realistically contemporary working patterns in Glasgow where, even in 1987, 'less than one worker in ten was a man working in manufacturing. By contrast, the largest group of workers, accounting for one in four employees, were women in public services' (ibid).

Now in its twenty-seventh series, *Taggart* also depicts strong female characters. DI Jackie Reid (played by Blythe Duff) is taking on an increasingly prominent role; when her partner Robbie Ross (played by John Mitchie) falls apart due to the breakdown of his marriage, leaving him unable to cope with the pressures of the job, Jackie remains strong and professional. Similarly, in Ian Rankin's popular *Rebus* novels, the troubled eponymous detective is helped along by his partner DS Siobhan Clarke, whose character is set to feature in spin off novels of the series (see Plain 2003). Scottish popular culture, it seems, is becoming more female-centred.

In another direct affront to the values of the hard, masculine and essentially heterosexual tradition of Clydesideism, *River City* displays a number of characters with alternative sexualities. Unlike in other television programmes, in which gay characters often have marginal or marginalized roles and where 'aspects of their sexuality provide issues for the straight characters to contend with, rather than deserving attention in their own right' (Pratt 2004: 133), in *River City* gay characters are often placed in central roles. MacIver stresses that Scott Wallace's character (played by Tony Kearney) 'is at the heart of the show'; indeed he has been at the centre of a number of high profile plot lines. One of *River City*'s most memorable storylines concerns the relationship between Scott and DCI Eddie Hunter (Derek Munn), who, after leaving his wife for Scott, is murdered by Lenny Murdoch. The portrayal of Scott's reaction to Eddie's murder was particularly emotive, made more poignant by the fact that Eddie was about to propose to Scott on the night he died.

According to McIver, audience research proves that Scott is consistently voted the show's most popular character: 'We carry out research roughly every two years,

and after the most recent round, Scott came out on top again. The character of Scott has been in the show from the outset and is much loved and accepted by our audience.' Testament to this is the fact that Scott is one of very few original cast members to remain in the show presently (June 2011) and this is particularly significant when considering Pratt's contention that 'the introduction of gay characters into mainstream series and serials in Britain, from *Eastenders* and *Brookside*, can be seen as serving a social awareness agenda in tackling viewers' presumed homophobic responses. Yet, as with Asian characters, gays never tend to last very long in British soaps' (2004: 133).

The soap's inclusive portrayal of gender and sexual roles is also at odds with narratives informed by traditional discourses of Scottishness, in which these identities are usually underrepresented. Where usually soaps only have 'single issue characters' (Geraghty 1994: 165), *River City* resists such tokenism. The serial follows the different lives of the characters Scott, Eddie, McCabe, Fi (Monica Gibb) and most recently Jen (Lorna Craig) and Robbie (Gary Lamont), who are all homosexual, and engage in complex relationships with other characters, avoiding becoming 'issues' in themselves.

In this, *River City* overturns the narrow parameters of Clydesideism, which, as a 'nationalist discourse', has been 'accused of having excluded identities classed as 'foreign' to the national story, for example the voices and experience of Scottish gays, lesbians, women, racial minorities' (Wilson 2007: 194). Each of these alternative sexual, gender and racial identities are represented in the show and can be seen to be reflective of a wider cultural change in Scotland, as Wilson explains:

> The talk now is of 'One Scotland, Many Cultures', that is, of national identity as a series of encounters and negotiations within the political fact of the state. Post-devolution, the hope is for a Scotland […] more open to multiple ways of knowing, being, living and loving. (ibid.)

Scotland, Wilson suggests, is becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. As discussed in the introduction, cosmopolitanism is a discourse closely aligned with postnationalism. In this way, *River City* is seemingly overtly concerned with representing more postnational identities, rather than traditionally 'national' ones.

GLASGOW, ITS CULTURES THEY ARE FINE: MULTICULTURAL *RIVER CITY*[55]

> It is both fashionable and true to assert that present-day Scotland is a multicultural entity. (McLeod and Smith 2007: 21)

> What's really important for us in *River City* is that we've got a cross section of people who represent the land we live in (Scotland, not just Glasgow), which is multicultural, is now very political, very confident. We are now very confident about who we are. That's reflected in the different characters. There are some very aspirational characters in the show, as well as the working classes, entrepreneurs, gangsters, families, a whole cross-section of society. (McIver 2007)

River City's broad range of characters represents a multitude of racial, ethnic and cultural identities. Story lines concerning the Shah and Malik families focus on the cultural adjustments made by immigrants living in Glasgow. For example, the character of Zara Malik (Shabana Bakhsh) represents a young woman caught between cultures, she is serious about her Muslim faith and chooses to wear the hijab, but she goes against her family's expectations and starts a relationship with the non-Muslim Bob Adams (Stephen Purdon). The show also displays a number of other interracial relationships between Jo Rossi (Lisa Gardner) and Nazir Malik (Rik Abassi), Carly Fraser (Michelle O'Brien) and Deek Henderson (Gordon McCorkell), Arun Shah (Ricky Dhillon) and Alanna McVey (Jade Lezar).

Contemporary concerns over illegal immigration and human trafficking are dealt with in the story about the escort agency run by the outwardly respectable Susie Wu (Teo-Wa Vuong). Susie used the bar *Versus* as a front for her agency, which hired Polish illegal immigrants, including Lena Krausky (Anna Kerth), to work as prostitutes. These story lines link Glasgow with global, international issues, reflecting

[55] The section heading is a nod to Alan Spence's popular work of Glasgow fiction, *Its Colours they are Fine* (1977).

the city's relationship to 'the politics of the wider world' (Sheehan 2005, unpaginated).

In this, *River City*'s representation of a contemporary, multicultural city fulfils some of the requirements of Public Service Broadcasting.[56] As Lynne Hibberd explains; 'in creating a Scottish soap, BBC Scotland could show a commitment to a steady, regular, output which would more accurately reflect the cultural diversity of its audience' (2007 unpaginated).[57]

This commitment to broadcasting an 'authentic' portrayal of the racial and cultural heterogeneity of the Scottish (post)nation is reflected in its choice of scriptwriters. Linguist Christine Robinson points out: 'Naylah Ahmed, an English writer from Birmingham is particularly involved when story lines concern the Asian Malik family, to ensure that cultural references are accurate' (Robinson 2003: 184). *River City* displays a multitude of different races and ethnicities which is evident in its employment of various accents and languages: from Roisin's (played by Joyce Falconer) thick Doric; Raymond's (Paul Samson) East coast; Luca's (Juan Pablo De Pace) Italian inflection; Marty (Daniel Schutzmann) Standard English, Father Michael (David Murray) and Niamh Corrigan's (Frances Healy) Irish; the Shah family's Indian and Malik family's Asian accents, (there was even the presence of a thick Texan drawl from Roisin's billionaire boyfriend, Sunny Munro (Angus McInnes)). For Robinson, this range of accents differentiates *River City* from other television programmes set in Glasgow:

> The accents are Glaswegian but they are not the stereotypical music hall Glaswegian that has continued down through Francie and Josie and Rab C. They even lack the homogeneity that *Taggart* manages to achieve. What you have, accent wise, in *River City*, is a much broader spectrum. Glasgow has not just one accent. In real life, it has many variations, refinements and shades

[56] *River City*'s PSB obligations have been fulfilled in a number of ways through its depiction of a diverse range of characters, particularly in terms of sexuality, race and ethnicity, but also through its dealing with issues such as disability, as in the storyline concerning McCabe's daughter Donna. Another recent Glasgow-set television production dealing with disability is the acclaimed one-off drama *Zig Zag Love* (2009, written by Mary Morris and directed by Gillies McKinnon, BBC Scotland and Scottish Screen). It starred *River City* actor Anthony Martin who plays Peter, a young man dying of cancer who falls in love with Ziggy (Cara Readle) a girl with Cerebral Palsy. Further, *Eastenders*, also a BBC produced soap, and therefore bound by certain PSB aims, is credited by Stephen Farrier with giving a voice to the marginalized and underrepresented: '*Eastenders* gives central plot lines to gays, lesbians, single mothers, criminals, disabled people.' (2000: 2)

[57] See also Hibberd (2010) and O'Donnell (2009).

> overlaid on certain widespread features depending on age, gender, the social class of this speaker and the social situation the speaker is in at the moment. (2003: 192).

River City's representation of a wide repertoire of identities is indicative of what Fiona Wilson terms 'a Scottish cosmopolitanism, that is, a national identity hospitable, in the broadest sense, to cultural difference' (Wilson 2007: 194, see also Bell 2004a: 52). However, this diverse fictional community could be viewed as offering a somewhat idealised representation of Glasgow as a cosmopolitan, multicultural city. Indeed, one of the main criticisms levelled at the show in its nascent stages was the fact that its accents were 'cringe worthy', unrealistic and actually served to put viewers off watching it (see Garavelli 2002, Synnot 2002).

Nevertheless, the utilisation of a diverse range of accents provides a move away from the centrality of Urban, or Central Scots in Glasgow-based productions, which is linked with Clydesideism. Yet, as will be explored below, this language does have a place in the series.

‘FOR GLASGOW’S SOUL IS IN ITS MOUTH’: INTERROGATING THE SPEECH PATTERNS OF CLYDESIDEISM[58]

> Given the stereotypical gritty realism associated with televised and filmed Scottish drama, most of the Scottish voices heard in films are more or less diluted versions of urban Central Scots. (Corbett 2008: 28)

Corbett’s comments link Urban Scots with Clydesideism, connoting its ‘gritty’, reductive tropes, which include poverty, ‘lack of intelligence and sophistication […] criminality and general barbarity’ (Matheson 2002 unpaginated). For McIver, however, the use of this language in *River City* is entirely defensible:

> The culture in Scotland, probably more particularly in Glasgow, results in a much more ‘robust’, harder dialogue. You’ll notice in *River City* that the dialogue used is unlike the dialogue you might hear in *Coronation Street* and *Eastenders.* We really push the language quite a lot. Now, that is not in any way to be shocking, it is to be realistic and true to what we hear out there on the streets. We will use the word ‘arse’. You would never hear this on shows like *Coronation Street* and *Eastenders,* but we absolutely work within strict editorial guidelines, and that’s a given. At the same time however, I think, historically, Scottish viewers have been exposed to coarser dialogue. *Rab C. Nesbitt* would be an example, not that we are that, but that in its time was quite cutting edge, it was quite shocking, probably more so to the national audience that it got.[59]

By employing the speech patterns of Clydeside industrial Glasgow, *River City* seeks to represent a large number of the city’s inhabitants by dealing with contemporary issues in a recognizable language.

According to Hugh O’Donnell ‘the question of Scots simply could not be avoided in *River City* since this is the standard mode of communication of the

[58] Quote taken from William McIlvanney’s 1987 discussion of Glasgow in Marzaroli, Oscar and William McIlvanney. 1987. *Shades of Grey: Glasgow 1956-1987* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing), p.33.

majority of the population of Glasgow' (2008: 131). O'Donnell continues, however, that the alignment of Urban Scots with the working classes in the show has some negative effects. He suggests that *River City* displays a 'class hierarchy', which is directly related to the speech patterns of its characters:

> The broad outline of this hierarchy is as follows: well-educated young 'entrepreneurs' and professionals mostly speak SSE [Scottish Standard English], with only the occasional and highly tokenised nod in the direction of Scots at the very most; traditional (mostly middle-aged) petit-bourgeois characters speak a bizarre mixture of SSE and Scots in which SSE clearly dominates […] working and underclass characters speak West-of-Scotland urban Scots similar to that used by Rab C. Nesbitt, in the eponymous sitcom. Unlike other British soaps, therefore, *River City*'s community is split along class lines, a split which is clearly reflected in the way characters speak, and a split which, we might note, aligns the working class with the under class. (O'Donnell 2008:132)

The language issue in *River City* may be further problematised when considering the 'comic' nature of some of the characters. The Adams family, including Scarlet (Sally Howitt) and her son 'Shell-Suit Bob', are frequently coded in comic terms, whether through Scarlett's witty and cutting insults to her children and the punters in the pub where she works, or Bob's various demotic catchphrases (see O'Donnell 2008). These characters also happen to speak in the broadest Urban Scots. Mike Cormack, in his assessment of the use of Scots in the spoken media, views this as problematic: he claims comedy shows like *Rab C. Nesbitt*, 'in which the use of Scots is part of the comic effect' is the 'safest form of broadcasting in Scots, treating spoken Scots (and arguably much of the audience) in a rather patronising way but disguising this through humour' (1997: 123).

Despite this negative representation, the range of Scots accents represented by the series arguably constitutes an authentic reflection of the current nature of Scottish, and Glaswegian, working patterns. The city is no longer synonymous with heavy industry, as Matt McGuire explains: 'whereas heavy industry had formerly been the major source of employment, Glasgow has transformed itself into a service driven economy. Currently, this type of work accounts for 84% of the city's overall

employment' (2003: 211). The de-industrialisation of Glasgow has led to a huge increase in the number of jobs in the tertiary sector.[60] The shifting nature of this transnational service industry results in less fixed patterns of working and therefore a larger mix of people co-exist within the city from different areas.[61] Consequently, a large number of differing dialects and languages will be present in the increasingly cosmopolitan city.[62] For MacIver, accurately representing the diversity of Glasgow is vital:

> For me now, it is very important that the show represents the whole of Scotland. You've got the character Scott, who is from the Western Isles of Scotland; you've got Aberdeen represented by Roisin and her sisters. We also have a lot of East coast characters, which is very important, because I think we are all aware of the east/west coast divide. I mean it's not a big issue, but I think there wasn't an east coast representation on the show when it began. Now an awful lot of our characters are from the East coast, like Raymond, Jimmy, McCabe, quite a lot of our peripheral characters are East coast voices as well. It's really important that this diversity is represented, and I know it's very much appreciated as well, because it's reflected in our audience research. We have a big, big following now in Edinburgh as well. Although it's set in Glasgow, that doesn't mean that the show should only represent Glasgow, we've got London voices in there, Polish voices even, and that's the way it should be.

[60] McGuire continues: 'In its heyday, shipbuilding in Glasgow directly employed 60,000 men with another 40,000 in related industries. Similarly in Belfast, Harland and Wolff, the yard that famously built the Titanic, at one time had 35,000 men on its books. Today both the Clyde and Queen's Island have all but ceased to exist as fully functioning shipyards and in the late twentieth century both Glasgow and Belfast have been forced to renegotiate the rapidly changing post-industrial economic landscape.' (McGuire 2003: 211)

[61] According to series creator Stephen Greenhorn, one of the main aims of the series is to depict Glasgow as a 'city in transition'. The representation of shifting working patterns links *River City* with Britain's longest running soap opera, ITV's *Coronation Street*, which is concerned with 'exploring working-class Northern identities' and reflects 'constructions of working-class identities in transition – from more traditional concepts connected to work and occupations to more contemporary understanding of a 'new' working-class' (Jennings 2004: 56-57).

[62] For Christine Robinson, accent is not the only reflection of this social-economic change, so too is the language used by characters: 'As regards the cultural issues of meals, Nazir, the businessman, eats *lunch*, he talks of *working lunches*. You can see clearly how a change in working patterns is impinging on the language we use.' (2003: 188-189)

River City, then, portrays a wider social and ethnic diversity than we would expect from a television series dubbed as belonging to the Clydeside tradition; the language of the traditional Scottish working-classes co-exists alongside the accentual inflections of a range of multi-cultural characters of various class associations.[63]

Scullion claims that a production with 'unsettled and extended narratives' which 'acknowledges and reflects a diverse and ever-changing society, played out by dynamic groups' results in the potential for 'proactive debates around community and identity' (1995: 203). *River City* arguably embodies this potential by exploiting the 'ongoing', open-ended form of the soap opera (Fiske 1987: 180). Its extended narrative permits more space to interrogate traditional markers of identity associated with Clydesideism, as well as offering a range of different representations of identity. According to Ros Jennings, depicting more complicated modes of identity is a defining feature of the contemporary British soap opera:

> Although crafted in the cradle of realism, *Coronation Street* now also perhaps acknowledges the 'knowing' and self-parodying expressions of postmodernism. Over the years the characters have become more complex and less one-dimensional, but the visibly working-class narratives established in the early years of the serial still shape the concerns of today's episodes. (Jennings 2004: 58)

By drawing on these conventions, *River City* 'renegotiates the changing structures of nationhood and community' (Bell 2004a: 149), and ultimately avoids relying on traditional representations of cultural national identity.

[63] Castello and O'Donnell also comment that *River City* renews the 'way in which industrial Glasgow has been traditionally represented in Scottish culture by showing it in a much more modern, dynamic and multicultural light.' (2009: 46-47)

DRAMATIC TURNAROUND: REGIONAL RIVER CITY? FROM SOAP OPERA TO DRAMA SERIES

> John Caughie makes an important distinction between national cinema and television images as on one hand comprising a representation of the nation and on the other as representative of the nation. While the former process tends to stress ideas of national unity and continuity as providing a distinct brand that can be sold within global images markets, the latter offers diversity, difference and even the possibility of dialogue within the audio-visual space of the nation (Petrie 2004: 6)

> In the transformations […] to a much more commercially-driven environment, something had been lost; now there was far greater reliance on the tried an trusted formula which could sell to the widest possible international market, rather than anything of greater risk or expense that might nevertheless contribute something of cultural value to the local Scots audience. (Cook 2008: 113)

Writing in 1990 Gus Macdonald comments on the need to encourage 'talent for telling stories with universal appeal' as well as the necessity of creating 'space on Scottish screens for stories only Scots might feel for or even understand' (193). For Petrie, amongst others, such concerns are still relevant; where television drama represents a more complex, challenging version of Scotland and Scottishness, it is not popular outside of Scotland itself.[64] In line with Cook's argument, the more recognisable the image of Scotland (i.e. where cultural national discourses are employed in less challenging ways) the more popular it will be outside of Scotland.[65] Similarly, in their recent assessment of contemporary Scottish television drama,

[64] Caughie (1990), Scullion (2004a), Blandford (2005), Brown (2006), Hibberd (2008) and Blain (2009) cite John Byrne's work as indicative of this trend.

[65] Scullion discusses Michael Chaplin's *Monarch of the Glen* (BBC 2000) as being unconcerned with 'contextualising or understanding its historical moment or challenging the preferred images and identities of Scotland. Instead it was a series that constructed Scotland for export purposes and for the international broadcast market-place: wonderful scenery, grand houses, well-known lead performers and couthy story-lines.' (2004a: 54) See also Sillars (1999).

Gibson and Neely also discuss John Caughie's early distinction between the local and universal in television and film:

> In his view, the privileging of the local over the universal and globally appealing has both positive and negative repercussions. On the one hand, television operating on a local level offers 'resistance to universalisation, while on the other, a locally specific mode of representation inevitably encounters difficulty in generating interest outside its immediate catchment area. (2007: 106)

The authors pessimistically conclude that much Scottish 'television drama still fails to investigate the particularities of Scottish experience in favour of a more marketable, implied universality' (ibid.). The examination of *River City* in the previous section intended to demonstrate that Scottish television drama was more plural and diverse than ever, often depicting postnational identities and overlooking parochial tendencies and stereotypes. The more complex, subversive elements of *River City*'s representation of Glasgow in its form as a soap opera have, however, been diluted in recent times as it has changed format into a drama series. Various newspapers report that the switch to the new format constitutes an attempt to pursue the goal of going on the network, as, in its soap form, it proved unsellable.[66]

It is Neil Blain's contention that 'despite a very few adventurous forays beyond the diet of mainstream television, Scottish output often requires to submit to external expectations. Rural drama exploiting the Scottish landscape (such as *Strathblair*, *Hamish Macbeth*, *Monarch of the Glen* and *2000 Acres of Sky*) or urban drama often focused on crime or social problems have been easier to sell to the network than other products' (Blain 2009: 776). *River City* seems to have 'sold out' to these considerations. In line with Blain's comment, *River City* has ultimately resorted to focussing on crime (hard man Lenny's exploits) and urban social problems (such as homelessness and alcoholism, particularly through the character of Stella (Keira Luchhesi)). This utilisation of Glasgow's traditional urban associations may constitute an attempt by the programme's producers to make the show more 'sellable' to a wider

[66] For more on this see Paul English (2008a) 'River City's Hour Holby Rival: Soap Switches to 60 Min in bid for UK Wide Slot', *Daily Record*, August 4, p.3 and Hibberd (2008).

audience. It now certainly portrays a less complex, inclusive representation of identity: its social, cultural and racial spectrum has narrowed significantly.[67]

Where previously *River City* interrogated the elements of Clydesideism and subverted the violent misogyny of the urban hard man stereotype, the series now focuses specifically on the 'doings of violent men' (Whyte 1998: 284), namely the exploits of Lenny Murdoch. Further to this, the fact that the drama series will make little reference to previous story lines impacts significantly on characters' potential for transformation. Indeed, Lenny, the current 'hard man' of the show can be viewed as an unchallenged representation of the urban hard man, who, unlike his predecessor McCabe, does not exhibit possibilities for 'change'.

The move from soap opera to drama series has also resulted in a less naturalistic and more contrived drama; the series now uses less expansive camera shots and focuses more on close-ups of characters' faces, particularly after big-story-lines in order to enhance (melo) dramatic tension. Extra-diegetic music (at somewhat odd moments) further undermines the 'realistic' nature of the former soap.[68] These elements contradict the stated intention of the soap's (former) executive producer Sandra McIver to accurately portray the reality of contemporary Scotland, as Hibberd observes:

> In August 2008, BBC Scotland announced its intention to 'relaunch' *River City* as an hourly, weekly drama, which would make little reference to previous story lines (English 2008b) […] In April 2008, a high profile advertising campaign was launched for the soap. Billboards and television trailers emphasised the gritty drama of the programme, with shock images of the main characters alongside the slogan: 'River City: Dangerously close to real life.' There was some irony in this, as the increasingly melodramatic tone (Gripsrud, 1995: 242-248) and hourly format made it more divorced from 'real' life than had previously been the case. (2008: 137-138).

[67] All of the characters in *River City* at the time of writing (Spring 2010) are white.
[68] The soap opera is of course a melodramatic form, but this is heightened particularly in its American manifestations, e.g. *Dallas*, where filming techniques such as close ups and extra-diegetic music frequently accompany the more sensationalist storylines. This is less obvious in British 'social realist' soap operas, e.g. *Eastenders, Coronation Street, Brookside*, in which the story lines are frequently dramatic but the representational strategies and filming techniques do not seek to overtly heighten this. See Christine Geraghty (1991).

Such moves towards a non-naturalistic style also serve to distance *River City* significantly from its British social-realist soap counterparts, such as *Eastenders*.

In its recent manifestation as a drama series, then, *River City* reflects a less multifarious portrayal of Scotland, and can be interpreted as following the trend in Scottish televisual production which uncritically engages with the 'enduring stereotypes and myths of Scottish life' (Gibson and Neely 2007: 106).

River City's transformation has not resulted in it being aired on 'the network'; indeed, the show is now less popular than ever with its home audience (see English 2008b). This fact undermines the usefulness of branding the show as 'Scottish' by relying on tired and outdated cultural stereotypes in an attempt to sell the show to a 'foreign' audience.

Not all television drama produced and set in Scotland employs Scottish representational traditions in such ways, however. Jonathan Murray points out in his discussion of Scottish and Irish film that:

> A deconstructive local re-appropriation of stereotypical imagery and narrative structures is sometimes championed as both a progressive subversion of these for domestic audiences, as well as a lucrative marketing tool for Scottish or Irish producers seeking to take advantage of the pre-existing familiarity and legibility of dominant narratives modes for international audiences. (2005: 148)[69]

It will be argued in the next section that television drama produced in Scotland is capable of being both popular with a national audience, as well as sellable to an

[69] In another discussion of contemporary Scottish cinema, David Martin-Jones similarly discusses this issue, theorising it as 'autoethnography', as he explains: 'In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Mary Louise-Pratt developed the concept of 'autoethnography', by which colonised cultures on the periphery of Europe's colonial expansion took stereotypical images of themselves produced by the metropolitan centre, repackaged them and sold them back to the colonial culture. The clearest example of this practice of 'transculturation' is the tourist souvenir, a hybrid that is partly an authentic product of the indigenous culture and partly a reflection of the tourist's conception of what a typically 'ethnic' product is. […] autoethnography in cinema is considered a cunning strategy through which filmmakers can self-consciously 'auto-exoticise', thereby giving international audiences what they expect (reassuring them with stereotypical images of the nation) whilst simultaneously addressing issues of interest to local audiences.' (2009: 16-17) See also Sillars (1999) on the 'ironic framing' of stereotypes.

international audience, through a more challenging engagement with and deconstruction of tradition.[70]

Stephen Greenhorn's *Glasgow Kiss* can be viewed as an example of this kind of production; it was largely well received by a home audience (as well as a 'networked audience') when shown on the BBC and was successfully sold on the international market. It was particularly popular with audiences and critics alike when it aired on the ABC network in Australia (Oliver 2002: 11).

It will be argued that *Glasgow Kiss* and *Tinsel Town*, two drama series based in Glasgow, exhibit this potential by utilising the recognisable iconography associated with the city's mythologised urban space, whilst undermining the stereotypical class, gender, and sexual identities related to the discourse of Clydesideism. These two independent series written for the BBC, and aired on the network during 2000, are radical in their depictions of Glasgow, exposing two very different sides of the city. *Glasgow Kiss* exhibits a depiction of middle-class Glasgow and *Tinsel Town*'s daring content is set within the more familiar gritty, urban milieu. By being more specific in their treatment of the city, highlighting certain elements of Glasgow life, *Tinsel Town* and *Glasgow Kiss* offer more complex representations (Scullion 2004a: 46). In their differing approaches, both series highlight the diversity of the city, which is a welcome challenge to what Jane Sillars describes as 'a trend to explore differences *from* Scotland; while differences *within* Scotland have been put to one side' (1999: 252, quoted in Scullion 2004a: 46).

[70] One of the most successful productions from Scotland is the BBC's networked, BAFTA winning Glasgow-based supernatural television series *Sea of Souls*, which has been sold to 'over forty countries world-wide including Russia, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.' http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2005/12_december/08/souls.shtml Accessed 26/04/10.

A WALK ON THE (NOT SO) WILD SIDE: JOURNEYS THROUGH THE NEW GLASGOW IN *GLASGOW KISS*

Stephen Greenhorn's six-part television series *Glasgow Kiss*, a Wall-to-Wall production for BBC 1, portrays an updated version of Glasgow. The irony of the title comes from the fact that the term is usually employed to describe a head butt, intimating that this series will subscribe to the violent, male-orientated traditions of Clydesideism. This proves to be a red herring however as the story is actually centered round what Peter Paterson refers to as 'an extremely rare visitor to these shores, a cracking good love story' (2000: 67).

In the opening credits, the initial letter in the *Glasgow* of the title is not capitalised but the 'K' of the following word *Kiss* is, inferring that the 'kiss', i.e. the romantic story, will be more significant than its setting. This implies that Greenhorn is not interested in perpetuating myths about 'violent' Glasgow and is more concerned with telling a contemporary love story about London-based businesswoman Cara Rossi (played by Sharon Small) and widowed, single father Stuart Morrison (Iain Glen), a sports reporter for a struggling Glasgow-based newspaper. Indeed, Greenhorn himself asserts that 'I wrote it so we could make something in Glasgow that didn't focus on violence or drugs, it was just about love.'[71] *Glasgow Kiss* may be viewed as a descendent of David Kane's 1995 television series, the Glasgow-set *Ruffian Hearts* (BBC), which is described by Petrie as a 'bitter-sweet romantic comedy' (Petrie 2004: 106).[72] Just as the 'cultural identity of *Ruffian Hearts* is unquestionably Glaswegian' (Petrie 2004: 108), the setting of *Glasgow Kiss* is highly significant to the plot, as various newspaper reviews point out:[73]

> The new Glasgow - with its Year of Culture, its inner-city regeneration, trendification, gentrification and its "shopping mecca" and "most cosmopolitan city outside London" accolades - is so much a part of *Glasgow Kiss*, the city is virtually another character in the drama. (McCallum 2000: 17)

[71] All quotes from Stephen Greenhorn are from an interview conducted by the author, August 22nd 2007, unless otherwise stated.
[72] Aileen Ritchie's film for BBC Scotland *Double Nougat* (1998) is also mentionable in this regard.
[73] Other newspaper articles which express this sentiment include 'Devil in the Glen' Gareth McLean *The Scotsman* 6th July 2000 http://www.iainglen.com/press-scotsman-glasgow-kiss.php Accessed 12/02/09

Much of the action takes place in recognisable parts of the city: Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum features, as does Celtic Park, the Clyde Tunnel and the M8 Motorway. Glasgow's under-represented green spaces are also explored and exposed on numerous occasions throughout the series, particularly Kelvingrove Park, and the regenerated waterfront of the Clyde, which is portrayed as the ideal place for a romantic stroll. Throughout the series Glasgow is consistently flagged as a 'city of leisure and consumption' (Bisset 2007: 62); Stuart and Cara go on dates to the Glasgow Film Theatre; the Rossi sisters tour round Glasgow's trendy pubs and clubs on a hen night and Stuart interviews a footballer over lunch in a chic 'space' themed restaurant on Sauchiehall Street.[74]

It seems that with *Glasgow Kiss* Greenhorn is engaging with alternative narratives, namely that of Glasgow as City of Culture, which has been viewed as a concerted effort to displace the 'hegemonic myth' of Clydesideism (McArthur 1997: 19-20). This relatively recent narrative emerged after various events such as the Glasgow's Miles Better Campaign (1983), the Garden Festival (1988), and Glasgow's year as European City of Culture (1990), during which Glasgow's image was re-branded, in more positive terms, as a city of art and culture.[75] Millions of pounds were invested into these schemes in order to represent an alternative image of Glasgow to the one defined by post-industrialism, unemployment, multiple social deprivation, poor education and social exclusion.[76] This 'rebranding' of Glasgow is well represented in *Glasgow Kiss*.

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[74] Duncan Petrie discusses the portrayal of the 'new Glasgow' as a modern and cosmopolitan city in the work of John Byrne and Bill Forsyth. (2004: 60)

[75] Angus Calder terms this as the 'yuppification of central Glasgow' (1994: 232).

[76] This was, however, vociferously challenged by Scotland's literati who felt that Glasgow's major social problems were being at best overlooked and at worst ignored by this focus on art and culture. See Spring (1990), Boyle and Hughes (1991), Pacione (1995), MacInnes (1995), McLeery (2004), and Reason (2006). Other commentators argued against Glasgow's new image, claiming it was unrealistic and betrayed the memory of a proud Glasgow tradition. The blurb on the back of Farquhar McLay's book *Worker's City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up* (1988) effectively constitutes a diatribe against this 'new' image of Glasgow: 'Glasgow – the working class city par excellence – is under attack. Opportunistic politicians and entrepreneurial admen are concocting a lie. For the sake of a quick buck they are ready to destroy the authentic voice and identity of this city. Glasgow, with its long and proud socialist tradition is to be transformed into the happy-land of yuppiedom – a grotesquerie where the young, upwardly mobile middle class with fat salaries and expensive tastes are to be the centre-piece and soul of this great city of working class struggle and achievement.' Similarly, William McIlvanney stresses 'many of those who bemoaned the old exaggerated image of Glasgow as a kind of Somme in civvies are busy giving it a press that is just as phoney […] to gloss over the existence of a problem is to feed the problem. Cosmetic surgery never cured a cancer. […] The selling of Glasgow as some sort of yuppie freehold is a diminution of Glasgow.' (1987: 24)

REPRESENTING THE MARGINAL: GLASGOW'S MIDDLE CLASS[77]

The city depicted by *Glasgow Kiss* is decidedly middle-class; Cara and Stuart are both middle-class professionals; as are their friends (one is the editor of the paper where Stuart works) and Cara's family own a number of Italian restaurants in the West End. Any possible tensions between classes or earning power in the series are however diluted. There exists, for example, the glaring discrepancy between Cara's high powered, high paid job and the huge modern apartment in Clapham afforded to her which is in contrast to her sister Jess' (Ruth Millar) work in a restaurant and her own small flat in Glasgow, yet no mention is made of this difference. In fact, the opposition set up here is that Cara's apartment seems sterile and cold in comparison to the warm and inviting interior of Jess' home (which may imply that Glasgow is in fact more welcoming and homely than London, playing on another myth of Glasgow as 'the warm, open-hearted city that welcomes all-comers' (McArthur 1997: 20)).

Resultantly, *Glasgow Kiss* had some detractors in the press who claimed it was unrealistic in its portrayal of Glasgow.[78] In a particularly scathing (and somewhat ill-informed) review, Will Self attacks the series for focussing only on one aspect of the city:

> I know that contemporary Glasgow boasts plenty of yuppies like Stuart, Cara and their friends, who discuss the merits of neighbourhoods with all the savvy, inverted snobbery of village Londoners; and I know there are hip eateries aplenty along Sauchiehall Street. But I also know that outside each and every one of them you'll find not just one or two, but whole feral packs of drug addicts, who have the highest HIV and hepatitis incidence in Europe. (2000: 18)

[77] Cairns Craig notes the marginalized middle classes in much Scottish literature: 'The unique conditions of the Scottish cultural situation have produced a remarkable oddity: a literature in which working class experience is the centre, middle class experience the periphery.' (Craig 1981: 19)

[78] A similar television series to *Glasgow Kiss* is the recent *Single Father* (BBC1, 2010) in which David Tennant plays Dave; a bereaved father struggling to look after his four children after his partner Rita (Laura Fraser) dies in a road accident. Like *Glasgow Kiss*, this new series deals with the lives and loves of Glasgow's suburban middle classes; its characters are employed in various white collar professions being lawyers, photographers, or teachers. Just as *Glasgow Kiss* was criticised for its anodyne portrayal of Glasgow, so too *Single Father* is criticised for portraying an 'airbrushed' version of the city (Love 2010: 16).

Self's comments could be credible in a review of Peter McDougall's early 1990s drama, such as *Down Among the Big Boys* (1993).[79] This programme depicts a city in transition, where gangsters normally found in back street pubs deal with their business in the 'new' Glasgow of wine bars and Italian bistros, but where drunken men are shown vomiting outside the windows of these trendy new bars, just to reinforce the point that not everything has changed. Indeed, in *Down Among the Big Boys*, one of the characters actually points out that "for every new one [wine bar] that opens up in Glasgow, there's an old fashioned drunk throwing up outside it."

However, ten years later, the credibility of such remarks may be called into question; Glasgow has emerged, rather successfully it might be said, from this transitory stage of de-industrialisation, into a city based on consumption.[80] Consequently, the particular representation of West End, middle-class living in the series may not be reflective of every person's experience of life in the city, but it is certainly the case for some. Perhaps this is exactly the point, such depictions are not intended to be representative of the entire population of Glasgow; indeed such a feat is impossible. This narrowed focus could actually be interpreted as answering the call from scholars such as Sillars (1999), Whyte (1998) and Gibson and Neely (2007) to break free from the shackles of recurrent stereotypes and archetypes of cultural representation (i.e. Glasgow's traditional media and literary image of urban

[79] Self's comments closely resemble Ian Spring's earlier challenging of the image of the 'new Glasgow'. Spring asserts that '[t]he clichéd mythology of Glasgow, the friendly city, is perhaps the most pernicious of all the city mythologies. In a real respect the taciturnity of Mc Diarmid's dour drinkers is the happiest of all Glaswegian character traits – a healthy respect for one's privacy. But there's something rather disturbing about the Glaswegian habit of heavy drinking. At its worst it is not a sociable habit at all but a type of personal confrontation with the outside world. This is displayed by the special nature of the Glasgow pub which has refused to be reformed since its origins in the nineteenth century and still sticks, largely, to the sole purpose of providing drink – with little else to amuse the customer. Not surprisingly, one of the first principles of the New Glasgow has been to develop city leisure outlets such as wine bars, cafes, restaurants. This has substantially altered the image of the city's drinking spots but has generally failed to penetrate the suburbs or the schemes – where things go on much the same as before. Perhaps the New Glasgow, as it reconstitutes its mythologies of the recent past, would like to forget about the reality of the unholy trinity of violence, religious bigotry and drink that so pungently inform the so-called 'No Mean City' mythology, but stubbornly, it won't go away.' (1990: 91)

[80] In a recent article on Glasgow in *The Herald*, historian Tom Devine is quoted as saying 'Modern Glasgow is a tale of two cities. There is the city of relative deprivation and the drugs and alcohol problems that attend that, but those are found in any large city in the world […] And there is the other city, one that despite the catastrophic cycle of deindustrialisation, has gone a long way to an urban reinvention. There are cities, even in the US, that would like to emulate Glasgow. It has the largest shopping centre outside London, it has been described as the European Capital of Cool and, it has a considerable reputation in its non-industrial economy, in the arts, education and in music, much more than in the 1920s and 1930s.' (Tom Devine, quoted in Miller 2010: 8)

deprivation and the working classes) and show something new and different (here, middle-class Glaswegians).[81] Regional variations exist even within the city therefore such representations are more mindful of its 'diversity' (see Scullion 2004a).

REMEMBERING (AND FORGETTING) GLASGOW'S PAST: RECONSTRUCTING URBAN SYMBOLS

> In Glasgow, Culture officially replaces shipbuilding as the city's defining activity. (Calder 2002: 26)

Alongside the representation of its previously under-represented aspects, the 'new city' (Spring 1990: 81) of Glasgow is highlighted in the series through a complex 're-imagining' of the 'old' cultural signifiers associated with Clydesideism (Petrie 2004: 147). After the death of her boyfriend, Cara's sister Jess climbs up to the top of the Finnieston crane to gather her thoughts away from her family, in an attempt to come to terms with her grief. This scene is a significant symbolic moment in the re-imagining of the city; the iconography of cranes in previous Glasgow-set television productions has tended to symbolise either its heavy industry, or the loss of it. Petrie identifies this trend in the work of Peter McDougall:

> In *Down Where the Buffalo Go*, McDougall addresses the problem of unemployment primarily through the depiction of the death of the shipyards that had been Greenock's industrial lifeblood. The giant dockside cranes towering above the houses had already featured prominently in *The Elephant's Graveyard* and *Just a Boy's Game,* but this time the emphasis was on their static inactivity. (2004: 16)

[81] Edwin Morgan also recognises the need for 'other' portrayals of Glasgow in literary fiction: 'Stereotypes have been shaken in recent years, and I am thinking not only of the widely recognised Gray and Kelman, but also of a number of new approaches by a variety of writers who do not form a 'Glasgow School' as such but who seem to share a general feeling that the city ought to be presented, or used, from unexpected as well as familiar angles, and in experimental as well as straightforward styles.' (1993: 90)

The crane, one of the most potent symbols of heavy industry, with its masculine, industrial connotations is now 'recycled' as a site of healing and catharsis in the new Glasgow. In *Glasgow Kiss* the crane is not an invocation of the loss of heavy industry, instead it offers a contemplative space for Cara's grieving sister; it is also literally a platform on which to view the 'new' city, with the SECC and regenerated Clydeside being visible from the crane. In the new Glasgow of commerce, the history of heavy industry is commodified and used for different purposes, not least as a tourist attraction.[82]

This renegotiation of the symbols and tropes of the Clydeside discourse further extends to an undermining of its gender and sexual identities. Stephen Greenhorn claims he intended to be 'wilfully different' in his writing of male and female characters in order to move beyond the 'totem of inarticulate, homophobic, misogynistic masculinity' inherent in most fiction and drama set in Glasgow and the West of Scotland. Greenhorn writes the lead male as 'less empowered, but more emotionally articulate' than Cara, who is Stuart's boss and is much less open about her feelings. Although still fragile over the death of his wife, Stuart is able to talk about his emotions and experience of loss, helping Jess to cope with her grief. Like *River City* in its soap opera phase, the series also offers a more insightful representation of women; the Cara and her sisters candidly discuss sex, love, marriage, children and work.[83] Greenhorn also presents a more inclusive version of Glasgow, where different sexual identities co-exist amiably: Stuart's next door neighbour and best friend, Kirsty (Caroline Guthrie) is a lesbian constantly searching for the right woman in Glasgow.

Despite such progressive depictions of identity, some uncomfortable stereotypes remain. For instance, a marked contrast is drawn between Stuart, the sensitive but masculine Scots football journalist who drinks pints and Cara's married lover, an effeminate, elitist English man who sips wine, wears a pink shirt and contemptuously looks down on Glaswegians. Cara describes her English lover as a "crap shag" after having, in an earlier episode, described Stuart's lovemaking as "fantastic". And for all his sensitivity, Stuart actually *is* a 'hard man' compared to

[82] One of the Finnieston crane's fellow 'Titan' cranes at Clydebank has been refurbished and turned into a £3 million tourist site. It has attracted thousands of visitors since opening in August 2007. http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/display.var.1787831.0.titan_crane_is_giant_success.php Accessed 19/02/09

[83] Such territory is also explored in Irvine Welsh's female-centred text *Wedding Belles* (Channel 4, 2007 Dir. Philip John), which, set in Leith, concentrates on the lives of four female friends.

spineless Nick who can't even stand up to his wife. Stuart can handle himself in a fight, which is evident in the scene at the wedding where he gets caught up in a fracas and punches the groom (although this stereotype is comically undercut by Cara's mother who claims Stuart's machismo is the result of another national influence: "If he's willing to come to blows over football and food he must have a bit of Italian in him somewhere"). This characterization does, however, imply a more essentialist notion of national identity.[84] Petrie identifies a regressive tendency in fictional representations of Scotland in which 'English identities' are juxtaposed unfavourably against 'Scottish identities'. He says there is a 'crude and reductive opposition' set up between a Scottish identity that is 'essentially proletarian, communitarian, demotic, gregarious and virile and an Englishness characterized as bourgeois, self-interested, stuffy, repressed and effete.' Petrie continues; 'consequently, this kind of discourse necessarily privileges an overtly masculine and heterosexual concept of native virtue, in line with other projections of proletarian and socialist culture, which is itself regressive and pernicious. (2004:19)

Nick certainly embodies such attributes of 'Englishness'; he doesn't care about the paper being closed down and people losing their jobs. He also consistently refers to the Scots as incapable and backward, telling Cara to "go up there and liberate the bastards" and on another occasion encourages Cara to leave Glasgow and go back to "civilization" in London. It is clear from the oppositions set up here that the viewer is being encouraged to empathize more with Stuart, the handsome native, who does, unsurprisingly, get the girl in the end.

In another brief lapse into overly familiar territory, *Glasgow Kiss* ends with two neds stealing Stuart's bike, but despite this, there is no other recourse to the 'dark and dangerous' city archetype. Despite these minor forays into the Glasgow of old, the series can be viewed as offering a radical 'revisioning' of the city (Scullion 2004a: 50).

[84] See Neil McMillan (2003) for a discussion of the opposition set up between stereotypical notions of a 'virile' Scottish masculinity and the 'effete' English male.

PARTYING HARD: *TINSEL TOWN* AND THE PLEASURES OF CONSUMPTION IN GLASGOW

> The 'hard-city' of industrial labour, tribal loyalties, drink and violence is re-imagined as a place of leisure and consumption – a 'soft city' which offers feminine spaces of pleasure, social and sexual possibilities (Raban 1974, quoted in Sillars and MacDonald 2008: 184).

Tinsel Town offers a version of Glasgow that exists in between these opposing poles. It is both a 'hard city', where drug dealers, hard men, violence and drink feature prominently, but it also corresponds to the image of the 'soft city' in which inhabitants are employed in white-collar jobs and are depicted enjoying their leisure time in Glasgow's club scene. The series follows the intertwined lives of an ensemble cast of twenty-something ravers who frequent fictional Glasgow nightclub, the eponymous *Tinsel Town*. Produced by Raindog Television (an independent production company) for BBC2, the series attracted a cult following in Scotland and England and garnered a number of awards including three Scottish BAFTAS. This success is partly the result of 'niche broadcasting' (Neely and Gibson 2007: 108) by the BBC, which aired *Tinsel Town* at 11 o'clock on BBC 2; consequently, the intended audience is somewhat different to the demographic watching *Glasgow Kiss* in the Prime Time slot of half nine on a Tuesday evening. Former Head of BBC drama Barbara McKissack explains that the series is an attempt to reflect 'urban youth culture' (quoted in McKay 2000:11).[85]

In contrast to the slow-paced *Glasgow Kiss*, *Tinsel Town*'s incorporation of diegetic music and in-club sequences characterised by rapid editing evoke the high-energy space of the club. In this, the series is reminiscent of the 'episodic structure' of the filmic adaptations of Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* (1996) and *The Acid House*

[85] Petrie (2004) also terms the show an example of 'youth based' broadcasting. Recently, moves towards this type of broadcasting, aiming for a specific demographic previously under-catered for, is evident in the *Eastenders* spin-off show E20 as well as MTV's new Glasgow-based series *Being Victor* (2010), which will be explored in greater detail below in the section on 'new media' and BBC3's *Lip Service* (2010).

(1998) (Petrie 2000: 197), as well as the Welsh 'youth culture' film *Human Traffic* (1999) (Street 2010: 102). This formal experimentation serves to situate the series in relation to recent trends in British television drama, as Lez Cooke explains:

> Increasingly British television dramas are adopting a faster narrative pace and incorporating stylistic features which indicate a desire to loosen the shackles of naturalism. This may be a consequence of the influence of American drama series, or it may be in recognition of the need to find a style which will attract the younger audiences that television companies are now in competition for. Recent examples of dramas which have been innovative in both style and content include *This Life* (BBC 1, 1996-7), *The Cops* (BBC 2, 1998-2001), *Clocking Off* (BBC 1, 2000-), *Queer As Folk* (C4, 1999-2000), *At Home With the Braithwaites* (Yorkshire, 2000-), *Attachments* (BBC 2, 2000-), *Linda Green* (BBC 1, 2001-) and *Teachers* (C4, 2001-). For these dramas a faster tempo and such stylistic innovations as hand-held camera work, elliptical editing, unusual shot transitions, montages, fantasy sequences and surreal inserts contrive to introduce something new into British television drama, a new form for a new post-modern audience, an audience that has not been reared on studio naturalism and which is impatient with the slow narrative development and 'realist' *mis en scene* traditionally associated with British television drama. (2003: 178)

Yet, despite moving away from the 'gritty naturalism' typical of much Clydeside drama, *Tinsel Town*'s emphasis on the 'underworld' of drug dealers and Glaswegian working classes has caused detractors of the series to claim that it is simply replicating the more reductive aspects of Clydesideism (see Hutchison 2005). Comparing the progressive depictions of Glasgow in Greenhorn's drama with those in *Tinsel Town*, Joe Joseph comments:

> No sooner had *Glasgow Kiss* abandoned the knee-jerk stereotype of Glasgow by portraying it as the civilised, cultured city it mostly is, a place that has more to it than drunks, junkies and drug dealers, than along comes *Tinsel Town* (BBC2), a cliché-heavy new drama series that portrays

> Glasgow as, yup, a squalid city that seems to have little more to it than drunks, addicts and drug dealers. (2000 unpaginated)

Although Joseph's observations about the series are partly true, they do not constitute typical representations normally associated with Clydesideism. As the blurb on the VHS box set proclaims, this is a 'city that lives for the weekend', most of the characters have jobs in the service sector and engage in casual sex, drug taking and heavy drinking in the Tinsel Town club at the weekend. It is also not completely accurate to class the characters that take drugs in the series as addicts: they are club goers whose drug of choice is ecstasy, not heroin.

The series also resists stereotypical representations of gender and sexuality by depicting - at times shockingly - subversive sexual practices; indeed the series is credited with showing the BBC's first 'televised gay threesome' (Burston 2009: 89). Its representation of both hetero- and homosexual relationships is of a decidedly fluid and subversive nature; a middle-aged married woman trawls the club looking to pick up someone while her husband works nightshift; seventeen year old school boy, Ryan (David Paisley), embarks on a secret affair with Lewis (Stevie Allen), a much older police officer and Sandra (Mandy Matthews) callously dumps her boyfriend every Friday in the hope of finding someone better, but then inevitably ends up going home with him.

As mentioned above, *Tinsel Town* may be discussed in relation to the popular British television series *Queer as Folk* (1999 Channel 4), particularly in terms of its deliberate focus on 'nonheterosexual attractions' and relationships (Harrower 2007: 217).[86] Indeed Sue Thornton and Tony Purvis claim that the success of 'programmes such as *Metrosexuality* (2001), *Tinsel Town* (2002) and *Bob and Rose* (2001) is in part connected to the popularity of *Queer as Folk*' (2005: 142). This series set a precedent for depicting a more accurate account of the lives of British homosexual men and women. Set in Manchester's 'vibrant gay scene' *Queer as Folk* is 'notorious for its explicit treatment of homosexuality, particularly its frequently graphic portrayal of gay sex' (Creeber 2004: 170). *Tinsel Town* is similar in terms of its depiction of the

[86] Will Self's review of *Tinsel Town* highlights the similarities between the two series: '*Tinsel Town* has more than a hint of *Queer as Folk* meets *This Life* about it - not least because one storyline concerns an affair between a school age lad and a clubbing (in the non-violent sense) copper, but the ensemble playing is all its own, the Glasgow setting is convincing, and the script boasts authentically Glaswegian snappy cynicism.' (2000: 18)

developing sexual relationship between Ryan and Lewis, which is particularly graphic in parts. Comparisons may also be drawn with Channel Four's Manchester based *Shameless* (2004-present), which provides a similarly diverse representation of casual sexual relationships and homosexuality. Treatment of this subject matter is, however, unusual for a series set in the traditionally hyper-masculine, decidedly heterosexual world of working-class Glasgow, in this it may be seen to radically undermine the tropes of Clydesideism.

This undermining of the discourse is continued in the show's inclusive depiction of gender roles. Writer Martin McCardie explains that he, like Greenhorn with *Glasgow Kiss*, intended to be 'wilfully different' in his exploration of gender roles, as he explains: '*Tinsel Town* isn't about women who suffer forever, as they did in the Glasgow of old. It's about women who succeed' (quoted in McKay 2000: 11). Kate Dickie's character Lex is certainly depicted as a strong and capable woman, as Neil McKay points out in his discussion of the show: 'Take Lex, the twenty-something aspiring DJ who's the victim of a brutal ex-husband-turned -stalker. She endures and triumphs' (ibid.). While domestic violence is a typical trope throughout much Clydeside fiction, it is dealt with in a new way in *Tinsel Town*. Lex, whilst certainly adversely affected by her domineering, sadistic ex, does not remain a 'passively suffering' victim for long as she and gangster-turned-transvestite club owner, Stella (Jim Twaddle), concoct a plan to rid him from her life forever. Despite the hardships she has faced in her life (such as losing her baby), Lex is determined to succeed in her career as a DJ. She is confident in her abilities and boldly pursues a job in the Tinsel Town club, which she successfully secures.

Lex's boss Stella is a particularly interesting character to examine; he can be viewed as an iconoclastic revisioning of the hard-man stereotype. When Lex turns to Stella for support he admits that he has a dark past and suggests that he was once a 'hard-man' and wife beater, but has changed significantly from those days, as the over-the-top make-up and women's clothing suggests (although he is still capable of menacing violence, which is implied in the scene in which he threatens Lex's ex). This violent drag queen constitutes a 'queering' of the Glasgow hard-man; a trope which is sustained in the parodic play with gender roles evident in recent Scottish comedy shows, which will be explored in more detail below.

Both Lex and Stella challenge the traditional view of Scottish culture as 'misogynistic and sexually repressive' (Brietenbach, Brown, Myres 1998: 45); Stella

was married to a woman but is now an openly gay transsexual and where he was once a violent misogynist, he now embraces femininity. More fluid notions of sexuality are explored through Lex's character: she is bi-sexual and is interested in both males and females in the club. In this, she is more typical of characters found in programmes like *Queer as Folk*, a series that, according to Richard Draycott, 'encourage[s] a more three -dimensional view of people within an inclusive society, rather than on its periphery' (2001: 7). Thus, in its complex depiction of sexuality, *Tinsel Town* moves away from the heterosexual norms of traditional Scottish national representation to reflect more progressive, plural modes of identity.[87]

[87] Glasgow-shot lesbian drama *Lip Service* (Kudos, 2010), currently broadcast on BBC Three, continues this trend.

GLASGOW(S): 'VIOLENT BUT FRIENDLY'[88]

> Just as jazz used to be music to steal a car to, so Glasgow became a right and proper setting for brutality and deprivation. (Gormley 1984: 2)

> Glasgow's layers are indeed deep and rich, and to be treated in a myriad of postmodern and magical ways if its contradictions and subtleties are to be conveyed. (Gifford 1998: 10)

Despite the difference in representations and audience appeal, both programmes highlight previously overlooked elements of Glasgow life, displaying its inherent 'contradictions and subtleties'. The complexity of Glasgow is captured in the clear juxtaposition of differing lifestyles and images of the city depicted in each series, neither of which resort to focussing specifically on 'brutality and deprivation'.[89] In this way, both series can be seen to 'interrogate the possibility of difference and distinction from the accepted community, thereby challenging, at times undermining, expected conditions of place' (Bell 2004: 131). Although very different in their approach to representing Glasgow, each programme is decidedly cosmopolitan and outward looking. *Glasgow Kiss* has been described as 'European'[90] and the Glasgow of *Tinsel Town* has been likened to Barcelona: evidently café and clubbing culture are as familiar now to Glasgow as it is to any European city. [91] Scullion's prediction then

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[88] Dorothy Porter (1991), Duncan Petrie (2004) and Adrienne Scullion (2004a) use the term 'Glasgows' in their criticism to imply the diversity of the city. In David Greig's play *The Architect* one of the characters is asked to describe Glasgow, he replies that it is 'violent but friendly. That's supposed to be the characteristic', this contradiction, according to Dan Rebellato, serves to highlight the ambiguity of place in modern Scotland. (2002: xi)

[89] Hannah McGill discusses the accuracy of depicting Glasgow in the two series: 'Is the polite, pretty world occupied by Stuart and Cara no more than a Guardian reader's wet dream, wishful at best and downright deceitful at worst? Or is it *Tinsel Town* that fails, by lifting to the top ten grubby stereotypes straight out of the Rough And Ready Guide to Glasgow?' McGill concludes by saying 'Maybe one day, the *Tinsel Town* Glasgow and the *Glasgow Kiss* Glasgow will just be two out of countless interpretations of life in the city - and the city itself will simply be seen as a place where people live.' (2000: 8)

[90] In an interview for *The Independent*, Producer Jane Featherstone describes the series' Glasgow setting as 'incredibly compact, yet not claustrophobic. We want to show that it isn't all council estates - and to make it European as well.' (Buss 2000: 12)

[91] John Innes discusses the markedly different representation of Glasgow of *Tinsel Town* from that of *Taggart*: 'When DCI Jim Taggart first appeared on our screens in 1983, he was an emblem of the city

that *Tinsel Town* and *Glasgow Kiss* would promote the 'resetting and expansion of the dramatic potential of Glasgow' has turned out to be the case. She maintains that 'in pointed contrast to the limiting and narrow versions of the city and its people that is sustained by the urban Kailyard, we might detect in recent television drama a greater variety of potential Glasgows' (2004a: 51).

SCOTTISH BROADCASTING AND COMEDY[92]

> Much television output […] in fields such as drama and comedy focuses on local cultural idiosyncrasy, sometimes enhanced or manufactured. A long-line of Glasgow-centred comedy series by BBC Scotland and associated independent producers have mined local seams for comic potential, with positive and negative effects; the best, from *Para Handy* to *Rab C. Nesbitt* and *Still Game*, creating very broad appeal from local material, in the latter instances maintaining a sometimes painful social realism. (Blain: 2009: 770)

The latest in this long line of Glasgow-centred comedy shows, which include *City Lights* (BBC One Scotland, 1985-1991), *Chewin' the Fat* (BBC One Scotland 1999-2002), *The Karen Dunbar Show* (BBC One Scotland 2003-2006), *Dear Green Place* (BBC One Scotland 2007), *Empty* (BBC 2, 2008), *Legit* (BBC One Scotland 2007-2008), and *High Times* (STV 2004-2008) are three recent commissions for BBC Scotland; *Burnistoun*, *Limmy's Show* and another series of *Rab. C. Nesbitt*. Just as the popular British comedy *The Royle Family*'s success is 'in part because of its deployment and encoding of the myths of northern and working class life' (Thornham and Purvis 2005: 50), the success of many of the productions highlighted above can

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that spawned him - a hard man. If he returned today, he would be lost in a maze of cafés and bars more reminiscent of Barcelona than Barlinnie' (2001: 7)

[92] Rebecca Grace Robinson has made a valuable contribution to research in the area of Scottish broadcast comedy with her unpublished PhD thesis *Scottish Television Comedy Audiences*, University of Glasgow, 2002. In it she discusses the impact of representations of Scottish myths such as Tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism on the popularity of Scottish broadcast comedies.

be seen as a result of their specific engagement with Glasgow's myths.[93] These new shows, independently produced by The Comedy Unit, also exploit the Glaswegian, or, more widely West of Scotland, setting aligned with the discourse of Clydesideism. However, it will be suggested that *Burnistoun* and *Limmy's Show* do not pander to the stereotypes of Clydesideism; instead they offer a more radical revisioining of them for comedic effect, moving away from the 'painful social realism' of *Rab C. Nesbitt* and *Chewin' the Fat*.

According to one newspaper review, *Burnistoun*'s 'sketches and set-ups took several pointed swipes at west-Scottish masculinity, the constituency for whom much of BBC Scotland's comedy has traditionally been tailored' (Brown 2009: 6). Where *Chewin' the Fat* may 'play up' stereotypes (with figures such as 'The Big Man'), *Burnistoun*'s West of Scotland characters significantly challenge our expectations.

The 'hard-men' characters of *Burnistoun* are afraid of their "wee Grannie" and are recognisable as hard-men only through their menacing, deep, guttural Glaswegian accent. This accent is employed in another sketch which dramatically overturns the threatening stances of the typical, violent hard-man. The 'patter' of the hard-man is completely deconstructed as the character Scott (played by Iain Connell) comically rejects the "established lingo of threatening a guy", and 'camps' his threats, much to the chagrin of his violent friends. His ridiculous, non-sensical threats undermine one of the defining tropes of Clydesideism, which employs an 'exaggerated use of Scots vernacular, emphasising a no-nonsense and vigorous attitude' (Petrie 2004: 65).

This camping of masculinity is continued in the show's parodic play with gender roles. Kelly McGlade, lead singer of 'Snide Rides', is a masculine send-up of the typical girl band wannabe, played by Robert Florence. Similarly, in *Limmy's Show*, Limond dons a blonde wig and bright red lipstick to depict the bolshy recovering heroin addict, Jacqueline McCafferty. Reminiscent of *Little Britain*'s 'But I'm a Laydee' sketches and *The League of Gentlemen*'s (BBC2, 1999) hirsute taxi

[93] David Goldie discusses the 'worthwhile and valuable Scottish humour that takes the local as its primary matter'; he identifies this strain in recent Scottish comedy: 'Tom Shields reworks contemporary local material in his brilliant and sometimes uproarious diary for the *Herald* newspaper. Ford Kiernan, Greg Hemphill and Karen Dunbar have in *Chewin' the Fat* created, primarily for a west of Scotland audience, a sophisticated and diverse comedy that ranges from outright crudity to some very knowing takes on what might pompously be called the modern discourses of nation-building. […] To the Scottish viewer they offer a rich commentary on the complexities of, among other things, the Scottish stereotype in British humour, the way that the media portray the Scottish past, and the relations between the middle and working classes in the west of Scotland. Where Billy Connolly has made his humour inclusive, *Chewin' the Fat* gains much of its richness by remaining pretty much exclusive to the people inhabiting its immediate geographical area.' (2000: 16-17)

driver, Barbara, the feminine construction of these characters is deliberately undermined by Limond's stubble and Florence's deeply masculine voice.[94] This trope of 'bad drag' is evident across a wide range of recent media productions, not least in the *Bounty* adverts, in which macho men, adorned in floral dresses and ill-fitting wigs, clean up spills in the kitchen (the obvious implication being that the strength of the kitchen roll is mirrored in the strength of these macho (wo)men).

Although engaging with Glasgow's myths, *Burnistoun* does not claim to be set in the city, it is instead set in the titular fictional town, but Glasgow is invoked through montages of various images of the city, including the outside of Glasgow University Library and Strathclyde University buildings. The tag line of the series is that the town is 'strangely familiar'; suggesting perhaps that the town is self-consciously modelled on Glasgow. *Limmy's Show* on the other hand very directly engages with its Glasgow setting, indeed this show is the televised version of Limmy's *World of Glasgow* pod casts. Utilising the iconography of Glasgow, the Finnieston Crane makes another memorable appearance on screen in the vivid dream sequence of drug addled Deedee, who can't remember whether the party he had in the Finnieston 'Cran' was real or imagined.

For Allan Brown, *Limmy's Show* signals 'a brave new direction for Scottish television comedy, one that takes its cues from the internet rather than drunks fighting over fish suppers' (Brown 2009: 6). Both in its form and content, the show seems to offer a radical departure from typical Glaswegian-based comedy shows. Limmy uses 'internet culture' (Burn 2008: 6) as the basis for much of his humorous exploration into the everyday. YouTube's potential to make instant celebrities out of ordinary people doing mundane things is pointedly satirised in a sketch where Limmy achieves world wide fame and over twenty million hits on YouTube after his friends post a

[94] According to Albert D. Mackie, male comedians aping of 'the gestures of a woman for a quick laugh' is a feature of much Scottish stand up comedy (1973: 133). Scottish comedian W.F Frame's comedy is mentionable for employing this technique, as Adrienne Scullion and Alasdair Cameron point out: 'Frame's repertoire of broadly-drawn Scotch characters, many cross-dressed and ranging from good-natured dominies to preying widows, lascivious spinsters and put-upon wives inevitably led to his being offered roles in pantomimes.' (1996:47-48) Another notable example is the Glaswegian comedian Sammy Murray whose comic sketches would often involve his dressing up as a Glaswegian housewife and the Dame of the show. According to Dorothy Paul's memoirs 'At the finale Sammy Murray, who played the Dame, took his final bow at the top of the bill. He pulled off his hat and his wig […] It was the custom in those days for males in drag to let the audience see the man underneath the character at the end of the show.' (Paul 2002: 67) Tommy Morgan's Big Beenie, a 'lager than life blond always in search of a man' (Bruce 2000: 122) is yet another contribution to this style of comedy. See also Barbara Bell and John Ramage 'Meg Dods – Before the Curtain', *International Journal of Scottish Theatre* VOL. 1, No. 2, December 2000, for a discussion of the history of the character of 'The Dame' in Scottish popular theatre.

video of him dong nothing other than unexceptionally holding his ‘pint of milk’. In this, *Limmy’s Show* moves away from the typical content of West of Scotland working-class comedy. It does, however, seem to continue various other ‘Scottish’ comedy traditions: just as Scottish comedian Billy Connolly’s ‘monologues examine the ludicrous minutiae of everyday life’ (Mowatt 2008: 140), so too Limmy examines the ‘microtrivial irritations of modern life’ (Brown 2009: 6). Limmy’s direct-to-camera addresses, which randomly inter-cut the main sketch, are also reminiscent of Rab C. Nesbitt’s direct-to-camera philosophising on the larger political and cultural concerns of the day. Limmy’s irritation over ‘Americanisms’ in everyday speech is a case in point but his concerns are usually of a more random, surreal nature, such as his musings on the ‘non-rhyme’ of traffic signs like ‘Twenty’s Plenty’.

These forays into the surreal have caused some reviewers to compare Limmy’s style of comedy with British comedians. Paul Whitelaw for example claims ‘this stream-of-consciousness sketch show is clearly indebted to the puzzled and often nightmarish musings of *The Armando Iannucci Show* and Chris Morris’s *Blue Jam*’ (2010: 42).

Whitelaw’s categorisation of Iannuccni’s comedy as British is interesting to examine. Comedian Iannucci is Scottish by birth but is often not classed as a ‘Scottish’ comedian; he does not engage with traditional notions of ‘Scottish culture’ in his shows, thus his work is more frequently discussed and categorised in terms of ‘British’ comedy traditions. In a postnational framework, however, Iannucci’s ‘British’ work should not disqualify him from discussions of ‘Scottish’ comedy, indeed what is described as ‘culturally Scottish’ and ‘culturally British’ are often similar, as the examination of social realism in the chapter on film will highlight. This blurring of boundaries is indicative of a postnational paradigm, in which national cultures frequently cross and interlink with others, thus what Scottishness or Britishness means becomes blurry and fuzzy.

LOCAL LAUGHS? NETWORKING SCOTTISH COMEDY

> BBC2'S terrific new sitcom *Burnistoun* is inextricably tied to its Glaswegian setting - but why is that a reason not to show it outside of Scotland? If the British public can cope with season two of *The Wire* (22 hours of thick Baltimore mumbling about dockyards), we can surely overcome the Glaswegian language barrier. (Dent 2010)

Dent's comments suggest that Burnistoun is too 'Scottish' to be shown on the network; that its setting and use of the vernacular are seen as barriers to wider network access. *Limmy's Show*, which is also set in Glasgow but is a decidedly 'different' show to previous Scottish comedy productions, is felt to be too 'niche' for network broadcasting (Internet 2). This critical reception seems to both confirm and contradict the terms of the debates raised above, where there is a preoccupation with categorising Scottish productions as progressive (because complex, outward-looking) but less appealing to international audiences and regressive, or 'parochial', (if drawing on indigenous cultural myths and traditions) and therefore more appealing to international audiences.

Both *Limmy's Show* and *Burnistoun* merit a new, more mediated critical reception: each show complicates the expected cultural identities and representations associated with their Glaswegian setting, radically undercutting dominant traditions of cultural representation, and in the former case, broadcasting traditions. *Limmy's Show* embodies a 'new media' approach to broadcasting; it is an interactive experience for the viewer, in which Limmy directly engages with the audience during the show, asking people to write random words like 'requiem' on their social networking sites, as well as to give feedback on his Facebook page on which sketches they preferred.[95] While it might be regrettable that *Limmy's Show* is unavailable to a wider British audience 'on the network', the nature of new media is such that elements of the show

[95] James Cornford and Kevin Robins define new media as 'not just a question of new technologies, but of technological innovation combined with market innovation. More specifically, it is a question of a particular technological development – digital storage, manipulation and distribution of images, text, sounds and video – creating new market opportunities including: interactive digital television (through terrestrial, cable or satellite signals); electronic publishing and online sources, mainly now on the World Wide Web (the Internet-based means of distributing text, pictures and sounds).' (1999: 108-109)

are actually available to a global audience. Limmy's popular website (www.limmy.com) is indicative of his humour, his *World of Glasgow* characters are available to download on iTunes and many of the sketches on the show were first broadcast (and are, at the time of writing (2011), still available) on YouTube.

Advances in digital technology, the spread of 'new media' and the turn to niche broadcasting impacts significantly on questions of national representation in television.[96] This fact is recognised by Sillars and Neely, who explain:

> Technological developments have also challenged older interpretations of media in relation to national boundaries. We face what Daya K. Thussu refers to as "the vertigal integration of national societies studying transnational horizontal integration of media and communication structures, processes, and audiences." Digital technologies mean a limitless engagement with media from around the world. (2009: 21)

The move towards niche broadcasting serves to undermine the notion of a collective and imagined community of national subjects in that it takes into account the difference in taste of various groups of people. The change from 'broad-casting to narrow-casting' (Billig 1995: 132) is reflective of the transitory, fragmentary nature of nations under conditions of postmodernity and postnationalism. [97]

Limmy's Show constitutes one of the first Scottish television productions to exploit the potential of new media for global distribution and dissemination. This has obvious implications for future discussions and debates concerning the 'national' character of Scottish, and indeed all, broadcasting.

[96] The increasing importance of new media in relation to public service broadcasting in Britain is highlighted by John Wyver, who discusses the 'proposal for a Public Service Provider for digital media imbued with public service values. 'We continue to believe', Ofcom said early in 2007, 'that there is value in considering the creation of a new provider of PSC (public service content), with its centre of gravity in new media and with a remit specifically designed for new forms of content provision' (2007: 25).' (2007: 199)

[97] Trends in Scottish radio broadcasting are also reflective of this segmentation: there has been a proliferation of sub-national regional radio-stations, such as *Clyde1*, *Capital*, and *Your Radio*, each of which are aimed not at the whole nation, but at 'specialised segments' (Billig 1995:132).

In the Scottish context, then, an exploration into the nature of new media as it affects and interacts with an increasingly fragile and contested national culture is an avenue for further research and examination. [98]

NEW MEDIA, NEW GLASGOW: CONVERGENCE CULTURE AND *BEING VICTOR*

> Another aspect of the postmodern is convergence culture, 'where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways' (Henry Jenkins, 2006: 2). Convergence involves the flow of media content across a wide range of different platforms. (Storey 2009: 210)[99]

[98] Some examples of the move towards new media include forthcoming web-based Scottish soap *Central Station*, set in Glasgow, centring round the lives of three art students, exploring the nature of youth culture in the city. http://www.heraldscotland.com/glasgow-school-of-art-is-the-setting-for-new-online-soap-1.826518 Accessed 10/05/10. Also, *Night is Day* is a Scottish sci-fi 'web-series' written by Fraser Coull, which is shot in Glasgow. See http://www.filmstalker.co.uk/archives/2007/02/night_is_day_a_scottish_webser.html and www.nightisday.com Accessed 10/05/11.

[99] It is worth quoting Storey more fully on this issue: 'This is not simply a matter of new technologies but a process that requires the active participation of consumers. Convergence culture […] is a site of struggle and negotiation. It cannot be explained and understood as something imposed from 'above' or as something spontaneously emerging from 'below', but as a complex and contradictory combination of both forces. As Jenkins observes, "Convergence … is both a top-down corporate driven process and a bottom-up consumer driven process. Corporate convergence coexists with grassroots convergence. Media corporations are learning how to accelerate the flow of media content across delivery channels to expand revenue opportunities, broaden markets, and reinforce viewer commitments. Consumers are learning how to use these different media technologies to bring the flow of media more fully under their control and to interact with other consumers. (18)". Convergence culture is the result of three factors. The first is concentration of media ownership. Owning a range of different platforms encourages producers to distribute content across these different platforms. […] The second is technological change. This has created a new range of platforms for media content. For example, we can now do so many more things with our mobile phones than just make phone calls. We can take, send and receive photos and videos; make send and receive sound files; send and receive text messages; download information from the internet; receive 'goal alerts'; play games; use it as a calendar, an alarm clock and a calculator (see Jewitt, 2005). The third factor involves the consumers of media. I may, for example, choose to listen to my favourite music on my laptop, my CD or DVD player, my iPod, my car radio, or on TV or radio. The same music is made available on different platforms, but I have to actively participate to make the system work. Moreover, I select which platform best suits my pleasure and convenience. The British science fiction television series *Doctor Who*, as Neil Perryman (2009) points out, 'embraces convergence culture on an unprecedented scale' (478). The BBC has made the programme available across a range of different platforms: mobile phones, podcasts, video blogs, websites, interactive red-button adventures, and online games.' (Storey 2009: 210)

Glasgow-set *Being Victor* epitomises the 'logic' and 'logistics' of cultural convergence in its decidedly postmodern approach to broadcasting. The series is produced by MTV in collaboration with CTVC, Boldface productions, Shed Media and Creative Scotland. It is shown on a number of platforms, being broadcast on MTV in ten-minute segments (the ideal size for downloading onto ipods or mobile phones), as well as in a more traditional format, the half an hour slot on STV on a Tuesday evening at half past seven. New 'bite-size' episodes are broadcast on-line every Tuesday and Thursday, with Victor's blog (www.victorsblog.co.uk) being updated on the show's website more frequently. Further, viewers are encouraged to participate in discussions about the issues raised in each episode on open forums and chat spaces available on the show's website. MTV's involvement indicates that the show is aimed at a youth, media literate audience of 15-20 year olds.[100]

Like *Limmy's Show*, in both form and content, *Being Victor* is concerned with new media. The characters make frequent to the internet, emails, blogging sites, and their mobile phones, using text as one of their main forms of communication (the content of each text message appears beside each character on screen) and storylines tackle the dangers of digital technology. One plot concerned a sex-tape scandal, where Vinnie's sister is humiliated after a sex tape is posted on-line and is shared round the college. Another plot targets the issue of drug-abuse, when Vinnie's friend Doyle uses cocaine as a means of keeping himself awake to meet a deadline for college. It is undoubtedly issue-driven drama, aiming to send a message of warning to its intended audience on the dangers of cyber bullying, drug-abuse, on-line chat-rooms and promiscuity. Indeed, educational resources and lesson plans are provided on True Tube to encourage schools to use the show in their teaching of health issues, citizenship and personal and social development (see http://www.truetube.co.uk/ and http://www.truetube.co.uk/being-victor).

[100] Producer Shed Media Scotland promotes the show as an example of 'youth broadcasting': 'The *Being Victor* team partnered up with MTV UK, who will be our official online broadcaster. We are delighted at MTV's involvement; they are an extremely exciting brand to be associated with and can offer the project exactly the target demographic we're seeking.' (Internet 3)

The show does suffer somewhat from this overt didactism: the uniqueness of this type of youth drama is undermined by the rather staid portrayal of such 'edgy themes'.[101]

It also seems that Glasgow is used merely as a backdrop for this issue driven drama. The characters are shown attending college and socialising in a pub. Location shooting is kept to a minimum, there are few exterior shots of pubs or clubs, and it is therefore somewhat difficult to comment on exactly where in Glasgow these outlets are, and indeed what kind of 'social scene' the characters are involved in.

Being Victor ultimately eludes definitive 'national' classification; it is set in Glasgow but the students hail from a range of regions and countries. The city is also not particularly significant in terms of the narrative drive of the programme; no recognisable cultural markers are evoked and outside filming is kept to a minimum. Thus, the show resists dealing in any way with Glasgow's cultural legacy; the city provides an 'anonymous' setting for the exploration of student life.

'NEVER SAE PRETTY AS WHEN IT IS MEAN'? QUESTIONING CLYDESIDEISM, RECONSTITUTING GLASGOW[102]

> Far from being an obsolete discourse, the national remains a powerful logic for organising the global, and in these representations we find hegemonic and alternative discourses in dialectic contest taking place daily on our domestic screens. (Castello, Dhoest and O'Donnell 2009: 7)

[101] The following discussion from Victor's Blog (posted Oct 8th 2010) on the issue of drug taking is indicative of this: 'So what do you think of drugs? Are they just a way to relax? Will it always, inenvitably [sic], go too far? Personally when I see people turn drugs and they turn into the worst part of themselves or maybe not even themselves at all – they become selfish, shallow and boring. And they're not the people I want to be around even if they are my mates. I know I should try to help but how do you do that when they're not even willing to help themselves?'(http://www.victorsblog.co.uk/ Accessed 13/10/10)

[102] Line taken from Jack Withers's poem on Glasgow, 'Dear Grey City', in McLay, Farquhar (ed) 1988. *Worker's City: The Real Glasgow Stands Up* (Glasgow: Clydeside Press Ltd), p.109.

In each of the television dramas explored in this chapter, the traditional identities, symbolic associations and discursive positions of Clydesideism are renegotiated, re-represented and, in many cases, ultimately rejected.

River City provides a deconstruction of the urban hard-man, and also offers a number of competing identities apposite to the white, heterosexual, working-class male. Its utilisation of working-class characters and Urban Scots does not mean that the show should be read as engaging with the tropes of Clydesideism however, it is arguably more concerned with representing the speech patterns of a large number of the city's inhabitants in order to accurately reflect *some* aspects of life in contemporary Glasgow.

In *Glasgow Kiss*, the symbols of heavy industry provide recognisable 'points of identification' for regional and international audiences alike; the images of the Finnieston crane overlooking the Clyde leaves no doubt as to where the series is set, but this Glasgow is a renewed, regenerated city.

Tinsel Town plays with our expectations of Glasgow, it certainly relies fairly heavily on the archetypal narratives of gangland violence and urban social problems; but this is a place of more fluid identity.

The stereotypes of Clydesideism are parodied in recent comedies; the formula for this comedy relies on undercutting the recognisable cultural identities of the West of Scotland. The deconstructive drive implicit in the rewriting of Clydesideism in each of these texts results in more 'complex and multifaceted' representations of identity. Further, the plural, complex representations of Glasgow in these BBC productions undermine Blandford's assertion that the BBC is still wedded to 'dominant imagery and iconography'.

Furthermore, many of the programmes discussed in this study emulate the cultural currents of postmodernism, where traditional identities are being challenged and deconstructed in experimental, innovative ways. Thornham and Purvis argue that this is a feature of much recent British television drama:

> Postmodern theory's concerns with the problems of identity, language and communication have often been mirrored in fictional and dramatic texts which have explored ethnicity, gender and sexuality […] televisual interventions have operated to undermine singular and totalised versions of what it means to

> be ‘British’. Sometimes this has been done in formats which mix genres in satirical and humorous ways. *Da Ali G Show* (2000), *Goodness Gracious Me* (1998) and *Gimme Gimme Gimme* (1999) partly demonstrate how ethnicity and sexuality impact on national and personal identity, satirising earlier versions of race and sex which often failed to visualise Britain’s *other* half. (2005:152-154)

These ‘Scottish’ texts are being produced through an undermining of indigenous cultural traditions. Importantly, these productions are influenced by and engage with a wide range of indigenous, British and international cultural currents.

This examination of recent television productions set in Glasgow has shown that few of these shows actively engage with the tropes of Clydesideism or draw on Glasgow’s stereotypical cultural legacy. Thus, it is no longer useful or valid to categorise texts in such narrow ways. Scottish television (i.e. those productions set in Scotland) is, as this thesis seeks to show, becoming more radical in its depiction of cosmopolitan, multicultural, multi ethnic ‘postnational’ identities and is less concerned with depicting traditionally Scottish ‘national’ identities, for whatever purpose. Further, the influence of new media and cross platform broadcasting has undermined the very notion of ‘national’ broadcasting and ‘national’ television.

CHAPTER 2

CLYDESIDEISM IN CONTEMPORARY THEATRE, DRAMA AND PERFORMANCE

> The breakthrough made in the 1970s irreversibly altered the Scottish theatre scene in favour of the Scottish dimension, and this has continued down to today's diverse and lively scene [...] Scottish theatre companies continue to have a mixed programming policy, featuring plays from other English-language cultures and, in translation, from foreign language countries (as happened throughout the twentieth century). But, to use Donald Smith's phrase again, the ground rules have shifted over the past thirty or so years, and Scottish playwrights, actors and audiences have been the beneficiaries of an emphasis on the Scottish elements, in subject matter, voice and language, having a rightful place within our theatre culture. Not only does this show no sign of diminishing in the first decade of the twenty-first century, but, at the time of writing, the Scottish executive has voted funds to establish a National Theatre of Scotland. (Findlay 2007: 551-552)

> Until recently, a national theatre has been thought of as a centralized, monumental institution reflecting nationhood and identity, often inward-looking through an exclusive textual canon and a unitary, unifying language. The Scottish example has redirected it as a concept based on a plural, diverse, and decentred network of groups – one adaptable to represent the scattered and culturally divided population of any nation. (Imre 2008: 89)

It is a truism to say that Scottish theatre is defined by plurality and eclecticism, a fact frequently celebrated in its criticism.[103] The mission statement of the recently formed National Theatre of Scotland reflects an institutional commitment to plurality:

[103] See Zenzinger (1996), Stevenson (1996), (2000), Rossini (2000), Scullion (2001), (2005), Fisher (2002), Blandford (2007), Brown (2007), Horvat and Smith (2009), Stevenson (2010).

> The National Theatre of Scotland will develop a quality repertoire originating in Scotland. This will include new work, existing work and the drama of other countries and cultures to which a range of Scottish insights, language, and sensibility can be applied. The National Theatre of Scotland will also look beyond Scotland for inspiration, and stimulate interest in Scottish culture from other countries and cultures. The work will reflect the diversity of Scotland's cultures. (Leach 2007: 174)

Discussing the NTS's output, particularly its first production *Home* (2006), Imre concludes that 'the intention of the company is to present Scotland as a diverse cultural, social, and political community. The imagery presented on its various stages goes beyond such Scottish stereotypes as tartan, kilts, heather, haggis, and misty landscapes' (2008: 88). *Home*, the inaugural production of the National Theatre of Scotland, comprised a series of plays written by a number of Scottish playwrights and was performed simultaneously in different areas around Scotland, including Glasgow, Caithness, Aberdeen, Stornoway, Inverness, Edinburgh, East Lothian and Dundee. It reflected the NTS's 'Theatre without walls' ethos.[104]

Yet, as the above quote from Findlay attests, despite being influenced by a range of international and global concerns, Scottish theatre is a cultural arena undoubtedly marked by a diverse engagement with the nation, its myths, traditions and even its stereotypes.[105]

As the introduction to this thesis has pointed out, the contemporary 'value' of cultural national discourses is a vociferously debated topic in contemporary Scottish studies. For many theatre scholars, tradition still holds some value as they consider that drawing on the traditions of cultural nationalism does not mean that Scotland and its identities are being represented (or read) in theatre in reductive or limiting ways. There is less concern and anxiety in the arena of staged drama over the 'stultifying' influence of myths of Scottishness, mainly due to the iconoclastic ways in which theatrical producers approach and appropriate them, both historically and

[104] See http://www.nationaltheatrescotland.com. Accessed 20/04/10.
[105] David Hutchison also recognises that 'the structures of theatre in Scotland throughout the twentieth century worked both through strong native traditions and openness to international influence' (2007: 148); similarly, Scullion comments 'in a period of transition, creation and recreation within Scottish society, the demands on Scotland's artists were never more pressing. Scottish theatre took on new responsibilities by being both international and outward looking and essentially and immediately committed to work within and about Scottish society.' (2004: 484)

contemporaneously.[106] Further, there is an overriding critical trend in Scottish theatre scholarship that avoids reading the ''Scotch Myths' tropes viz. Tartanry, Kailyardism and Clydeside-ism' as a 'sign of cultural inferiority'; instead they are, to use McDonald's terminology, generally regarded as being far from 'wholly redundant' (2004: 196).

Scholars like Adrienne Scullion and Randall Stevenson create a critical discourse in theatre studies more willing to engage with cultural national discourses, often in questioning and interrogative ways. For instance, Stevenson's article 'In the Jungle of the Cities' (published in the seminal text on Scotland's theatrical tradition, *Scottish Theatre Since the Seventies* (1996)) 'reclaims' the discourse of Clydesideism by offering a positive reading of its tropes as they appear in twentieth-century Scottish drama. He argues that the theatrical productions interpreted by critics as belonging to the 'urban Kailyard' tradition of Clydesideism are more diverse and complex than the pejorative 'Kailyard' would suggest.[107] Clydesideism is still, it seems, an appropriate way of classifying theatrical texts.

The usefulness of reading and categorising contemporary performed texts in this way is somewhat dubious, however. Theatre practitioners, it will be argued, increasingly engage with postnational, as opposed to national, discourses in their work, thus Clydesideism becomes less relevant as a mode of classification, even when the setting of the work is Glaswegian.

This chapter is concerned with assessing the positive critical reclamation of Clydesideism and to interrogate further its gender, sex and class associations and representational strategies. Each of the productions chosen for examination either (seemingly) engage directly or indirectly, or have been read as engaging, with Clydesideism's tropes.

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[106] Jan McDonald explains: 'interest now lies in how theatre practitioners have engaged with the 'myths' as myths, not as history or as signifiers of cultural inferiority, but as raw material for drama. Dramatists in the 1980s and 1990s were particularly adept in revisioning the past, in the process shedding new light on old critical categories' (2004: 196).

[107] Stevenson (1996) discusses this trend: 'Sensationalism, selectiveness, sentiment, simplification, nostalgia – several recent commentators have summed up such apparent shortcomings by applying almost unquestioningly the phrase 'urban Kailyard' or 'industrial Kailyard' to plays set in Scottish cities. The phrase carries the suggestion that, far from adding to the imaginative life of the cities, the urban tradition limits Scottish imagination and self-perception as damagingly as did the sentimental treatment of rural life in the fiction of J.M. Barrie, S.R. Crockett and other novelists at the end of the nineteenth century to whom the term 'Kailyard' was first applied' (104). Stevenson argues that this perception of Scottish urban drama can be dispelled through further interrogation of the term 'Kailyard'. (109-110)

GENDER AND IDENTITY: REVISIONING CULTURAL NATIONALISM

One way in which theatre practitioners interrogate the myths of nationalism is through a specifically feminist revisioning (see Scullion 2000, 2001). This revisioning is particularly important in that Scottish culture - as it is imagined, represented and influenced by these myths - has traditionally been 'gendered' masculine.[108] As Christopher Whyte explains:

> Much of contemporary Scottish writing has a narrow and drearily male focus, from the aggressive penis-centeredness of MacDiarmid's *A Drunk Man* to Neil Gunn's men and women with their sharply differentiated roles, stereotypical behaviour and incredible prudishness about sex, from the tirelessness with which McIlvanney and Kelman go on exhuming outdated icons of maleness to Jock MacLeish's heartrending attempts in *1982, Janine* to transcend his gender and his past. Scottishness is about drink and football, interspersed with brief episodes of violence in a home where cold, wounded and rejecting wives and mothers have little comfort to offer. What, one wonders, can the country described in these books offer women, children and men with minds of their own? (1991: 46).

Whyte is rightly concerned with the potentially restrictive nature of identities associated with traditional narratives of the nation. More specifically, the Clydeside myth is frequently read as depicting only the experiences of the white, heterosexual, working-class, Glaswegian (or West of Scotland male), to the detriment of other experiences, particularly those of women.[109]

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[108] Sîan Reynolds, however, problematises this widely held assumption in her article 'Gender, the Arts and Culture', in which she asks the pressing questions: 'Is it really the case that Scotland is (or was) more male-dominated than else-where? Than England, Wales, Ireland or France? She continues, 'if we are to take seriously complaints that Scotland is, or was, male-dominated, we need to look carefully, and in a historical context, at the cultural narratives we have inherited.' (2006: 171). See also Breitenbach (1997) and Howson (1993).

[109] Esther Breitenbach discusses women's 'invisibility in Scottish historical narratives' and suggests that 'there are several ways in which women are denied access to the historical record. These are the use of "myth, stereotype and idealisation to describe women's role in society"' (Breitenbach and Gordon 1992: 2-3)' (1997: 83). See also Esther Brietenbach's and Lynn Abrams's article 'Gender and Scottish Identity' (2006), in this article the authors comment on the need to analyse the engagement of women writers with the (masculine) myths of Scottishness: 'one form of engagement with such myths

For Whyte, the 'phallocentricity of Scottish culture' (McCrone, quoted in Scullion 2001: 375) is inextricably linked to the saturation of masculine-centred representations on page, stage and screen.[110] This concern is mirrored by Scullion, who argues:

> The point in the establishment of society at which one group, one identity, is legitimised and another is disenfranchised and marginalized – cast, however crudely, as 'other' – is a result of the socio-cultural development of the community, a conjunction of historical, economic, social and political factors. It is an exclusion defined and prescribed in the nation's traditions, myths, and collective imagination, to be replayed in the nation's cultural texts. (2001: 374)

According to Neubauer, representing more complex, plural and inclusive cultural identities involves 'enlarging the possibilities of agency' on the 'othered' identities which are disenfranchised through a limiting nationalism (1999). Neubauer argues that Scottish writers engage with wider categories of identification, including the more 'universal' considerations of gender and sexuality, in a bid to overcome the problems of belonging to and identifying with the traditionally - and narrowly - 'national' (1999). In a contemporaneous publication, Berthold Schoene-Harwood bemoans the fact that '[t]he Scottish literary establishment still tends to concern itself primarily with the question of national identification at the expense of other, perhaps

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would be the investigation of how women have used and responded to them and to what extent this might be differentiated from men's appropriation of them.' (2006: 19) See also Carole Jones 'White Men on Their Backs - From Objection to Abjection: The Representation of the White Male as Victim in William McIlvanney's *Docherty* and Irvine Welsh's *Marabou Stork Nightmares'* in *The International Journal of Scottish Literature*. Issue 1 Autumn 2006, as well as her recent publication *Disappearing Men* (2009) for a discussion of these themes in contemporary Scottish literature.

[110] In the article 'Woman, women and Scotland: 'Scotch Reels' and Political Perspectives', Gillian Skirrow, Douglas Bain and Ouaine Bain discuss the 'phallocentricity' of advertising and popular culture in Scotland. They suggest that 'one of the reasons for the failure to represent women's struggles in Scottish history must be that it is not just politics but Scottishness itself that is represented in terms of virility. IRN BRU, a Scottish soft drink, is sold in Britain by the slogan 'Made From Girrrders!' (Clydeside girders, presumably.) And we sell one of our beers with the help of the Scottish version of 'Popeye' – a band of hairy Highland supermen who go by the name of the 'Inverbevie Grouse-beaters'. Or our celebrated image-makers, too, are male. The Scottish poet/intellectual can be represented as a craggy, elderly, pipe-smoking gent whose philosophy lends itself to being cartooned as a thistle.' (1983: 5) Similarly, Robert Crawford comments that 'Scottish history and Scottish culture have often been crudely phallocentric. Part of the work of dedefining Scotland will be to combat notions of macho and sentimental Scottishness furthered by older brands of whisky-and-fags Burns-suppering. Many Scots might find it hard to name six famous Scottish women who didn't have their heads chopped off' (2003 [1997]: 96). See also Anderson and Norquay (1984).

more fundamentally identity-bearing issues that have started to emerge in contemporary Scottish writing, such as gender, sexuality, and non-white non-Scottish ethnicity' (1999: 103). Schoene's comments suggest that he, like Neubauer, sees national identity as a somewhat more restrictive category than gender, sex or ethnicity.

A move towards more inclusive 'identity-bearing issues' such as gender, as opposed to national, identity, seems pertinent, particularly in relation to the challenges facing the nation and nationalism in an era of globalisation. In his influential book *Banal Nationalism* (1995), Michael Billig is concerned with the implications of the fragmentation of the nation on notions of identity:

> It is as if the whole business of nationhood is being unravelled. At each turn, it seems that a whole group separates from a state to declare a new state in its own name and then minority groups within the new state claim national status. An infinite regress beckons, with states fragmenting into infinitely smaller units. These units, in their turn, cannot be culturally isolated entities. They are plugged into the vast networks of information, which respect no natural, political, or linguistic boundaries. Thus, the thesis of postmodernism proclaims a vision of the future world. In this world, no longer is the national territory *the* place from which identities, attachments and patterns of life spring […] In place of the bordered, national state, a multiplicity of *terrae* are emerging. And those, who see their identities in terms of gender or sexual orientation, are…bound by no earthly terra, restricted by no mere sense of place. Thus, a new sensibility – a new psychology – emerges in global times. (Billig 1995: 134)

Individual identity, according to Billig, should not be constructed in relation to the nation, which is increasingly held to be a redundant concept in the context of global cultural, political and economic movements. For Billig, globalisation actually enables the possibility of liberation from the restrictive and limiting discourses of nationalism.[111] In this sense, identity is more usefully constructed through more

[111] Rustom Bhraucha however questions the extent to which these potentially 'emancipatory' discourses, related to globalisation, are enabled through a rejection of the nation: 'Without exposing the economic hegemony of globalisation, it becomes disingenuous to accept its 'emancipatory results' in

inclusive or universal categories such as gender, class or sex. Thus, as Helen Boden points out, 'a logical conclusion to current work being undertaken on nationality in cultural and sociological studies is […] to reject the very concept of national identity' (2000: 27). Indeed, Whyte's concern that Scottishness is reduced to a narrow set of masculine signifiers related to mythic discourses like Clydesideism, suggests that they should be rejected in favour of more 'universal' discursive positions. [112]

One manifestation of the move beyond traditional notions of national identity is through a focus on women's issues. Writing in 1983, the authors of an article on the (under) representation of women in Scottish politics and culture claim: 'we need a political ideology and practice which directly relates to the active force of individual lived experience rather than perceiving consciousness as a function of historic processes largely out-with our control' (Bain, Bain and Skirrow 1983: 6). The authors argue that in order for this to be achieved, discourses of cultural nationalism, which they hold as redundant and irrelevant, must be 'laid to rest' and 'replaced by new identities' (ibid).

In the area of drama, however, Scottish female writers and dramatists are often not concerned with moving completely out-with national parameters; instead, there is a tendency to focus on the universal, cosmopolitan category of 'woman' or 'womanhood' in relation to particular national considerations. [113] As Scullion reiterates throughout her criticism, instead of rejecting national myths, their revisioning is a more useful and widespread critical consideration in contemporary Scottish theatre and performance studies:

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the cultural sphere. As posited tentatively by Geeta Kapur (1997), these 'results' can be related to the "freedom" from the "national/collective/communitarian straitjacket", along with the "paternalistic patronage system of the state" and the rigidities of "anti-imperialism" (Kapur 1997: 30). There is no reason to my mind why artists should be inhibited from exploring 'other discourses of opposition' relating to gender and minority issues, which Kapur associates with yet another liberatory aspect of global culture. I would contend that the right to criticize the official agendas of the State is eminently possible within the seeming constraints of a national imaginary, along with new articulations of cultural representation relating to women, *dalits*, tribal communities, and other minorities' (2000: 26).

[112] See Kirsten Stirling *Bella Caledonia* (2008) for an up-to-date discussion of issues of nationalism and gender in the Scottish context.

[113] See Christopher Whyte's *Gendering the Nation* (1995), Gifford and McMillan's *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (1997), Carol Anderson and Aileen Christianson's *Scottish Women's Fiction, 1920s-1960s: Journeys into Being* (2000), and Aileen Christianson and Alison Lumsden's *Contemporary Scottish Women Writers* (2000). It is significant, as the titles of these volumes suggest, that this focus on gender is frequently considered in relation to Scotland and issues of nationalism, a fact recognised by Matt McGuire (2009) in his overview of Scottish literature.

> Increasingly […] counter-criticism and readings constructed by and through textual analyses and cultural heritage have done much to reset a traditional repertoire of images and responses to them. If Scottish culture has been seen to be obsessively attracted to a set of easily transferable character stereotypes, ubiquitous images, and predictable politics, Scottish criticism has merely added to the myopia by validating and perpetuating debilitating and constraining versions of national and gender identities. However, such easy assumptions, predicated on patriarchal and colonial modes of experience, do not go unopposed. One might now point to a group of writers and practitioners who, while using and referring to the defining myths and recognisable semiotics of Scottishness, aim to produce a revisionist account of ourselves and our culture. (2000: 95)

Scullion's argument points towards a more nuanced position; there is little doubt that constraining versions of Scottish cultural identities *ought* to be challenged, but this should be done without resorting to an outright rejection of the nationalist myths that inform them. To use Boden and Scullion's terminology, female writers embrace this position by utilising and subverting the 'semiotics' of Scotland.

One of the most discussed contemporary Scottish dramatists (and poets) in this regard is Liz Lochhead; her work is frequently read as being both feminist and nationalist, a fact she consciously acknowledges.[114] Lochhead deals specifically with the nation by referring to and deconstructing its myths through a feminist perspective.[115] Sara Soncini offers a sophisticated analysis of Lochhead's work in her

[114] Lochhead is quoted as saying: "I still have more of that Scottishness to explore, perhaps because until recently I've felt that my country was woman. I feel that my country is Scotland as well. At the moment I know that I want to stay here and negotiate it. This place of darkness I acknowledge mine; this small dark country. I can't whinge about it if I don't talk back to it, if I don't have a go." (McMillan 1993: 32)

[115] Scullion argues similarly that Lochhead's 'prominence among Scottish playwrights is, in some measure, the result of her deliberate use of and engagement with the key socio-cultural tropes of history and myth, national and sexual identity, popular, traditional, and 'high' cultural forms, and a deliberate deployment of strategies of politicised deconstruction and feminist revisioning. What makes her work particularly pertinent is her explicit engagement with and paralleling of (specifically women's) and national (specifically Scottish) identities throughout her writings and in her theatre-making generally.' (Scullion 2000: 95-96) For further discussion of Lochhead's work see Koren-Deutsch (1992), Varty and Crawford (1993), Scullion (1994), (1999), Bassnett (2000), Reizbaum (1992), (2005), McDonald (2006), Blandford (2007), and Horvat (2007), (2009), (2011).

article ‘Liz Lochhead’s Revisionist Mythmaking’, focusing on Lochhead’s feminist concerns in relation to the nation:

> By questioning myths, archetypes, licensed versions of history, Lochhead sets out to explore what Roland Barthes calls “le mythe contemporaine”, namely the complex of assumptions, attitudes, clichés, stereotypes which define and delimit our culture, the uncritically assimilated vocabulary whereby we apprehend and describe our reality for ourselves. Lochhead’s work examines the reasons behind, and the ways in which, mythical discourses are created, consolidated and perpetuated into the present, where their influence continues to exert itself unabated. In her drama as well as poetry, Lochhead re-reads myth from a female point of view and carries out an open-ended investigation of the process whereby identities – sexual, social, national – are constructed, while at the same time testing discursive strategies that will allow for a redefinition of our culture and ourselves. (2000: 59)

Soncini suggests that the value of Lochhead’s work lies in its ability to simultaneously interact with and transcend the nation and its myths, which enables a complex redefinition of culture and identity. Such redefinitions are important in the context of postmodernity, where the nation’s ‘validity is being questioned’ (see Bell 2004a and 2004b), but where this ‘new present does not need to reject older definitions [of the nation and national identity] entirely: to do so would mean a loss of defining continuity with the past that has shaped this present’ (Boden 2000: 31). As will be explored below, one of the defining features of the critical reclamation of Clydesideism in theatre since the seventies has been a re-reading, or renegotiation, not rejection, of its conventional gender identities.

This examination ultimately seeks to question the usefulness and validity of this type of critical engagement with the national discourse of Clydesideism in a reading of contemporary performed texts. It will be asked whether reclaimed traditional national identities are evident in recent performed texts or if new identities associated with the postnational are more evident.

RENEGOTIATING CLYDESIDEISM: CHALLENGING THE 'SEVENTIES' TRADITION IN SCOTTISH THEATRE

> *The Great Northern Welly Boot Show* marked a new development in addressing industrial and urbanised Scotland. Combining dramatic scenes, song and direct audience address, it presents the workers' occupation in 1971 of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders comically transmuted to a Welly (Wellington) Boot Factory. Celebrating the possibility of direct action and vernacular language, it was immensely popular, while, addressing contemporary socio-political and industrial issues, it foreshadowed a new 1970s demotic vitality. This may be seen in Bill Bryden's *Willie Rough* (1972), *Benny Lynch* (1974) and *Civilians* (1981), Roddy McMillan's *The Bevellers* (1973), Hector MacMillan's *The Sash* (1974), John McGrath's *The Game's a Bogey* (1974) and *Little Red Hen* (1975), Billy Connolly's *An' me wi a bad leg tae* (1976), George Byatt's *Kong Lives* (1976) and Tom McGrath's *The Hardman* (1977). […] this phenomena has since been seen as representing a new sentimentalisation of Scottish, industrial political or workplace experience, *Clydesideism*, to complement such general, and often abused, terms as *Kailyard* or *tartanry*. […] This, in turn, might suggest that Scottish drama of the 1970s does not focus inclusively on the wide range of Scottish and international experience. (Brown 2007b: 286)[116]

Brown suggests that there is a tradition of Scottish playwriting, stemming mainly from the 1970s, which has an overtly 'masculinist focus' (Horvat and Smith 2009, see also Cameron 1990, Scullion 2004b).[117] David Pattie's examination of these productions concludes on the exclusivist nature of Scottish life evident 'in each one of these texts, there is the sense that the measure of experience in Scottish life is undoubtedly male' (2000, unpaginated). Pattie links this theatrical tradition with

[116] In his article Brown qualifies this assertion somewhat, but ultimately concludes; 'It is true, nonetheless, that the 1970s playwriting renaissance was dominated by the male, the heterosexual, the central belt, the urban and the industrialised' (2007: 287)

[117] This tradition was, however, influenced by earlier plays such as those of George Munro who's *Gold in his Boots* (1947) and *Gay Landscape* (1958) focussed on themes such as the '"Destruction. Dirt. Despair" (II) of West of Scotland city life, [and] its violence and drunkenness' (Stevenson 1989: 189). See also Scullion (2002).

similar representations in literature, particularly the novels of William McIlvanney; he explains that 'strong, central male characters dominate [these] plays, in much the same way as Docherty dominates his novel' (ibid).[118] Similarly concerned with the male-centred nature of McIlvanney's novel, Neubauer highlights the problem this creates for female representation: 'female characters remain in the background, locked into representations of passively suffering mothers and battered wives whose fates may be regretted but not changed' (1999: 107). Such representations are evident in many, if not all, of the productions mentioned by Brown in the passage quoted above.[119] Resultantly, the revisioning of the Clydeside myth in culture has been especially concerned with over-turning its limited gender representations.[120]

In Scottish theatre, a feminist rewriting of the male dominated theatrical tradition is well underway.[121] There has been a specific strain of feminist revisioning

[118]Joyce MacMillan, too, discusses this working-class, masculine oeuvre in relation to the Parr directorship of the Traverse theatre in Edinburgh: 'More than any other artistic director (except possibly Jim Haynes, with his famous interest in 'pelvic regions'), it's possible to detect a single, powerful theme in Parr's directorship; what he had done – and a mere glance down the list of Scottish plays performed during his first three years, the titles like *The Hardman, Street Fighting Man, Next Time Bring A Wee Somethin' Tae Drink, Son,* demonstrates the point – was to open the middle-class doors of the Traverse to a whole new area of male working-class experience in Scotland and particularly in Glasgow, a high-energy, strongly physical culture with a powerful undercurrent of aggression and suppressed tenderness.' (McMillan 1988: 79-80)

[119] Beth Dickson also recognises the problematic nature of female representation in William McIlvanney's fiction: 'wives are poisonous, brittle, materialistic, empty creatures who want to consume their husbands. They are almost without redeeming features.' (Dickson 1993: 60, quoted in Craig 2010: 168) See also Idle (1993), Howson (1993) and Petrie (2004). Edwin Morgan, however, challenges and qualifies somewhat the frequent criticism of McIlvanney as 'lending his pen too readily to the West of Scotland macho stance' through his examination of Laidlaw (1977) (Morgan 1993:92).

[120] In an early article Colin McArthur highlights the need for this type of interrogative, revisionary thinking in relation to Clydesideism, he writes: 'The other area in which the discussion moved on from the publication was in the identification of another discourse, Clydesidism, alongside the other pernicious discourses (Tartanry, Kailyard and the social democratic discourse of 'Scotland on the Move') within which representations of the Scots have been constructed. Clydesidism – articulated by Dougie Bain on the basis of collective work done in Glasgow – is that discourse which affects both direct politics and art and which constitutes political activity as residing solely in the mass action of heavy industrial workers in the Clyde basin. The Stakhanovite political iconography and severely limited conception of politics (e.g. the contempt for women's and crofter's struggles) which this discourse sustains both need interrogation.' (1983: 2-3). In a later article McArthur stresses the continuing problematic representation of women in cultural productions belonging to the Clydeside discourse, he claims that 'Mothers or lovers' of the hardman 'are allowed no space for their own sense of what it means to be a woman in Glasgow' (1997: 20).

[121] Audrey Bain discusses this feminist re-writing in Scottish theatre: 'Scottish women playwrights have resisted and challenged the 'canon' by the retelling of history from a female point of view, both through an examination of the lives of historical figures and a revision of traditionally male domains such as the workplace drama' (1996: 140). Similarly, Jan McDonald comments 'Women dramatists in particular, concerned with gender as well as with political identity, took a lead in refashioning the predominantly male canon […] The celebration of male communities in, for example, Roddy McMillan's *The Bevellers*, Bill Bryden's *Willie Rough* and John Byrne's *The Slab Boys*, was countered by female 'equivalents'. Women writers, notably Rona Munro in *Bold Girls* (1990) and Sue Glover in

dedicated to challenging the gender representations associated with the Clydeside myth.[122] In an attempt to address the preoccupation with depicting the West of Scotland male, the 7:84 theatre company commissioned the remake of Ena Lamont Stewart's *Men Should Weep* (1947) in 1982 as part of its 'Clydebuilt' season at the Citizens' Theatre.[123] This resulted in what Smith calls a 'rewriting of the genre of the male, working class drama, [giving] context and heart to an emerging group of Scottish women playwrights' (1998: 297). Scullion points to the revisionist aspect of this rewriting: '*Men Should Weep* presents a hegemonic and simplistic view of the working-class community suffering under economic and political pressure and simultaneously offers a revisionist reading of this mythology' (1995: 172, see also Scullion 2002 and 2008).[124]

The feminist rewriting of this discourse is often concerned with offering a female's perspective of the hardships of urban (specifically Glaswegian), working-class life. Aileen Ritchie's *Can Ye Sew Cushions*? for example, is described by Susan Triesman as 'an angry response to the stage adaptation of *The Gorbals Story*, which glamorized the violence of the hard man and denied the woman's point of view in the book' (1993: 133).[125]

Bondagers (1991), focussed on communities of women, inclusive and mutually supportive communities that lack masculine rites of initiation.' (2004: 224-225) See also Scullion (1995), (2001).

[122] Although it must be pointed out that some male playwrights have also challenged the masculine bias of the Clydeside myth by writing Glasgow-set, female-centred texts. Tony Roper's *The Steamie* (1987) is the most popular example of this type of play. His populist production comically details a slice in the life of a community of working-class women as they prepare for Hogmany in their local 'steamie'. Chris Hannan's *Elizabeth Gordon Quinn* (1985) and *Shining Souls* (1996) are particularly lauded for their interrogation of the class and gender associations of the Clydeside discourse, rendering them more complex and radical than our expectations of the myth usually assume. Robbie Moffat's *The Glasgow Girls* (1990) and Chris Dolan's *Sabina!* (1998) are also mentionable in this respect. See Stevenson (1996), Rose (2000), Rossini (2000), Brown (2007).

[123] Horvat and Smith name Ena Lamont Stewart as 'Scotland's first twentieth-century woman playwright', and discuss the feminist nature of this rewriting: 'Stewart's second full-length play [after *Starched Aprons* Glasgow Unity 1945] produced in 1947, is a family household drama with wider social and political resonance. It embodies a forceful, almost fatalistic, depiction of the price paid by women and children for the poverty of a whole community. Oppressive social conditions are mirrored within the household by the sexual and economic subjection of women to man. Stewart was to rewrite *Men Should Weep* substantially in the 1970s, giving the women characters greater power to effect change.' (Horvat and Smith 2009: 64-65) For other discussions of Lamont Stewart's work see Jan McDonald (1997) and Randall Stevenson (1996). Stewart's play (albeit the revised version) remains popular even today, with the NTS's touring production (2011) selling out in its recent run at Glasgow's Citizens' Theatre.

[124] Tony Roper's immensely popular play *The Steamie* is also mentionable in this regard. See Zenzinger (1996) and Maloney (2011) for a discussion of this play.

[125] 7:84 (Scotland)'s show *Out of Our Heads* provides a socialist challenge to the 'glamorisation' of the urban hardman and attempts to make 'a difference to people's attitudes to the situation of battered women in Scotland, and to refuges' (McGrath 1996 [1981]: 98). John McGrath explains the company 'toured working men's clubs and trades council clubs round central Scotland with a show about booze

Giving a female's perspective of the 'violence of the hard man' has resulted in a number of plays set in Glasgow that deal with the issue of domestic violence.[126] Anne Marie Di Mambro's *The Letter Box* (1989) is frequently discussed in these terms.[127] *The Letter Box* is a short, one-woman play set in the close of a tenement building in Glasgow. The main character, Martha, has been flung out of her flat after a savage beating by her alcoholic husband. Her monologue depicts her attempt to comfort her terrified daughter, Wendy, on the other side of the door by speaking through the letterbox. Martha protects her husband by encouraging Wendy not to say anything about the attack to her teachers at school, claiming that 'he didn't mean it.' In this play Di Mambro succeeds in making visible the suffering of the underrepresented Scottish woman by, as Audrey Bain points out, 'distancing the play from the actual physical abuse, and instead concentrating on its results'. In doing so, 'Di Mambro silences the aggressor and allows his victim to take centre stage, a technique which avoids both sensationalism and melodrama' (1996: 142).

In a more popular mode, elements of Liz Lochhead's revues also challenge the masculinist nature of Clydesideism through the creation of female characters who are at the mercy of violent, West of Scotland males. One of Lochhead's parodies 'Sometimes It's Hard to be a Woman', part of the revue *True Confessions* (1985), offers another account of domestic violence. Performed in demotic Urban Scots, this parody of the American Country and Western song *Stand By Your Man* draws on the

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and the Scottish working man: how it went with the most sickening sexist attitudes, including physical abuse of wife and children, and became a pathetic substitute for some action which would try to remove the cancer of alienation that created the desire to drink in the first place. That was the social framework of the show.' (ibid: 97)

[126] Zenzinger (1996) comments that '[t]he 'hardman' generally reduces woman to a commodity or at best grants her the role of a pliable companion; but the popular myth glosses over the cruelty, both mental and physical, which often goes with this attitude. Understandably, it is women writers who tend to object to this myth most vehemently' (128). Further, the feminist touring group MsFits, founded by Scottish writers Rona Munro and Fiona Knowles, is concerned with creating a dramaturgy which reflects the lives of women affected by domestic violence, particularly in the West of Scotland.

[127] Various scholars link Di Mambro's play with this tradition: 'earlier celebrations of the Glasgow 'Hard Man', a self-destructive violent folk hero, were attacked in a short but moving piece, *The Letter Box* (1989) by Ann Marie Di Mambro.' (McDonald 2004: 224-225); 'Di Mambro's plays such as *The Letter-Box* (1989) and *Tally's Blood* (1990) deal with women's experiences of living in small urban environments. *The Letter-Box*, in particular, paints a painful picture of domestic violence against women at the hands of the worst Scottish machismo.' (Horvat 2007: 298); 'Anne Marie Di Mambro […] has produced plays marked by a clear-eyed yet subtle undercutting of the mythologies of community so significant within Scottish culture. […] Di Mambro's *The Letter Box* (1989) is a powerful dramatic monologue depicting the struggle of a woman, Martha, brutally beaten and thrown out of her home by her husband […] The play deconstructs the mythologies of working-class, urban Scotland by interrogating its two quintessential myths, the community spirit of the tenement and the appeal of the hardman.' (Scullion 2000: 108/109) See also Macguire (2011).

stereotypes of the West of Scotland male as hard-drinking, violent and sexually aggressive:[128]

Sometimes it's hard to be a woman
Stick in wi' the weans without your Man –
Though he gets pished on peyday
Never mind hen, every Friday
He'll bring you hame a Babysham
If he tends to thump ye
Before he tries to hump ye
Then snores while you lie hatching up a plan
To up and leave the schunner
Oh is it ony wunner
If you can't bloody stand your Man. (Lochhead 1985: 65)

Lochhead's comic reversal of the sentiments contained in the original song performs the more serious task of addressing male violence against women in the domestic sphere.[129]

[128] All these attributes contribute to the archetypal 'No-Mean City' image of Glasgow. In her recent book *The Tears that Made the Clyde* (2010), Carol Craig suggests that such stereotypes of the hard-drinking, violent male are based in historical fact. Noting its 'penchant for aggression and violence', Craig argues that Glasgow is in many respects 'the template for the archetypal macho city. As almost every commentator on Glasgow has observed […] Glasgow is a hard city. Hard is a word we use in different contexts and has various meanings: firm and unyielding, challenging, vigorous or violent, oppressive, austere, harsh, severe, unsentimental and lacking delicacy to list only a few. Hard is a word which not only suggests male sexual power but also unyielding masculine authority. Its opposite is soft, gentle, yielding, tender, smooth, soothing, delicate, lenient – all feminine rather than masculine terms. It is not difficult to see why Glasgow would become a hard city. It was dominated by dirty, heavy industry. The bulk of its jobs required grit, muscle, tenacity and strength. Living conditions for the masses were not simply austere but harsh and punitive. The culture men evolved reflected this harshness – they didn't just gulp back hard spirits, they became hardened drinkers. The culture also started to separate men from women – increasingly at work because of the preponderance of heavy industries and also […] in the pub and leisure time. The city's pronounced pecking order meant that men were primed to be on the look-out for slights and put downs – hence violence was never far from the surface. Richard Wilkinson points out that women's overall social position is prejudiced in societies with pronounced income inequality and a strong dominance hierarchy among men. "In a more aggressive culture, where male power is what counts, women will be subordinated and have lower status relative to men," writes Wilkinson. Glasgow is undoubtedly a city where women's contribution has been ignored or downplayed.' (2010: 144)

[129] Bessie McArthur, a popular late 19th century Scottish comedienne, sang about similar issues as part of her performance routine. According to Frank Bruce she 'appeared across Scotland in the 1890s with sentimental songs like 'Dinna quarrel ma barnies', 'The Banks o the Clyde', or wife's lament 'The Fitba victim': I've got the very worst man that a woman ever had/ Search the world frae end to end, ye'll no find yin sae bad/ For since he's jined a fitba' club my life's no' worth a straw,/ Maist every nicht he plays the game, an ' its me that is the ba'. (2000:30)

Doreen McCardle's play *Four Walls* (1993) provides another tale of domestic violence from a woman's perspective. This play has been transferred from stage to screen, forming part of a trilogy of one-woman dramas called *Lambrusco Nights*, which was broadcast on BBC Scotland in 1995.[130] According to Scullion (2000: 111-115), there is significant interaction between theatre and television in Scotland, as women writers are more frequently commissioned to write for television than theatre. The interaction between these forms is highlighted by Lappin:

> *Lambrusco Nights* began as a glimmer in the mind of script editor Julie Fraser three years ago, when she saw Doreen McCardle's *Four Walls*, a play about one woman's experience of domestic violence. "One lunchtime about three years ago I went to see a rehearsed reading in Maryhill community centre," she remembers, "and it was one of the most powerful things I've seen. It was in front of an audience from Woman's Aid who were incredibly moved by its realism and its truth. It was a story that always remained with me, but at that time non-network drama was very difficult to do and certainly nobody was going to put on a female monologue. Then we went to see Elaine C. Smith wowing audiences in *Shirley Valentine* and we found ourselves sitting in a theatre full of women who were recognising their own experiences, so the notion came of putting together three female monologues." (Lappin 1995: 20)

These television plays cover similar ground to the dramaturgy of playwrights Di Mambro, Lochhead, and Ritchie with the issue of domestic violence and male dominance informing each monologue.

The monologues can be described as psychological dramas, as they deal with the memories and intimate confessions of three very different Scottish women. In this, they constitute an attempt to represent a more complex depiction of Scottish women and evade 'the more routine construction of Scottish 'hard men' [which] involves a fetishising of masculine angst that eclipses any notion of a complex, troubled or resistive feminine consciousness' (Sillars and MacDonald 2008: 189). The setting for this psychological drama is the domestic sphere where each woman contemplates

[130] This chapter is not concerned purely with theatre, but more widely, on performance. The distinction between 'straight' theatre and more populist performance modes will be elaborated in the next section.

larger concerns affecting their lives, addressing issues such as AIDS and material and celebrity culture.

Doreen McCardle's *Lambrusco Nights: Four Walls* [131] gives a voice to the oppressed; her play tells the character Lottie's story of domestic violence. Her unemployed husband, George, who represents the typical Scottish hard man, routinely abuses Lottie, played by Scottish actress and comedienne Elaine C. Smith. George, however, does not provide the centre point of the play; instead it is Lottie and her views that dominate; we are given access to her life via her memories, most of which are concerned with the abuse she has endured. George's character embodies the hard man stereotype who, as a result of unemployment through the loss of heavy industry, has lost a sense of masculine identity and is left with 'anger, cynicism and violence' (Caughie 1990). Lottie is at the receiving end of much of this angst; on the subject of George's redundancy, she claims: "you would have thought it was my fault the place shut doon."[132] She does not, however, represent Neubauer's 'passively suffering' woman; she speaks out against her treatment and, in doing so, moves away from the traditional stereotypes of the repressed women, typified by her own mother who she describes as "one of the old school, suffer in silence, do your duty by your man, keep your troubles within your own four walls". In the penultimate scene George tries to drown Lottie in the sink but she stabs him in the groin, effectively emasculating the stereotypical macho Scottish male.

Cathy Crombie's '*Lambrusco Nights: A Life in China*'[133] is about the life of widowed pensioner Nell (played by Anne Kristen). Nell is shown at home preparing for her Grandson's funeral (we learn later in the play that Nell's Grandson died from AIDS as a result of drug addiction). Her memories, revealed through a series of flashbacks, focus on her marriage to domineering and sexually aggressive husband, Ronald. She remembers one incident of domestic rape and reflects "he wid dae that tae me…but he wouldnae kiss me oan the mooth." Due to her mistreatment, Nell finds it hard to believe that "there was anyone healthy left in the world". Nell however, defines herself despite these abuses; her identity is ultimately bound up with the community of women in her 'club', as she explains:

[131] Broadcast BBC1 Scotland March 1995
[132] The character Frank in Liz Lochhead's Glasgow based play *Same Difference* is another example of this type of oppressive male, he has been made redundant and takes his anger and frustration out on his wife, Josie. STA A.v. Box 14/7.
[133] Broadcast BBC2 Scotland March 1995.

> I saw on the telly that I lived in the AIDS capital of the world. The papers tel me that I live in 'Vietnam', 'Apache Country'…We went up the road to oor club…it was…no it is…oor refuge…it's a good, clean, safe place. And we grabbed oor lives and we lived as if we werenae under siege…It's no denying facts…it's being brave enough tae…live.

The resilience of women in times of crisis and in the mundane oppression of everyday life in a (violently) patriarchal society is celebrated in this play, as Nell, when leaving to go to the funeral, is described in the directions as a 'formidable looking woman…she looks like she means business'. Crombie's play presents a feminist revisionary account of life in Scotland, reassessing stereotypical notions of Scottish identity by representing a strong female who survives any way she can.

Whilst not dealing specifically with the violence of the archetypal urban hard man, Aileen Ritchie's *Lambrusco Nights: Icing on the Cake*[134] explores the ways in which oppressive patriarchal culture continues to subordinate women. Mary (played by Libby McArthur) is introduced to the audience via a series of 'home video' recordings; she is making a 'diet diary' in a desperate bid to lose weight six weeks before her wedding. Inspired to become thin and beautiful by slimming club leader Madge (who also happens to be an 'Avon rep'), Mary feels women are only worthwhile if they reflect images of the 'perfect woman' that adorn magazine covers and saturate television screens. The importance of reflecting this ideal is reinforced by the fact that Mary's first marriage broke down after she deviated from this ideal by gaining weight. She miserably remembers: "After I put on two stone he didn't take me out on his bike anymore, once it was up to three stone, he didn't take me out at all". Women's happiness is subject to the appreciation of the male gaze, which will, Mary is conditioned to believe, be positive if she is thin and wears makeup. As a result of this, Mary does not find comfort in a community of women; instead she is body-conscious, materialistic and regards other women as a threat. Mary consumes media images of women, buys make-up from multinational companies and attempts to alter her image to reflect the celebrity version of perfection. Here, Ritchie deals with patriarchal ideology not in national terms, but in terms of international capitalism.

[134] Broadcast BBC1 Scotland March 1995.

Although the play is centred round Mary, and it is her voice we hear, Mary's accounts of life are ultimately tied up to her experiences with men. The views, opinions and actions of men are filtered through Mary's (mainly negative) experiences and are resultantly narrow and subjective. McCardle's representation of Scotland is of a society in which men are oppressive and women are affected adversely by their presence, a fact attributable to each performance discussed in this section.[135]

[135] Jan McDonald discusses the strain of women's theatre writing which focuses on communities of women: 'Many of those communities represented in the plays being examined are the result not of deliberate choice by women but of the literal or metaphorical 'absence' of men. The dramatists are at pains to show that, however mutually supportive group of women may be, those who are not present still wield the power and therefore have a disproportionate impact on the women's actions and relations.' (1997: 500). Similarly, Ksenija Horvat recognises this as a feature of Scottish writer Rona Munro's work: 'Interestingly, men are physically absent from all three of these plays [Rona Munro's *Fugue* (1983), *Saturday at the Commodore* (1989) and *Bold Girls* (1990)], as they are for Glover's *Bondagers*, but they are nevertheless constantly referred to as absent brothers, fathers and lovers, who, through their very absence, make demands on women in this distinctly man's world.' (2009, unpaginated)

CURING THE 'SLAB BOYS SYNDROME'? [136]

For Scullion, the seminal text in the project of revisioning Scottish theatre's masculine bias, *Men Should Weep* successfully 'refers to but transcends the easy stereotypes of earlier working-class dramas' (1995: 172). Arguably, however, the same cannot be said for the dramas discussed here. While referring to the tropes of Clydesideism, these productions do not ultimately transcend them; instead they seem merely to rewrite them from a woman's perspective.

Whilst these productions do offer a more complex representation of women than we are used to seeing in Clydeside drama, the representation of men in these plays is problematic. By concentrating only on the woman's experience and removing men from the stage, the inverse of Neubauer's claim about Clydesideism and the marginalisation of women is true of these productions: *male* characters remain in the background, locked into representations of *aggressively dominant fathers* and *wife beaters*, whose fates may be regretted but not changed (1999: 107). In attempting to represent the marginalized by re-centring the woman through female-only drama, men are marginalized and demonised in each.[137] Ultimately, these plays may be accused of propagating an alternative, female version of the narrow representations of identity traditionally associated with Clydesideism by portraying an equally limited 'range of character types' (Scullion 1995: 193).

This examination is in no way intended to devalue the work of these women playwrights and screenwriters, or to imply that these plays are not 'good'. Indeed *The Letter-Box* is described as 'one of Scotland's best short plays, succinct and powerfully focused' (Scullion 2000: 109). *Lambrusco Nights* is also highly critically acclaimed, with positive reviews of the trilogy celebrating the 'refreshing nature' of seeing Glasgow's women on screen.[138] This study, concerned as it is with the representations

[136] 'Slab Boys Syndrome' Joyce McMillan's phrase (quoted in McDonald 1997: 505).
[137] This observation, however, should not be aligned with a common derisory reaction to the feminist movement, which is to attack it on the grounds of 'man-hating', a charge levelled at the feminist playwright Sarah Daniels, whose plays take 'as their central concern the representation of the abuse of and violence against women' (Griffin 2000: 194).
[138] See John Millar 'Record TV; Cathy's Wild About Harry', *Daily Record*, March 29th 1995, p.21. In this article, Millar refers to *Lambrusco Nights* as 'BBC Scotland's excellent drama about women'. Alan Laing (1996) describes Aileen Ritchie's contribution to the trilogy, 'Icing on the Cake', as a 'smashing wee comedy drama about a bride-to-be (Libby McArthur), struggling to lose a few pounds in order to get into her pronuptia dress.' (18).

of identity in relation to the Clydeside myth, questions the extent to which Scottish identity is being constructed and represented in more inclusive and progressive ways through a specifically feminist revisioning of it.

It is being suggested here that there are some possible problems with this *type* of feminist enterprise, but also that there are perhaps some inherent problems with the project of reclaiming the Clydeside discourse more generally. [139] Perhaps its gender associations are incapable of ever reflecting more inclusive identities and should more usefully be rejected completely.[140]

REVUEING GLASGOW THROUGH 'WOMEN'S COMEDY'

In a similarly revisionist enterprise to those addressing the more serious issue of domestic violence, Scottish women writers for the stage have created a comedic engagement with Glasgow's urban mythology,[141] particularly through revues or

[139] Susan Bassnett explains that there are different types of feminist theatre: 'Feminist theatre in Britain from the 1970s to the end of the 1990s has gone through a series of quite distinct shifts of emphasis. Mid-way through the 1970s, women's theatre began to shift away from its initial socialist agenda to an exploration of broader debates about gender and sexuality. The subject of women's performances also changed. From plays looking at motherhood, wages for housework, equal pay, exploitation of women in the workplace, and a general emphasis on women's work, attention shifted to more personal explorations of incest, domestic violence, and then to questions of sexual identity and preference.' (2000: 73)

[140] The problematic representation of the male evident in these productions is not limited to those dealing specifically with Clydesideism however; even those women-produced texts which critics have read as 'eschew[ing] what Catherine Lockerbie called "the debilitating Glasgow dominance", a rejection concomitant with their rejection of an urban, male-dominated working-class ethos' (quoted in McDonald 1997: 509) are similarly implicated in this limiting representation of Scottish *male* identity. Ian Brown points out that a group of women playwrights, including Sue Glover, 'have provided dramas that, while sometimes still using historical material, are clearly not male dominated. Nor are their plays especially centred on the central belt and, although Rona Munro has written about working women, they are absolutely not based in industrial mythology or Clydesideism' (Brown 2007b: 289). Yet, in these texts 'men are made invisible: it is as if they are consciously removed from the stage in order to centralise women's experience. This happens with both *Bondagers* and *The Letter-Box*. In other cases, men are seen as weak or impotent, despite their own self-perception. […] Sharman Macdonald is another in whose plays men are weaker, seen as absent fathers, old men, or young boys, but never as mature adults […] This world of absent fathers or husbands still operates according to oppressive masculine rules, seldom leaving other options to the younger generation of women than to leave home early in search of careers and their own identity.' (Horvat 2007: 299) Horvat's account of the invisibility of the Scottish male in these texts does not seem particularly critical of this fact. I suggest that not only are men made invisible in these texts, but they are also demonised by being 'locked into representations' of rapists (e.g. Kello in *The Bondagers*) and wife-beaters (as in Munro's *Bold Girls*).

[141] David Goldie discusses Glasgow's (male dominated) comedy traditions: 'even if they didn't wear kilts, other Scots comedians found that one of the surest ways of appealing to their Scottish – and especially Glasgow – audiences was to construct a kind of updated urban Kailyard, replacing the stock

female monologues.[142] This section focuses on popular, or 'illegitimate' (Scullion 2000: 111), theatrical forms.[143] Scullion explains that 'popular entertainment', particularly in the form 'of music hall and of pantomime, is essential in histories of Scottish theatre, where it attains a significance as an indigenous and alternative tradition' (2000: 99). Femi Folorunso too highlights the pervasiveness of this popular tradition in Scottish theatre; 'in nearly every modern Scottish play, recognisable bits and pieces of music-hall aesthetics can be found' (1996: 176). *The Great Northern Welly Boot Show* (1972) and John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* (1973) are perhaps the best-known and most widely discussed productions employing these 'indigenous traditions'.[144] Gregory Burke's NTS production, *Black Watch* is a more recent example of this type of popular theatre. However, women writers in particular have frequently been recognised as contributing to the 'Scottish popular dramatic tradition' (Mackenny, quoted in Di Cenzo 1996: 87) through utilising forms such as revues, music hall, sketches, songs, monologues and stage comedy (Clune 1993, Bain 1996). As in more 'legitimate' theatre, women working through these popular modes do so with 'feminist intent' (Scullion 2000: 111); they are overtly concerned with overturning masculine representational hegemony. The MsFits, a Scottish women's comedy/theatre company, described by co-founder Rona Munro as a *feminist* company, is a case in point. Its aim is to 'make women's experience visible' in order to challenge the 'general perception of Scotland of hard macho men, in the context of a working-class culture. Apart from caricaturing the experiences of a very diverse country, this view ignores the experience of women almost entirely' (quoted in Goodman 1996: 287-288).[145]

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types of rural humour with urban equivalents; retaining a nostalgia of communality by conjuring into being a sentimental Glasgow populated by a warm-hearted and sharp-witted citizenry, such as that epitomized in Will Fyffe's song 'I Belong to Glasgow'. Comics like Dave Willis who successfully adapted a Chaplin persona to the Scottish stage, and Jack Milroy and Ricki Fulton who scored a hit as teddy boys Francie and Josie, or stand-ups like Tommy Morgan, with his 'clairty, clairty' catchphrase […] and the blue-nose Lex McLean, might all be said to rely on this mythical Glasgow.' (2000: 11)

[142] In her study *Monologue Plays for Female Voices*, Margaret Rose suggests that the monologue form is 'an excellent way of putting political and feminist issues on stage' (1995: 111).

[143]For a definition of popular theatre see Alistair Cameron's useful and informative article 'How Popular is Popular? Some thoughts on the Definition of Scottish Theatrical Traditions', in *Chapman*, 46, Vol. IX, No.3, pp.31-34.

[144] See Stevenson (1996), Mackenney (1996), DiCenzo (1996), McGrath (1998), Petrie (2000), Maloney (2011).

[145] Performer Fiona Knowles discusses the feminist intent of MsFits's productions: 'The first one-woman show I did (1992) was called *The Seven Ages of Women*. It was about women's status and it was a comedy. In 1993 I did a show called *Rabby Burns yer tea's oot* […] This show, like all our MsFits work, is largely about the invisible women of history. The most recent one-woman show, *Burying Dad* (1994) is about three generations of women at a funeral. I link the show together with

The works of Liz Lochhead and Marcella Evaristi are frequently discussed in relation to this populist movement.[146] Yet, less discussed are popular comediennes like Dorothy Paul and Elaine C. Smith, who, according to David Goldie 'don't have the British recognition of some others, but they still create an excellent and popular local comedy by drawing specifically on the west of Scotland's urban Kailyard' (2000: 16).

Paul has written and starred in a one-woman comedy sketch show which 'draws specifically' on Glaswegian and working-class themes from a woman's point of view. Elspeth King comments on the feminine nature of the Glasgow-based show: 'The production of the actress Dorothy Paul's one-woman show in 1991, after a lifetime on stage and television scripted by other writers, revealed her as an astute, witty, and poignant chronicler of the lives of women in Glasgow' (1993: 172). In this, and her later stand-up shows, such as *See, That's Her*, Paul draws on her matriarchal lineage to tell stories of strong, working-class women, rubbed hard by daily life in Glasgow during the 1940s and 1950s.

Paul's shows constitute, in Clune's terms, a 'theatrical act'.[147] They are not simply standard stand-up comedy; in them she has created characters such as the theatre's cleaning lady who prepares the stage for 'the turn' coming on, she also takes on the persona of her childhood self, her mother and her aunties. Smith employs similar techniques in her performance, with her impersonation of 'Auntie Maggie' in *Hormonally Driven* (a series of stand-up shows filmed for the BBC) constituting a particularly successful comic moment.

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stand-up comedy and songs – trying throughout to reflect women's lives and to empower women in the audience.' (Goodman 1996: 287)

[146]Many commentators have highlighted Lochhead and Evaristi's draw on Glasgow's urban mythology, such as Elspeth King, who notes 'two powerful Glasgow writers who regularly perform their work are Liz Lochhead and Marcella Evaristi. On occasion they have written and performed together, as in their revue, *Sugar and Spite*. Their work offers a good analysis of the contemporary scene with regard to women. Liz Lochhead in particular has been skilful in analysing and ridiculing the misogyny and male prejudices of the west of Scotland.' (King 1993: 173). Further, Lochhead's *True Confessions* in (1981) is described as 'a warm, witty feminist revue shot through with Glasgow's backgrounds, speech rhythms and dry humour … The fun, the absurdity and deep underlying pain of being a truly modern woman who keeps trying, against her better judgement, to form happy relationships with men.' (Joyce McMillan 1982, quoted in Clune 1993: 80). Horvat and Smith also discuss Lochhead's participation in 'the Glaswegian comedy circuit co-writing revues like *A Bunch of Fives* (1982) with Tom Leonard, Dave Anderson, Dave McLennan and Sean Hardie and *A Pie of Damocles* (1983) with Leonard, Alisdair Gray and James Kelman [*Tickly Mince* is another revue by the same performers]' (2009: 72).

[147] Clune discusses the ways in which these populist elements interact in Liz Lochhead's drama: 'Lochhead and what we might call her 'performativity' allow us to examine what constitutes a theatrical act. Her use of poems, sketches, songs, voices and monologues expresses a culturally diverse and truly 'popular' aesthetic, rooted in a fascination with the female psyche.' (1993: 75)

Both Smith and Paul employ music, song and dance in their shows, linking their work to the 'Scottish tradition' of the music-hall.[148] However, this form of theatre can also be linked with the wider feminist movement in theatre, particularly of the 1970s, as Elaine Aston explains: 'working through popular entertainment forms like cabaret meant that women were not only breaking new ground but were also warming to an agitprop style of entertainment which aimed to instruct in an accessible way. One of the key influences on women's groups and writers for the development of this was the theories and practice of a Brechtian style of theatre' (1994: 118). Furthermore, Carlson states that the use of song in British women's comedy 'like the use of cross-gender and multiple-role casting, increases the distance between these plays and realistic theatre' (1991: 221). The use of music and song in these productions may be interpreted as a move away from the social realism, or 'gritty naturalism', of traditional Clydeside stage drama, towards a wider British tradition of women's stand-up comedy, it also serves to situate them more generally within the global feminist movement.

Yet, in line with Goldie's comments, Paul's work, where it is commented on at all, is usually read specifically through its engagement with Glasgow. Highlighting the locality of her performances, one newspaper review of Paul's recent tour classes it as 'another offering of working-class Glaswegian tales' (Rudden 2009: 16).[149] It is undeniable that Paul's shows frequently make reference to Glasgow's landmarks, such as the Orient Cinema and Duke Street and her stories are concerned with the issues of 'tenement life' (such as cleaning the stairs), as well as West of Scotland religious bigotry. This locality masks somewhat the fact that Paul's comedy actually engages with wider feminist concerns. Similarly, Smith's sketches draw on Clydesideist themes such as Glasgow's poverty, masculine hard drinking/ pub culture, and working-class vernacular, but these references are used sparingly. Smith's comedy, particularly *Hormonally Driven* (2000), is based on the premise of more universal concerns, namely the relationship between men and women. The locality of the performance is signposted mainly through Smith's (at times, broad) Glaswegian

[148] See Marshalay (1992), Bain (1996), Zenzinger (1996), and Flurunsco (1996).
[149] As well as her one-woman plays, Paul's other work includes the two-woman play *The Glasgow Girls* (1996), in which she starred alongside Barbara Rafferty. Paul also co-wrote *The Happy Medium* with comedy writer John Bett, described by the Byre Theatre as a 'wickedly funny, gallous Glasgow comedy about a wee Glasgow woman'. http://www.byretheatre.com/archive/detail.php?autoProd=114 Accessed 16/06/10.

accent. As Goldie suggests, Paul and Smith's commitment to Glasgow has a limiting effect on the breadth of appeal these shows command, yet, it will be argued that these shows may be read differently, when placed in a wider, global context.

RESISTING THE GLOBAL *AND* RESITUATING THE MALE: SCOTTISH WOMEN'S COMEDY AS A FORM OF RESISTANCE?

Writing on contemporary theatre, Jo Robinson explains that 'the global' and 'globalization' are 'potentially problematic terms, which tend towards an erasure of cultural differences rather than an acknowledgement of their value […] such anxieties about the erasure of difference and the imposition of homogeneity are replicated in debates over globalization' (2007: 231).[150] The engagement with indigenous local, or more widely national, culture can be viewed as a form of resistance to global cultural movements which are apparently increasingly affecting the nation and which have a potentially standardizing influence.

Debates over globalisation are often concerned with American cultural imperialism, where American material and popular culture - through such forms as 'McDonaldisation' or 'Disneyfication' - encroach upon the nation, with the undesirable effect of diluting specific national and local cultures (see Harvey (2006) for a discussion of this).[151] Resultantly, this phenomenon is often viewed negatively. Scullion, however, challenges this type of thinking:

> It is a commonplace within popular discourses to comment on the negative and the destructive impact of American culture on other less powerful economies and societies. In such commentaries, American culture can be seen

[150] Robinson quotes Harvie and Rebellato's definition of globalization as "compressing time and space, challenging the power of the nation-state, juxtaposing and rubbing out cultural differences, replacing geographical boundaries with the weightless flow of global capital, giving new life to ancient forms of cultural rivalry." (2007: 231)

[151] Patrice Pavis defines the notion of 'Disneyland culture', saying it 'offers samples of all products, provided that they are sufficiently standardized, easily accessible to, and consumable by, the majority; above all, they must be consensual and assimiable. This multiplicity of cultural samples relativizes all pretension to a lost identity, as much as to any hegemonic ideological project inherited from the Enlightenment. It marks a radical break with a quest for identity, now considered too naïve, in favour of a self-assertion as cynically functionalist and postmodern.' (Pavis 1996: 14)

> to represent a monstrous set of values, the nadir of cultural worth, debasing or destroying all indigenous cultures in its wake. Certainly the economic and social influence of America and American popular culture over the last century should not be underestimated but it seems important to acknowledge that the role of the local, "victimised" culture is not as passive as some producers would have us believe. In a model drawn from debates around contemporary cultural theory, one might more adequately analyse this cultural exchange as a version of interculturalism and view its cultural products as quintessentially hybrid. (2004: 226-227) [152]

The matter of Scottish women's comedy presents a complex engagement with the local and the global. The 'feminist intent' of this 'local comedy' arguably marks an engagement with, and even an *appropriation* of, wider global theatre movements. 'Global theatre' productions like *Mum's the Word* (1993) and Eve Ensler's immensely popular *The Vagina Monologues* are examples of more 'inclusive' explorations of women's experience.[153] Written by 6 Canadian actresses, *Mum's the Word* is a comedy show about Motherhood and the experience of giving birth.

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[152] In his discussion of post-national cinema, Andrew Higson also suggests that the cultural effects of globalisation on national communities should not be view entirely negatively: 'The increasing prominence of transnational economic developments, not least in the media industries, of course puts tremendous pressure on the boundaries between nation-states. The massive capital investment in consumerism and the extensive delivery of cultural products across national borders, from films and television drama to soft drinks, clothing, computer software and recorded music has long had a dramatic effect on the cultural repertoire of once much more parochial communities. But there is also plenty of evidence that the same cultural product will be taken up in quite unique and dissimilar ways within different reception communities, while there is little evidence that taste and cultural preference are securely framed by national boundaries. Identity is far too complex an issue to be reduced to nationality. It is in this context that it seems worth persisting with the use of the term post-national.' (Higson 2000: 40). See also Pavis (1996) and Bharucha (2000) for a discussion of theatre and interculturalism.

[153] A recent review of the latest in this line of 'women's reference comedies' in theatre, *Hormonal Housewives* (2010), testifies to the pervasiveness of this global cultural movement: 'No theatre schedule can be complete without a comedy vehicle that allows the fairer sex to mump its collective gums about weight problems and pole dancing (*The Naked Truth*), giving birth (*Mum's The Word*), the menopause (*Menopause The Musical*), or simply being female (*The Vagina Monologues*). Now, before you can say Pass the HRT patches, please here's another one. *Hormonal Housewives* doesn't, as the title would perhaps suggest, focus on those females who are going through the change of life if that were the case someone a little older than 44-year-old Carol Smillie would be cast in the lead role but instead shines a light on the many, many problems modern women have to contend with. Every woman knows the challenges of juggling a career, childcare and the role of domestic goddess: women were multi-tasking before men stopped wearing loincloths! says the King's Theatre. This hilarious evening of excessive laughter follows three hormonal women as they battle against weight loss, weight gain, mood swings, PMS, pelvic floor exercises, stretch marks, the onslaught of HRT, make-overs, waxing, men, chocolate, upper-lip hair, chocolate, and all the other joys of reaching womanly maturity.' 'Ladies Like to Laugh', *Evening Times* (Glasgow) February 25th, 2010.

According to the website dedicated to this production, *Mum's the Word* has been performed over 10,000 times and has toured across the globe. [154] Its Scottish tour (2002) featured the Scottish actresses Libby McArthur, Blythe Duff, Lorraine McIntosh, Julie Coombs and Carole Anders.

Ensler's production is similarly aimed at a global audience of women, telling intimate stories of women's sexual experience, lesbianism, rape and puberty through a series of monologues performed by female actresses. Both in its content and dissemination, *The Vagina Monologues* can be considered a 'global' production. Ensler's play is based on information she gathered from more than two hundred interviews with women from across the globe. The printed version of the play is sold in over 200 countries worldwide (Ensler 1998). The touring show uses local actresses to tell these universal stories. Scots personalities to take part in it to date include Karen Dunbar, Carol Smillie, Michelle McManus, Kaye Adams, Elaine C. Smith and Julie Coombs. *The Vagina Monologues* provides an interesting example of global theatre 'gone local', as the global franchise tours various places and not only utilises local actresses and celebrities but also draws on local cultural references.[155] One example of this is the rather crude appropriation of BBC Scotland newsreader Shareen Nanjiani's name in rhyming slang.

Elaine Aston comments on the formal structure of Ensler's show, which she claims: 'is indebted to popular entertainment styles of stand-up comedy and character sketch shows. It even has the kind of audience participation one might expect at a pantomime' (2008: 118). Aston contends that the success of Ensler's show 'works formally' through the popular styles of stand-up and sketch comedy (2008: 119). This links Paul's and Smith's shows, both of which utilise similar techniques, with this 'global' style of performance.

What these global, women-centred shows are doing, then, is simultaneously engaging with women's experience but in immediate ways through the use of local

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[154] http://www.mumsthewordtour.co.uk/thebirth.htm Accessed 09/07/10.

[155] In a definite nod to Ensler's *Vagina Monologues*, Alan Bisset's critically acclaimed play the *Moira Monologues* (2010) provides an interesting contribution to the, if not feminist, then, feminine rewriting and comedic engagement with male-centred discourses. Bisset who takes on the persona of Moira, a Falkirk-based cleaner, performs the play. In an interesting twist to the traditions of male dressing as female in popular performance in Scotland, Bisset does not cross-dress; instead he wears jeans and a black t-shirt but takes on the persona, through his hand gestures and 'camped' accent, of 'Moira'. Scottish writer Jackie Kay's comic play *The Maw Broon Monologues* (2009) is another titular appropriation of Ensler's global feminist show. See Joyce McMillan (2009b) 'The Maw Broon Monologues; Maw's Awfy Braw' in *The Scotsman* November 5th 2009, for a discussion of Kay's play.

accents and cultural reference points.[156] This undermines somewhat the potentially negative effects of globalisation on indigenous cultures.[157] Far from standardizing the local through a hegemonic global form, these shows constitute an example of the 'reality of intercultural exchange' (Scullion 2004c: 226), which produces both local and universal reference points for (in this case, female) audiences. This is exactly the stated intention of Elaine C. Smith's comedy:

> In theatre, the vast majority of the audience who buy tickets and sit there are women, yet the majority of the things they watch are stories about men, written by men, directed by men, in theatres and TV corporations run by men. I wanted to put on shows that spoke to women like myself, my sisters and my aunties. [It was] time for a woman to come along and say what she thought about the world from a female perspective, with a Scots accent. Yes, it had been done in England (I was a total admirer of Wood and Walters, and French and Saunders) but no one was doing it commercially in Scotland. Dorothy Paul – who was a great influence on me – was of a different generation, and wonderful though she was and is, there was room for something that spoke of a newer Scotland.' (Smith 2010: 251-273).

Smith also produced a 'Glasgow version of *Shirley Valentine*, in which she was particularly keen to make the story 'matter' to Glaswegian woman by making it in 'their own accents' (Wishart 1995: 19). Arguably, then, the comic productions of Paul and Smith, (and Lochhead and Evarisiti) work on a number of levels. They can be read as specifically 'Glaswegian' in their commitment to place; as Scottish through their utilisation of an indigenous popular tradition; as participating in wider British women's comedy movements, and, just like *The Vagina Monologues*, as a contribution to the women's movement more generally.

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[156] The translation of Michael Tremblay's *Les Belle Soeurs* into Scots, *The Guid Sisters* (1988), may also be viewed as an example of an international, women-centred production that draws on the vernacular.

[157] Giddens highlights the potentially negative effects of globalisation: 'Globalisation, of course, isn't developing in an even-handed way, and is no means wholly benign in its consequences. To many living outside Europe and North America, it looks uncomfortably like Westernisation – or, perhaps, Americanisation, since the US is now the sole superpower, with a dominant economic, cultural and military position in the global order. Many of the most visible cultural expressions of globalisation are American – Coca-Cola, McDonald's, CNN. […] A pessimistic view of globalisation would consider it largely an affair of the industrial North, in which the developing societies of the South play little or no active part. It would see it as destroying local cultures, widening world inequalities and worsening the lot of the impoverished.' (Giddens 2002 [1999]: 15).

These shows may be described as an example of 'glocalisation'. Shand explains that 'the verb 'glocalise' was used to suggest how local issues could interact with international forces in a positive fashion. This describes the process of 'taking the global and making it local', where mass culture is moulded to local needs and concerns' (Shand 2006: 21).[158] These shows may be considered both in local and global terms, without either term taking precedent over the other.[159] The interaction between these two poles, with the local becoming the global and vice versa, is a thematic concern in works by other Scottish playwrights, as will be explored in the next section.

DETERRITORIALISING SCOTLAND: AN EXAMINATION OF DAVID GREIG'S *EUROPE*

Nadine Holdsworth makes the claim that a simultaneous position between the local and the global is a feature of the theatrical work of Stephen Greenhorn and David Greig and that it is particularly evident in their respective plays *Passing Places* (1997) and *Europe* (1994). Holdsworth comments:

> It is [the] complex, and often contradictory, pull towards an indefinable Scotland at the same time as welcoming the possibilities inherent in a cosmopolitan global community that makes these works by Greig and Greenhorn so politically and theatrically significant. (2003: 39)

Both plays address the changing nature of the nation in the contemporary globalised world and the break up of large states into smaller units. Each play attends in its own

[158] Pacione describes it thus: 'The term 'glocalisation' has been used to describe the simultaneous operation of processes of Delocalisation or de-territorialisation evident for example, in the instaneity of email communication across the globe and Re-localisation or re-territorialisation, whereby Global influences interact with and are transformed within local context' (Pacione 2004: 9).

[159] For Kearney, Irish popular culture is similarly hybrid: 'what is true of Ireland's historical culture is even truer of its contemporary culture. The internationalisation of Irish art is now a common phenomenon: the Chieftains, Van Morrison, Sinead O'Conner, U2 in music; Jordan and Sheridan in cinema; Heaney, Muldoon, Banville in literature, Friel or Riverdance on stage. Each of these cultural forms has shown how the most indigenous of materials can be combined with an innovative cosmopolitanism.' (1997: 101)

way to the instability of notions of identity and belonging experienced by citizens as these changes take place.[160] In *Passing Places* Greenhorn embraces the more positive 'new possibilities of belonging' that scholars like Bell associate with postnationalism and deterritorialisation, where identities are realised in more hybrid and inclusive ways (Bell 2004a: 131). Defining these terms, Bell explains:

> The concept of deterritorialisation may be closely linked to postnationalism, referring to broad changes now taking place in the understanding and organisation of communities at national and transnational level. Deterritorialisation, therefore, refers to the ways in which identity can no longer be taken for granted, taking into account the effects of globalisation and cosmopolitanism. It refers to the ways in which, as David Harvey has suggested, space and time are now also subject to renegotiation and reconfiguration. (2004a: 137)

Conversely, Greig focuses on the crisis of belonging experienced by refugees in the wake of the violent dissolution of states in Eastern Europe. Despite obvious differences in setting and language – Greig's play is set out-with Scotland and the accents employed are of an Eastern European variety,[161] whereas Greenhorn's play is set very definitely in Scotland, and the main characters speak in Glaswegian accents - both these plays have been labelled Scottish. These plays are often read as dealing with 'Scottish' concerns, particularly the Clydeside myth, although in more 'oblique' and 'indirect' (Holdsworth 2003, Blandford 2007) ways than the productions previously discussed in this chapter. Yet, the extent to which Greig's play in particular engages with notions of Scottish identity, even on an allegorical level, is questionable. It will be argued here that Greig actually rejects any sense of the local (and indeed, national) in favour of the global (or international).

Scholars and critics are divided on how to classify David Greig and his works. One reviewer highlights the national consciousness of Greig's dramaturgy:

[160] Blandford explains that *Europe* and *Passing Places* have in common a 'mistrust of essentialist identities' (2007: 155).

[161] It must be noted, however, that the setting of *Europe* is never made explicit, as Peter Zenzinger points out: 'The context of the play is generally understood to be the war in ex-Yugoslavia: there is a reference to the past under Tito and another to the Croatian town of Knin (Eu 52, 57), but Greig has taken care not to be too narrowly specific.' (2005: 269)

> Transit areas, borders, stop-off points that are neither one place nor the other, and cultural no-mans-lands, are Greig's principal imaginative terrain. This is the case in a text-based play like *Europe (*1994), which *projects his preoccupation with Scottishness* on to a redundant railway station in a decaying, unnamed central European town that has, historically, suffered all the indignities and identity crises of being a mere border between rival powers. (Taylor 1999: 11, emphasis added)

However, another reviewer claims that Greig's plays 'are as likely to be set in Gibraltar or San Diego as Scotland, and the issue of Scots identity is *far from central* to [his] concerns' (Logan 2003: 14, emphasis added).[162] In line with the passage quoted from the first commentator, Holdsworth insists that despite the elusive commitment to location and 'examination of factors such as the forces of international capital, technological change, commodity fetishism, globalisation, ethical accountability and American imperialism' his plays are committed to questioning Scotland and Scottish identity 'by evoking particular Scottish histories, cultural memories, archetypes and global signifiers, combined with considerations of belonging and the complexities of nationalism' (2008: 133-134). Many readings of *Europe* similarly suggest that despite the 'elusive' and 'oblique' sense of place evoked by the play, its concerns are actually Scottish.[163] Such readings, which suggest that Greig's play transposes 'Scottish' concerns onto unfamiliar territory, i.e. the unnamed border-town in Europe in which the play is set, imply that *Europe* may usefully be described as a 'deterritorialised' Scottish play.[164]

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[162] Scullion comments that Greig's plays are 'all are cool, intellectually rigorous investigations into the philosophies, politics and prejudices that shape Scottish society, but none is in any easy or predictable way *about* Scotland.' (Scullion 2005: 771) Similarly, Steve Blandford discusses the contribution Greig has made to Scottish theatre: 'Of late it is common to read astonished accounts of the sheer volume of David Greig's work and at his age it is astonishing to read that he has written thirty-seven plays for the stage. Much more important in this context, however, is the way that he has constantly re-cast the idea of writing about questions of Scottish identity in the era of devolution. In doing so consistently and in such a variety of ways he has probably made one of the most sophisticated and important contributions to the development of a 'new' Scottish culture and the way it is viewed, particularly outside the United Kingdom.' (2007: 155)

[163]See Rebellato (2002), Reinelt (2003), Zenzinger (2005). Horvat and Smith also make the claim that Greig's play engages with 'Scottish identity': 'Other contemporary Scottish playwrights redefined Scottish identities in the context of global changes in plays like David Greig's (1969-) *Stalingrad* (1992), *Europe* (1993), and *One Way Street* (1995).' (2009: 73)

[164] Rebellato discusses the concept of deterritorialised theatre: 'several recent plays and performance texts work through a kind of de-territorializing ambiguity. *Stoning Mary* by Debbie Tucker Green (Royal Court/Plymouth Drum, 2005) is 'set in the country it is performed in' and 'all characters are white' (p.2), though the three scenarios that are described – a couple deciding which one of them will

Commentators have found parallels between the setting of the play, the 'small decaying provincial town in Europe', which is suffering from unemployment as 200 men lose their jobs in the local factory due to the influence of 'aggressive global market forces' (Holdsworth 2001: 30) and the economic situation (in the 1980s and 1990s) in Scotland's central belt (Reinelt 2001, Zenzinger 2005). The male characters in Greig's play are to be replaced in the factory by machines which are 'able to run a furnace' (Greig: 10) as their manual labour is deemed unnecessary and unprofitable. The fact that the character Berlin has lost his job and, consequently, a marker of his masculinity (Holdsworth 2003: 30), is evidence enough for critics like Janelle Reinelt to identify a thematic link with Scotland.

> An additional aspect of this play's strength comes from the implication of regionality that Greig brings from his own identity, living and working in Scotland. The Scottish intertextuality of the script is obvious in Adele's train spotting (clearly associated with Scotland since the well-known novel and film of that name) and moreover in the scenes between local people, which capture working class life in a depressed Scotland as easily as in the middle of Europe. These situations are not identical, but they can be usefully compared. (2001: 380)

While it would be churlish to deny that the masculine angst, unemployment and the disintegration of traditional working patterns in the unnamed border town connect with a central trope in much Scottish fiction, the usefulness of such a comparison is somewhat questionable. The impact of 'aggressive' global market forces are felt globally, therefore men (and indeed women) in small towns, regions or nations world-wide will experience similar loss; the situation is not specific to the West of Scotland. Despite seeming to pay homage to the working-class, urban narratives of the seventies tradition in Scottish theatre, through a focus on male angst, the dissolution of the working-class community, and changing patterns of employment, Greig's play

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use their one allocated AIDS treatment, a woman condemned to death by stoning, and the return of a child soldier – are more readily associated with the continent of Africa. At the Royal Court, then, the play appeared to be taking place both in Africa and in the UK.' (2009: 80). Rebellato reads Greig's other works *The Cosmonaut's Last Message to the Woman he Once Loved in the Former Soviet Union* and *San Diago* (2003) as examples of this: 'The deterritorializing quality of these plays perhaps expresses a growing sense that territory is no longer an adequate focus for political aspiration, that the forces that threaten us require the bursting of national boundaries in favour of a more cosmopolitan sense of ourselves as global citizens with rights and obligations that span the world' (2008: 258).

actually moves beyond these narratives and sets such themes as universal, not purely Scottish.[165] This proves Edgar's contention that:

> The decline of the dominant role of men – in the workplace and in the family – is probably the biggest single story of the last thirty years in the western countries, and it has given a whole generation of young male playwrights and some women playwrights too – a subject to embrace. (1999: 28)

With *Europe* Greig moves out-with the parameters of a 'Scottish' tradition in theatre and connects more readily with wider international concerns.

STATES OF BELONGING IN EUROPE

Arguably, not only are traditional notions of Scottish cultural nationalism rejected in the play, but the very concept of the nation as a potential place of belonging, or category of identification, is rendered redundant.[166] The train-station, in which most of the action takes place, could be viewed as a nation in microcosm; like the contemporary crisis of nationalism (see Bell 2004a, 2004b), the station is losing its meaning due to larger forces at work at global levels. The station is no longer in operation because, according to Fret, "Since they opened the border the trains don't have to stop here anymore" (Greig 2002: [1994] 45). In an argument between Fret (the stationmaster) and Adele (his daughter) about the refugees (Katia and Sava) who have taken refuge in the empty station, the word 'station' could easily be exchanged with 'nation':

[165] There is a strain of thinking, however, which argues that Glasgow felt the move from industrial to post-industrial society more keenly than elsewhere due to its 'special position in the development of British industrial capitalism' and its role within the empire, as McInnes explains: 'if the rise of Glasgow's industrial power was fast, so too was its fall. Its industrial expansion was dangerously dependent on a narrow imperial role.' (1995: 1-4). Although Kendrick, Bechhofer and McCrone suggest differently: that 'an examination of sectoral employment changer only confirms how close the Scottish structure has been to that of Britain […] Scotland like Britain as a whole has experienced a massive shift into service employment, first in terms of a slow move from agriculture, forestry and fisheries, with manufacture retaining its share for the best part of a hundred years; then in terms of a rapidly accelerating shift mainly (though by no means exclusively) at the expense of manufacturing.' (1985: 99). See also McCrone (1989), (1996) and Gall (2005).

FRET I don't care who they are they can't loiter on my platform. We're not a bloody youth hostel.
ADELE I don't see what harm they're doing.
FRET It's my station.
ADELE Is it?
FRET Probably…I don't know…I'm not sure but it can't be allowed to continue…
ADELE Why not?
FRET Because…Because…
(Greig 2002 [1994]: 13)

Mirroring the irrationality of racism, Fret's xenophobic rants are non-sensical; he cannot vocalise why Sava and Katia should not stay. His own fragile sense of identity is weakened by the changes occurring above the level of the nation, therefore the incomers to 'his' station, or nation, are viewed as a threat.[167]

However, Sava and Fret eventually do find a common identity, defining themselves not by nationality, race or ethnicity, but by the fact that both are 'railway men', as Sava comments: "it's a funny thing, Mr Fret, but in my experience a railway man is a railway man wherever you go. We speak the same language, we think the same way" (Greig 2002: 52). This emerging bond between Sava and Fret is destined to be short-lived as the town's newly unemployed furnace men, in a bid to rid 'their town' of incomers, literally ignite racial tensions by burning down the station in which both men are staying. The station as nation disintegrates; Katia and Adele become nomads and leave the town for a transient existence travelling around wider Europe.

The disintegration of the nation and the contingent nature of contemporary notions of belonging are further compounded in the play through the disappearance of Katia's homeland:

ADELE Where do you come from?
KATIA Does it matter?
ADELE I'm only asking.

[167] See Nesteruk (2000), Rebellato (2002) and Müller (2005) for a discussion of racism in Greig's play.

KATIA I'm not sure.

ADELE Not sure?

KATIA Like I said. I'm not sure.

ADELE But. You must know. Everyone knows where they come from.

KATIA The place I came from isn't there anymore. It disappeared.

ADELE A place can't just disappear.

KATIA Its name was taken off the maps and signposts. I couldn't find it anywhere.

ADELE Its name might have changed but the place must still be there. It's the same place…isn't it?

KATIA There's no way of checking. (Greig 2002 [1994]: 41)

For Katia, the place she once called home is gone and with it, so too is her identity. She has lost everything and has witnessed first hand the horrors of a narrow-minded nationalism, thus identification with a specific sense of place no longer matters to her. Resultantly, these characters display a sense of 'displacement', as Anja Müller explains:

> Maybe it is no coincidence that the play stages two women as the characters who experience the most radical form of displacement – and simultaneously handle it best, too. Katia and Adele are neither interested in a nation, nor in politics, nor in economical gain. Being women, they are detached, from the beginning, from important factors of cohesion. Without anything that belongs to them, they cut the bonds to which they belong, in order to belong with each other. […] Katia and Adele, finally find solace in cosmopolitanism, assuming the role of migrants who willfully give up the notion of a stable self for constant renegotiations of their position in ever new contexts. (2005: 164-165)

This concern with such unstable and elusive forms of identity is not only a recurring trope in much of Greig's work; it is a central issue in much recent Scottish drama. [168]

[168] David Pattie discusses the issue of identity in Greig's theatrical oeuvre: 'Greig's work explores individual identity in a shifting political and social climate; his best work – *Europe* (1994), *The Cosmonaut's Last Message to the Woman he Loved in the Former Soviet Union* (1999), *Victoria* (2000), *Outlying Islands* (2002) – links him to a tradition of British playwriting which has been dominant arguably since World War II, and certainly since 1968: a tradition which regards theatre as

Indeed, one of the main remits of leading Scottish theatre group Suspect Culture (co-founded by Greig and Graham Etough) is to deal with increasingly tenuous and complex forms of identity:

> In the context of post-devolution Scotland, then, Suspect Culture's contribution to any definition of a new national culture is ambiguous and oblique. The company deals with questions of identity, but not in a way that has direct links to questions of the nation or national culture. Rather, they frequently address the absence of identity as any kind of reassurance. As Rebellato puts it: "Typical settings for Suspect Culture shows are what Marc Augé has called 'non-places', spaces brought into being by the rapid expansion of communication and transport characteristic of globalisation. Such places are anonymous, functional – airports, shopping malls, hotels, bars, motorway service stations." (Blandford 2007: 149-150, see also Rossini 2000)

Scottish playwright Nicola McCartney's *Cave Dwellers* (2002), a production for 7:84 Scotland, is a similarly elusive take on contemporary notions of belonging and identity. Joyce McMillan describes the play as 'a two-hour dramatic poem […] which seeks to feel its way deep into the minds of those desperate enough to leave behind everything they know' (2002: 9). As in Greig's play, the issue of immigration is explored through the predicament of refugees and asylum seekers.

The setting of the play is equally as ambiguous as Greig's unnamed border town, being described as: 'The Present. A cave in a cliff face, overlooking an expanse of water, somewhere in Europe.'[169] Adding to the sense of ambiguity, not only is the location unnamed, so too are all but one of the four main characters; they are called simply Man, Old Woman, Young Woman and Boy, until near the end of the play when Man's name is revealed as Joseph. The refugees' story runs alongside Joseph's dramatic monologue and, although it is never overtly expressed, the play implies that the character Man has been rescued from the sea by immigration control in an unnamed country during his bid to enter it illegally. His monologue is made up from the answers he gives immigration officials during an interview. When asked why he

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perhaps the best vehicle for those who wish to show us, as powerfully as possible, what it feels like to live in a changing, uncertain world.' (2006: 395)

[169] Nicola McCartney *Cave Dwellers* 2002, unpublished Script. Accessed from the University of Glasgow's Special Collections, Scottish Theatre Archive, call number STA Hp 7/11.

has tried to enter the country Man replies with the strange answer: 'Why…? Why…? I have never warmed to "why". It's such an unspecific question, don't you think? "Where" is different, where is easy – "there", you say. Or "here." (Act 1, Sc 1)
As these opening lines suggest, a central trope throughout the play is ambiguity. The juxtaposition between the easy sense of "where" and the difficult notion of "why" is undermined in the play as "where" proves just as difficult a term to understand: the audience is never told where the refugees are fleeing from, or even which country they are trying to enter.

Throughout the play, new forms of community are prohibited from forming as the characters from various countries misunderstand each other and do not sympathise with one another's plight. A poignant example of this occurs when Old Woman goes to tell Young Woman her name but is told to "eat, just eat" (Act 1 Sc3). In such desperate times and places the instinct to eat and survive, it seems, is stronger than the desire to form relationships with others.

Both Greig's and McCartney's plays address the complex, difficult questions of identity and belonging in the contemporary world, but arguably neither link these identities with any specific nation, and ultimately they can be seen to move beyond (Scottish) national concerns altogether. Consequently, to identify these plays too narrowly as 'Scottish' seems a rather redundant and limiting way in which to read them.

Greenhorn, on the other hand, explores the moral and ethical possibilities of specifically Scottish identity within the context of the European Union, where borders and boundaries are more 'porous' (Pattie 2008: 150) and citizenship rights extend above and beyond the national. Arguably, Greenhorn's plays, which will be explored in more detail in the next section, provide a much more 'self-conscious engagement' with 'Scottish' (cultural and political) nationalism and national identity.[170]

This brings into doubt Nadine Holdsworth's claim that both playwrights Greig and Greenhorn are committed to 'grappling with notions of Scotland and Scottish identity' in their plays, which suggests the belief 'that there is something residually important about the nation, something that is worth trying to hold on to, worth trying to articulate amidst the increasing encroachment of globalisation into all areas of

[170] See Rossini (2000), Holdsworth (2003), Scullion (2005) and Blandford (2007) for a discussion of these issues in *Passing Places*.

economic, political and cultural life' (Holdsworth 2003: 39).[171] This may well be the case in terms of Greenhorn's output and Greig's other plays, e.g. *Caledonia Dreaming* (1997) and *Being Norwegian* (2003) but the extent to which it is evident in *Europe* is questionable.[172] With its focus on racism, xenophobia and exploitation, *Europe* questions the very concept the 'nation', showing it as the repository of a dangerous, explosive, and violent nationalism. Greig's play suggests that there is nothing about nationalism, Scottish or otherwise, that is 'worth holding on to'. Further, the references to Scottish cultural national myths in *Europe* are just that, references, there is no attempt to reclaim or interrogate these national markers of identity.[173] In this, Greig's play can be seen to deliberately 'look beyond Scotland' (Scullion 2005: 773) and to move away from cultural national notions of identity.

Greig's play undoubtedly questions notions of belonging and identity in relation to globalisation, but the identities portrayed in the play are in no tangible way 'Scottish'. They are perhaps more usefully thought of as European, as Zenzinger points out:

> Abandoning the narrow notion of national and artistic identity traditionally associated with Scottish dramatists, which minimised their aesthetic worth and offered but few possibilities of international audiences to sympathise with their problems, David Greig is a representative of a new school of Scottish writers that have integrated their identity in a more comprehensive and complex, a new, European identity. His dramatic work offers convincing proof of the advantages of working in a European, globalised context. (2005: 280)[174]

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[171] Greig's contention that, given the chance, he would now situate the play in Scotland, is well commented upon. With this, Greig implies that his play is not especially 'Scottish', but that the same things are happening everywhere, so re-setting the action to Scotland wouldn't really make much difference to the potential 'meanings' of the play.

[172] Greig's short play *Being Norwegian*, performed as part of Oran Mor's 'A Play, A pie and A Pint' season, is also concerned with exploring the validity of national identity. Comic generalisations on what it means to 'be Norwegian' provide the focal point of the play, but in concentrating on this, Greig raises the ultimate question of what it means to belong to any nationality (see MacMillan). Clearly Scottish, if a bit eccentric, the female character claims that to be Norwegian involves enjoying long silences and contradictorily also that Norwegian's like to talk softly to each other all night. Through these contradictions the play ultimately highlights the very absurdity of essentialist national identities.

[173] Alan Bisset's recent short play *Turbo Folk* (2010) shares some similarities with Greig's *Europe* in that it is set out with Scotland in an unnamed ex-Soviet country. However, this play is very much concerned with interrogating the nature of 'Scottishness' and the myths of nationalism (see McMillan 2010: 38).

[174] Emaneula Rossini also argues that contemporary writers such as Greig 'go beyond the binary oppositions of Scottishness versus Englishness which had predominated in the past and limited the

This analysis of *Europe* ultimately questions the validity of fitting theatrical productions into national critical traditions, such as Clydesideism, in the first place.

THE CONTEMPORARY THEATRE OF GREENHORN AND DILLON

> The Glasgow-centered "dark and dangerous city" stereotype […] corresponds to the discourse of "Clydesideism" referred to here (although the recent literary efforts of Irvine Welsh, James Kelman, and others to transplant this discourse's elements to Edinburgh show that it retains resonance beyond the Clydeside area). *The Big Man,* based on a book of the same name by William McIlvanney (1986), is just one recent cinematic manifestation of this discourse, which has run through Scottish drama for much of this century. Clydesideism, originally coined to refer to "the nostalgic idealization of the working class in heavy industries now on the verge of extinction and the associated all-male culture in which class bitterness was combined with football" (Calder 1994, 230), has taken on darker connotations in recent years, following the actual collapse of most of these heavy industries and the resulting unemployment and social dislocation. (Bicket 1999: 6)

As discussed in the previous section, Greig's play raises significant questions surrounding whether Scottish concerns are still usefully thought of as 'Scottish' when transposed onto different territory. More specifically, it questions the extent to which the characters in the unnamed border town in which *Europe* is set effectively depict the unemployment and male angst associated with the Glasgow-based discourse of Clydesideism. The fact that this situation can be thought of in European – or, more

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debate on Scottish identity. A European consciousness is developed and goes beyond a nationalist or a British-centred vision of identity' (2000: 149). See also Jeff Willcocks (2008).

widely, international – rather than Scottish national terms, means that it is not particularly useful to classify the play in this way.

However, a number of recent populist theatrical productions fit rather more 'neatly' into the category of Clydeside drama, these include Des Dillon's plays *Blue Hen* (2010) and *Singing I'm No a Billy He's a Tim* (2005) and Stephen Greenhorn's musical *Sunshine on Leith* (2007). Each focuses on themes frequently held as belonging to Clydesideism, including unemployment from heavy industry and the associated crisis of masculine identity, socialism, sectarianism, and the sentimental idealisation of the lost working-class community (Petrie 2004: 38). Yet, as intimated by its title, one of the most successful of these productions is set not in Glasgow, but instead, as Joyce McMillan asserts, 'very firmly' in Leith (Internet 1).

Unlike Glasgow, Edinburgh and its city regions are not frequently represented in popular culture as working-class or post-industrial.[175] This may have implications for the 'resonance' of such themes in drama set in and around this city. Ian Spring's assessment of Alan Spence's Edinburgh-based play *Changed Days* (1991) is illustrative of this point:

> My darkest thoughts about *Changed Days*, however are related not to the play itself but to the nature of Edinburgh mythologies. Does Edinburgh itself exist in the popular imagination as a working-class city? I'm not asking if working-class people have memories and images of where they live – that is a different thing. But, has Edinburgh any real radical tradition, any real sweaty, industrial guts in its persona? The stuff that makes Glasgow such a powerful source of urban narrative. If the answer is no, then perhaps *Changed Days* is only partially successful in recovering for the working-class inhabitants of the capital their own 'lost' history. (1992: 28)

[175] There are, of course, very valid historical reasons for this relating to the industrial and economic development of the city, as Ivan Turok explains: 'Over the years Edinburgh has developed an exceptional concentration of jobs in financial and business services, with tourism also more significant than elsewhere. The city has been fortunate in having these long-standing sector strengths. It did not develop an industrial base on the scale of many other Scottish cities and towns.' (Turok 2008: 64) It may be argued that *Trainspotting* (1993) is an exception to this rule, as Petrie 2004 points out 'Welsh's vivid representation of this particular stratum of Edinburgh society undermines the familiar reductive binary conception of Glasgow – the locus of an authentic, working-class Scottish identity – contrasted with an Edinburgh that is necessarily inauthentic, bourgeois and Anglo-centric.' (2004: 91) although it is perhaps more pertinent to classify the characters in Welsh's novel (and in its theatrical and filmic adaptations) not as working-class but as belonging to an underclass of drug addicts and criminals, as various commentators have pointed out.

Glasgow's 'powerful urban narrative', linked particularly with the Clydeside discourse and informing countless cultural productions of the seventies and eighties, is undoubtedly drawn on in Dillon's plays. Yet, *Sunshine on Leith* can also be thought of as evocative of such concerns. This serves to question the extent to which such seemingly Glaswegian issues are still usefully thought of as belonging to Clydesideism when the action is moved from this specific urban locale to a district of Edinburgh. David Martin-Jones raises these concerns in his discussion of the filmic adaptation of Irvine Welsh's *The Acid House*:

> *The Acid House*, then, recreates the post-industrial milieu usually associated with Clydesidism, but clearly locates its tales of contemporary working-class life to an identifiable region of Edinburgh, to which its inhabitants are branded, or brand themselves, as belonging. In so doing, the film questions Clydesidism's conflation of Scottish post-industrial working class identity with the city of Glasgow. (2009: 116-117)

Arguably, the discourse of Clydesideism is undermined by such representations. The next section intends to interrogate the discourse further by assessing the importance of setting and theme in recent populist theatrical productions.

CONTEMPORARY REPRESENTATIONS OF 'HARD' GLASGOW

> They haven't made plays like Des Dillon's *Blue Hen* since the early 1980s […] Its theme about male loss of dignity in a post-industrial world echoes the gizza-job camaraderie of *The Boys from the Blackstuff*. And its meat-and-two-veg presentation harks back to a time when you could throw on a play without worrying about fancy stagecraft. (Fisher 2010: 44)

Produced by NLP (No Limit People Theatre Company), which aims to provide theatre for 'people who don't do theatre', [176] *Blue Hen* is set in working-class Coatbridge, one of Glasgow's peripheral towns, and is particularly indebted to the Clydesideist tradition.

It is a social realist play that employs the sociolect of the West of Scotland's working-classes and recounts the attempts of two unemployed steel workers to maintain a decent standard of living on a tough housing scheme. In an attempt to become self-sufficient, John Maclelhatton (played by Charles Lawson) and Paddy Rafferty (Scott Kyle) concoct an ill-fated plan to raise chickens in the 'back green' of their communal housing. The plan, however, is destined to failure as they make the mistake of buying roosters instead of hens. Most of the action is set in the 'back green', with the characters entering and leaving the sparse set through the close of their run-down building.

Telling a familiar story of unemployment, urban deprivation and 'social dislocation', Dillon's drama deals with the implications of de-industrialisation on masculine identity. In this male-centred play, Dillon appears to be guilty of the charges previously levelled at those resolutely Clydeside writers like McIlvanney, whose fictions were male-centred and portrayed female characters in limiting ways. In *Blue Hen*, women are only referred to in the derogatory terms of John and Paddy's discussions. John's mother is described as a nag who constantly berates her son; local

[176] NLP was founded in 2005 by *I'm no A Billy* and *Blue Hen* actor Scott Kyle, its aim, as proclaimed in its tag line, is to make a popular theatre which is more appealing to a wider section of society. Its website states that the company successfully completed this goal with over 70% of the audience for *I'm No a Billy I'm a Tim* having never attended the theatre before. See www.nlptheatre.co.uk. Accessed 17/06/2010.

talent Dicey Riley is a 'jaikie hoor' (Dillon 2010: 3), and Paddy's ex-wife is similarly termed 'that wee Easterhouse hoor' (ibid: 23). Women are also the butt of the masculine jokes, as in the following quip concerning the roosters:

> JOHN Bigger and uglier every day.
> PADDY Know what they look like? Pterodactyls.
> JOHN So they do, prehistoric monsters. It's hard to believe they were wee and lovely once int it?
> PADDY That's how most men feel about their wives.
>
> *They laugh.*
> (Dillon 2010: 27-28)

The only other character in *Blue Hen* is another male, local drug dealer Bannon (James McAnerney), an ex-steel worker who takes advantage of the anomie characterising this de-industrialised area by selling drugs to those looking for an escape from the drudgery of unemployment. Similar to *I'm No a Billy I'm a Tim* and *Sunshine on Leith*, this comic play reflects on serious social concerns. According to theatre critic Mark Brown, the play 'seethes with rage at the ongoing neglect of working-class communities devastated by the destruction of central Scotland's heavy industries in the 1980s' (2010: 10). It portrays this message through an unashamed sentimental streak, in which the relationship between Paddy and John sets out to elicit the audience's sympathy with its touching father/son dynamic. John's struggle with mental illness is also particularly emotive.

Dillon's earlier NLP production *I'm No A Billy He's A Tim* tells the story of Billy (Scott Kyle) and Tim (Colin Little) (a Rangers and a Celtic fan respectively) who are locked up together in a cell in Glasgow on the day of an Old Firm match, due to a series of rather contrived plot elements.[177] The play's structure reflects the running time of a football match in its two forty-five minute 'halves'. Like *Blue Hen*, this is a decidedly male-centred text that convincingly deals with the 'machismo of

[177] This play with naming is reminiscent of the character Bill MacWilliam in Hector McMillan's *The Sash* (1973), who is, unsurprisingly, an Orangeman. This play also deals – albeit in a rather different way - with religious bigotry.

the terraces' (Fisher 2009: 34), with the two main characters complemented by policeman, Harry. As such, this play conforms to the all-male culture of Clydesideism, with its masculine focus, its thematic concern with football and the sectarian division surrounding Glasgow's Celtic and Rangers football teams.

However, the more traditional elements of this production are tempered by a complex engagement with identity. The arguments between Billy and Tim over what 'being Scottish' and 'being Irish' mean provide a thought-provoking engagement with the 'vicissitudes' of national, religious and ethnic identity. Indeed, the printed version of the play asserts that 'this book is about bigotry and ethnic identity. […] This book is an allegory for the Irish Peace Process and peace processes all over the world.' (Dillon 2008 [2005]: i) This concern with the complexities of identity features prominently in Greenhorn's production.

A HUE AND CRY FOR HELP: CRISES OF IDENTITY IN SUNSHINE ON LEITH

Greenhorn employs the mode of 'narrative music theatre', that, for Smith (1998: 301), has proved particularly popular in the Scottish context, to explore similar themes related to the dissolution of heavy industry, changing working patterns, unemployment and identity in his 2007 production, *Sunshine On Leith*. The popular tradition of musical theatre has been utilised by Scottish theatre companies, most notably Wildcat, to explore pressing political and social issues.[178] Tom Maguire lists some of the issues Wildcat addressed through this theatrical form:

> New technologies and mass unemployment (*Blooter*, MacLennan and Anderson, 1980); cuts in National Health Service funding (*Bed-Pan Alley*, MacLennan and

[178] Smith explains the origins of this company: 'In 1987, Wildcat, originally a music theatre off-shoot of 7: 84, hit the jackpot with Tony Roper's *The Steamie*, which became the Scottish theatre's longest running box-office success […] This warm-hearted celebration of Glasgow's lost community, seen from the wash-house perspective, confirmed that the old division between the play-going and the variety audience has been overtaken by the narrative music theatre of the 1980s and 1990s.' (1998: 301)

> Anderson, 1984); the miners' strike (*Dead Liberty*, MacLennan and Anderson, 1984); and the Poll Tax (*Harmony Row*, Peter Arnott and Peter Mullan, 1990). American culture and cultural imperialism were recurrent targets in shows like *Hot Burlesque* (David McNiven, 1981) and *Business in the Backyard* (MacLennan and Anderson, 1985). (McGuire 2000, unpaginated)

For Maguire, Wildcat provided a reactionary cultural form through which issues relevant to Scotland could be expressed in the oppressive political context of Thatcherism. As has been explored throughout this thesis, Clydesideism is one of the most pervasive discourses evident in the cultural productions produced in Scotland during the late 1970s and 80s. The reasons for this are varied, but it is true to say that it in some ways it constitutes an 'intervention' (to use Neubauer's term (1999)) at the level of culture in response to the failed Devolution referendum of 1979 and the ensuing political position of Scotland under Thatcherism. Contemplating the inevitability of this cultural response, David Pattie concludes that 'it is no wonder, at a time of national self-questioning, that an attempt was made to accommodate, describe and pay tribute to the authentic Scottish working classes' (Pattie 2000, see also Horvat and Smith 2009: 71-72), who seemed to suffer most under Thatcher's economic reforms. The discourse of Clydesideism 'seemed to offer something that other versions of Scottishness lacked: an authenticity, a sense of real lives lived in the real, modern world' (Pattie 2000). Similar socialist concerns about the consequences of Thatcher's political legacy, the move towards neo-liberalism and the associated decimation of heavy industry inform *Sunshine On Leith*.

However, instead of these issues being dealt with in and around Glasgow's 'Red' Clydeside, Greenhorn's production is very much 'of Leith'. Indeed the musical opens on the steps of Waverly Station as Ally (Michael Moreland) and Davy (Billy Boyd) return home from war and they journey down Leith Walk signing The Proclaimers' hit song 'I'm On My Way'. [179] Greenhorn uses the overtly political (and extremely popular) songs of this Scottish band as a framework for his analysis of the ways in

[179] The war from which Davy and Ally return is never directly named, although it is frequently referred to as a 'desert war' throughout the play, implying that it might be referring to Britain's current involvement in either the Iraq or Afghanistan conflicts.

which changing working practices, privatisation and an increasingly globalised economy affects notions of identity in Leith. [180]

According to Greenhorn, Ally and Davy form 'the central dynamic' of *Sunshine on Leith*, and are essentially Alex and Brian (of *Passing Places*) 'ten years down the line'.[181] Despite their different problems relating to employment, where Alex and Brian struggle to find any jobs, Ally and Davy struggle to fit in with the working practices associated with a service economy. Davy explains to his father that his decision to join the army was based on an attempt to gain a sense of masculine identity, lost through de-industrialisation:[182]

> DAVY It's the army. You go where you're told. You don't get to choose.
>
> RAB Ye get tae choose whether to join or not.
>
> DAVY I didn't know all this'd kick off, did I? Anyway, when you're there, it's not about politics. It's about your mates, the guys next to you. You're together. Ye fight cause you're part of that. Part of something bigger.
>
> DAVY It's solidarity, dad. You're a union man, you must remember that?

[180] The show's musical credentials, which seemingly place *Sunshine on Leith* in a Scottish tradition of political musical theatre, enacted by companies like Wildcat, arguably has a more international flavour. The show emulates the style of so-called 'juke box musicals' (a fact also recognised by Mark Fisher in his 2010 review of the play). These musicals are a global phenomenon in popular theatre in which plots are created by writers forging (sometimes tenuous) links between the songs of a particular band or a time period to create a story around which the show is performed. Some examples of this immensely popular type of theatre include *We Will Rock You* (2002), *Saturday Night Fever* (2004) and *Mamma Mia* (1999).

[181] Yet, in contrast to the all-male casts of Dillon's plays, *Sunshine On Leith* tells the various and interlinked stories of Rab, his wife Jean, their daughter Lizzie and her friend Yvonne. One commentator has noted the show's similarity to the feminine form of the soap opera: 'with its forays into romance and family strife, it's a little like *River City* (another Greenhorn creation) relocated to the east coast and set to music.' (Brown 2010: 12) Brown's remarks are interesting to consider due to the fact that creator Stephen Greenhorn actually intended to set *River City* in Leith.

[182] Davy expresses these sentiments when he discusses his admiration of his father after he takes a heart attack: 'When I was a kid he was still working on the docks. Used to meet him coming home from work and he'd swing me up on his shoulder like it was nothing. Like he could carry you forever. He was so strong back then. I thought nothing could touch him. It's one of the reasons I joined the army. Never told him. But I wanted to be like that. Strong like him. I wanted to be a man like him.' (Greenhorn 2007: 107)

RAB Aye, I remember that. A long time ago.[183]

Rab's melancholic reply reinforces the sense of loss felt by a generation of working class men who are either unemployed or on sick benefits, the legacy of a lifetime of hard work in harsh conditions. Even though Davy is unenthusiastic about the prospect of working in a call centre, Rab (played by John Buick) still places a lot of value on working life, he tells Davy "count yersel lucky. Look at me. When a man cannae work, what's he got left? I'll tell ye. A pair of marigolds and Murder She bloody Wrote" (Greenhorn 2007: 36).

Like the characters in *Blue Hen*, Rab mourns the loss of heavy industry. He is portrayed as a 'reluctantly domesticated male' (McMillan 2003: 85), whose longing to return to his job as a shipbuilder at the Leith docks connects with a central trope in Clydeside drama which exhibits a 'sentimentality towards the yards as a source of masculine pride and meaning that would arise in a context of soaring unemployment during the 1980s' (Petrie 2000: 137).[184]

For the younger generation, however, employment is not unattainable. After their service in the army, Davy and Ally return to Scotland where both find jobs in a call centre, although this is not without its problems. The men must alter the way they speak in order to be better understood by callers, they are advised to alter their broad Leith accents, but at the same time to keep a 'Scottish accent', as this has become a sellable commodity:

ALLY Drop the accent?

INSTRUCTOR No. No. We *want* the accent. Callers find a Scottish accent very trustworthy. Same with Newcastle funnily enough. They both score very highly.
(Greenhorn 2007: 43)

[183] All quotes and references to *Sunshine on Leith* are from an unpublished script of the musical given to the author by Stephen Greenhorn.
[184] Interestingly, *Sunshine on Leith* shares many plot attributes and thematic concerns with Billy Connolly's Glasgow-set show *An Me Wi' a Bad Leg Tae* (1976). These include a son returning form war; an unemployed father; the father having heart attack. They also share socialism as a main theme. Connolly's production is also in a populist theatrical form, throughout which songs and poetry feature prominently. Like The Proclaimers' songs in Greenhorn's musical, Connolly's musical interludes contain political, social and class messages.

In this post-modern consumerist economy, national languages and cultures are branded and commodified.

These new ways of working are not limited to multinational corporations however; Greenhorn highlights the ways in which national Governments create conditions more favourable to tourist industries and travel, where 'painted on differences' (Jack 2007, unpaginated) provide a sellable version of national culture to tourists (see McCrone (et al) 1996). In this production, Leith, once a stronghold of the shipbuilding industry, is defined in different ways in terms of contemporary patterns of employment; work is now available in the service sector, particularly on the decommissioned royal yacht Britannia, which is docked at the Ocean Terminal in Leith. Jean (Ann Louise Ross) works on the yacht as a cleaner and also serves at the receptions held by the local council in their attempt to impress foreign dignitaries:

> JEAN They were Japanese and so polite they were bowing tae ye all the time and ye had to bow back. Honest to god. You'd go through wi a tray a nibbles and come back wi whiplash.
>
> RAB Stupid bloody boat.
>
> JEAN It's no just any bloody boat. It's the bloody Britannia.
>
> RAB Aye, so you'd think it would've seen enough bowing and scraping, wouldn't ye?
>
> JEAN Here we go. Red Rab strikes again.
>
> RAB How much taxpayers' money was wasted on that thing over the years? How many hospitals could they have built instead? Eh, Lizzie?
> (Greenhorn 2007: 10)

Former 'union man' Rab is scathingly critical of the money the government has put into maintaining the Britannia as a tourist attraction and thinks that it would be better spent on providing services for the nation's citizens.

Liz (Jo Freer) sympathises with Rab's views. She is a nurse who works in the newly privatised health service, where care is now run with efficiency targets and nurses are encouraged to "flog phone cards" to patients who are redefined as "customers" (Greenhorn 2007: 18). This is a far cry from Rab's 'good old days', when institutions like hospitals were publicly owned and people had a collective sense of pride in them. Feeling dissociated from the caring profession in Scotland Liz eventually leaves Scotland for America, where she can get paid almost double the wages for the same job. Her reasons for leaving are largely political:

> LIZ You know what a mess this place is in. It's only going to get worse.
>
> YVONNE It doesn't have to. It's worth fighting for.
>
> LIZ But I'm tired of fighting, Yvonne. I've been doing it all my life. Ma dad would take me on demos when I was a kid. Thatcher. Privatisation. The war. I thought things'd be different now. I thought things were gonnae get better. Only here we are, eh. Still waiting for the next big thing. Whatever that might be. A new government. A new parliament. A new prime minister. We're always waiting. But ma life's happening now. And I just don't want to wait any more. (Greenhorn 2007: 95)

For all its lively musical score and energetic dance routines, Greenhorn's production ends on a somewhat depressing note, with Liz leaving her family and splitting up with Ally (whose proposal she rejected) in search of a better life in America. Ally also returns to army life, which he sees as a more attractive option to living in Scotland.

CHALLENGING THE CLYDE: WORKING-CLASS IDENTITY IN LEITH

Just as the Clydesideist drama of the late seventies and eighties lamented 'the destruction of the Glasgow shipyards by Thatcherite economics' (Petrie 2000: 141), so *Sunshine on Leith* convincingly offers a tale of individuals struggling to deal with the loss of heavy industry. The lamentation and nostalgia for such working practices

is, however, mainly embodied in Rab's character. The other characters in the show move the focus away from these (overly familiar) thematic concerns, thereby creating a more diverse drama. [185] Amongst other things, then, *Sunshine On Leith* offers a contemporary tale that deals convincingly with the themes of working-class masculinity, community values, and socialism. As Martin-Jones rightly points out, representing Scotland's post-industrial working-classes in popular culture need no longer be synonymous with Glasgow, and this seriously undermines the very nature of the Clydeside discourse.

While Clydesideism may, as Bicket suggests, 'retain some resonance' beyond the Glasgow area, just how useful is it to read texts in this way? Arguably, the fact that these issues are evident 'furth of Glasgow' implies that the uniqueness of the so-called 'Glasgow tradition' is perhaps not so unique after-all. Unemployment, the transition from heavy industry to the service sector, the associated male angst and the resulting questioning of identity are facts of any (de)industrialised urban area in Western Europe, as Greig's play suggests. Ultimately, these are also rather tired and outdated themes and the production which draws most heavily on them, *Blue Hen*, is actually least successful in terms of both audience numbers and in its critical reception.

Further, if a play (or indeed a film or television series) can be classed as 'Scottish' for drawing on the tropes of Clydesideism, regardless of the setting, then it problematically becomes that kind of 'hegemonic' discourse so bemoaned by McArthur (1982) amongst others.

[185] For instance, another significant plot strand surrounds the recent desert war from which Alex and Davy have just returned, this provides a definite nod to that other populist theatrical phenomenon, the NTS's critically acclaimed, globally successful, *Blackwatch*. Further, as Liz points out in the play, times have moved on from Thatcherite politics. Contemporary employment problems/issues stem from the influence of globalisation, as McGuire points out: 'the dominant political culture of Scotland is itself changing, moving away from labourism to a consumerist cosmopolitanism, which demands and thrives on the new and the innovative'. In this respect, the storylines concerning Ally and Davy's limited employment opportunities within a service economy are more current and therefore more resonant with contemporary audiences than Rab's self-righteous anger over the loss of heavy industry.

CONCLUSION: ASSESSING THE PERFORMANCE OF CLYDESIDEISM

This chapter set out to interrogate the influence, and the usefulness, of a specific cultural national discourse in contemporary theatre and performance. The examination of the feminist revisioning of Clydesideism in women's performance highlighted the continuing problematic representations of identity through this discourse, even after its revisionist treatment. Further, the centrality of this discourse in the categorisation of women's comedy betrayed a complex and wide-ranging performance, which had more in common with global theatrical movements than national ones. The uniqueness of this Glasgow-centred discourse is undermined in Greig's *Europe* (1993) and Greenhorn's *Sunshine on Leith* (2007). Both plays transplant seemingly specific regional concerns to other geographical areas and in doing so loosen the ties with the 'Glaswegian' nature of the discourse.

The next chapter will highlight the increasing destabilisation of the 'semiotics' of Glasgow in contemporary film, in which the city's traditional associations not only 'lose their seeming fixity', but are often discarded completely (Martin-Jones 2009). Recent film scholarship has identified a trend in contemporary productions filmed in Glasgow in which the city is depicted as an 'anywhere land' (Martin-Jones 2009: 64), divested of any specific cultural attributes (Murray 2007, Hibberd 2009).

CHAPTER 3
DE-LOCALISATION IN CONTEMPORARY SCOTTISH FILM

The issue of location in Scottish film is a particularly troubled one. There are contrasting views on the importance of location. On one side, critics like John Hill, who, with reference to the films of Ken Loach, comment on the 'national' significance of a recognisable setting:

> [G]iven the emphasis upon the actuality of place and accuracy of observation in Loach's films, there is inevitably a degree of movement between the local and the general in the way in which they portray character and place. This is clearly so of Loach's Scottish films. The "representativeness" of their stories may relate primarily to issues of class but their emphasis upon the "authenticity" of location and accent […] entails that these films retain strong "national" connotations as well. However, films set in Scotland (no matter how "authentic") are never discursively "innocent" but inevitably occupy a position in relation to pre-existing traditions of representation. (Hill 2009: 90)

This is set against an emerging critical agenda which claims that there is a deliberate attempt on the part of contemporary filmmakers working in Scottish cinema to be 'non-nationally specific', and to situate their films as 'anywhere but Scotland' (McLoone 2002, Street 2009, Martin-Jones 2009).[186] Sarah Street makes this point in her discussion of the 'transnational', or 'post-national', nature of contemporary Scottish cinematic production:[187]

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[186] Both Street and McLoone situate this emerging trend in the context of contemporary British cinema by comparing Scottish produced films such as *Late Night Shopping* with the Welsh production *Human Traffic*. Forthcoming British film *Flutter* starring Ricky Tomlinson, Billy Zane and Laura Fraser looks set to continue this trend, as actress Fraser discusses: 'It's about the Devil and gambling, quite an interesting script, I enjoyed it. We filmed it in Newcastle, but it's set in "anywheresville", at some point in the last 20 years.' http://www.reelscotland.com/?p=6830&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+Reelscotland+%28ReelScotland%29 Accessed 21/01/11.

[187] Street is amongst other scholars who have sought to define the nature of contemporary cinema by labelling it 'post-national', see for example Colin McCabe (1992) and Andrew Higson (2000) who also discuss this. Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie's edited collection *Cinema and Nation* also highlights the increasing salience of the term 'postnationalism' within cinema studies: 'The question of national cinema is thus currently very much on film scholars' critical agenda, where it figures alongside such terms as 'nationalism', 'postnationalism', 'transnationalism' and 'supranationalism', which are held to

> A Scottish setting is often the occasion for a re-evaluation of self that does not necessarily result in an affirmation of place or identity, as in older films such as *I Know Where I'm Going!* On the contrary, landscapes that might be recognizable to some are simply generic to others: one canal stretch is much like any other. The world seems smaller when landscapes merge into each other, as in the scene in *Morvern Callar* when Morvern and Lanna travel by taxi from the airport to their holiday complex in Spain. At first the mountains seem similar to those we have seen in Scotland, and it only gradually becomes clear that the topography is different when more of it is revealed, eventually (and ironically) ending up with blocks of apartments that could be anywhere. (Street 2009: 151)

Scholars working in the field suggest that films such as *Late Night Shopping* (Dir. Saul Metzstein 2001, UK/ Germany), *Morvern Callar* (Dir. Lynne Ramsay 2002, UK/ Canada) and *Red Road* (Dir. Andrea Arnold 2007, UK/ Denmark) are aimed not at a national audience, but at an international one, particularly on the art house festival circuit.[188] It is suggested that in order to appeal to this wider, global audience, the invocation of a specific sense of place in these films is deliberately avoided. In *Morvern Callar* for example 'characters inhabit non-nationally specific hinterlands (supermarkets, raves, holiday resorts, anonymous countryside) that are neither definitely Scotland nor Spain' (Martin-Jones 2009: 56).

There is also the suggestion that such films are deliberately non-Scottish in an attempt to avoid 'regurgitating essential stereotypes and identities'. Martin-Jones points this out with reference to *Trainspotting* (Dir. Danny Boyle 1996, UK) and *Late Night Shopping*:

> As these films show, with the aesthetics of youth film often structured in order to appeal to transnational audiences, they may, in the process, create images of a 'global anywhere' that is no more representative of Scotland or Scottish

identify related or competing phenomena, depending on the specificity of the theoretical account in question.' (2000: 4) See also Hjort (2010).

[188] See McLoone (2001), Murray (2002), (2007), Petrie (2006), Street (2009), Martin-Jones (2009).

identities than the essential stereotypes they deliberately avoid. (Martin-Jones 2006: 153)

The essential stereotypes referred to here emanate mainly from the 'Scotch myths' of Tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism, so vociferously debated over in discussions of Scottish film and media representations since the *Scotch Reels* publication in 1982.[189] By being non-nationally specific, then, these films apparently seek to move beyond the discursive constraints and stereotypical identities and locations associated with these myths.

More specifically, it is possible to identify a trend in the scholarly and critical reception of contemporary productions filmed in Glasgow in which the city is read as an 'anywhere land', being divested of any locally specific cultural attributes (see Martin-Jones 2009: 64, Murray 2007, Hibberd 2009). The productions most often referred to as indicative of this 'delocalisation' of Glasgow include: *Late Night Shopping* (see Murray 2002, Martin McLoone 2001);[190] *Red Road* (see Murray 2007a, 2007b, Hibberd 2009, Martin-Jones 2009); May Miles-Thomas's *One Life Stand* (2000, UK) (See McKibbin 2001), *Beautiful Creatures* (Dir. Bill Eagles 2002, UK)

[189] The media section of the Scottish literary magazine *Cencrastus* contains many of these debates. See *Cencrastus* No.15, New Year, 1984 'Media Section', pp.37-38 by editors Ouaine Bain, Jean Barr, John Caughie, Cairns Craig, Colin McArthur, Dave McKie, and Andrew Tolson, and *Cencrastus* no.16, Spring, 1984.

[190] Many newspaper reviews of the film also focussed on the (non) representation of Glasgow in this film, including; Anon 'After-Hours Pals Shake Off Those old Stereotypes: *Late Night Shopping* ', *Daily Record*, June 22, 2001, p.64. 'Although made by Scots in Scotland, this is a bright, light if rather slight, film that puts the accent on being deliciously different from the rest of the Jockpack. It doesn't feature Glasgow hardmen agonising over who to punch first. Or historical heroes, waving their swords and shouting about freedom. Or junkies shooting up heroin. For that alone, it deserves praise. In fact, you'd be hard-pressed to find much of a Scottish accent in *Late Night Shopping*, since the four leads are English and seem to live in an unidentified anytown, although serviced by Strathclyde trains.' (2001: 64). Allan Hunter's review also highlights the elusive sense of location in this film: 'Although filmed entirely in Glasgow, *Late Night Shopping* doesn't define itself as a Scottish film and Metzstein is wary of being labelled the next great white hope of our national film culture. "I find that class and geography can be big issues in British films and we felt quite remote from that", he says. "It never specifically says it is set in Scotland and the young cast are from all across Britain and even Germany in one case, so it doesn't play the culture card and is hopefully hard to categorise in terms of Scottish cinema. I think what is Scottish about it is the sense of humour."" (Hunter 2001: 4). Wendy Ide's article 'The Thrill of the Purchase: *Late Night Shopping* is the new *Trainspotting* only Cooler' is also concerned with this: '*Late Night Shopping*, his feature debut, is partially financed by Scottish Screen and shot in Scotland but – as with *Shallow Grave* before it – don't expect tot recognise any of the locations. Metzstein was keen that the picture should have no great sense of place. "From the very beginning we said it wasn't to look like Scotland," he explains. "British films tend to get very precise about geography and very precise about class, and they were two things we didn't want to specify. In one sense, the film is about people in the shapeless place that the world is now. Cities are all becoming very similar in a funny way." (Ide 2001: 6)

(see Martin-Jones 2009) and Lone Sherfig's *Wilbur Wants to Kill Himself* (2002, Denmark/ UK/ Sweden/ France) (see Murray 2007, Goode 2007). While each production is filmed in Glasgow, the city setting is, according to these critics, deliberately eschewed. It is argued that these films use Glasgow as an 'anonymous film set' (Jonathan Murray 2007a, Martin-Jones 2009) and, in doing so, reject any engagement with Glasgow's current cultural and social position as well as its cultural legacy.

This could be described as an iconoclastic - and, some would say, welcome - revisioning of the traditions of 'Scottish' filmmaking, which have repeatedly invoked a specific stereotypical image of Glasgow.[191] Bicket sets out the nature of this stereotype in relation to cinema:

> The Glasgow-centered "dark and dangerous city" stereotype […] corresponds to the discourse of "Clydesideism" […] *The Big Man*, based on a book of the same name by William McIlvanney (1986), is just one recent cinematic manifestation of this discourse, which has run through Scottish drama for much of this century. Clydesideism, originally coined to refer to "the nostalgic idealization of the working class in heavy industries now on the verge of extinction and the associated all-male culture in which class bitterness was combined with football" (Calder 1994, 230), has taken on darker connotations in recent years, following the actual collapse of most of these heavy industries and the resulting unemployment and social dislocation. (Bicket 1999: 6)

Bicket continues with the assertion that '[i]n some respects, Clydesideism has become so pervasive that it often seems that audiences would find it difficult to relate to drama situated in West-Central Scotland in any other way' (Bicket 1999: 6). Yet, the contemporary productions apparently evading any specific sense of Glasgow or its cultural history, contrary to Bicket's reasoning, have generally proven popular with wide audiences. The popularity and positive critical reception of *Red Road* is illustrative of this point.

[191] Petrie comments on the 'national' nature of this stereotype of Glasgow: 'A much more familiar cinematic image of Glasgow is that of the modern industrial city, providing another potent way in which the Scottish experience has been narrativised.' (Petrie 2000: 79)

For Murray (2007a, 2007b) and Hibberd (2009) *Red Road* is popular with art house audiences because it engages with the traditions and representational strategies common to European art house cinema, particularly the work of Kieslowski (Murray 2007), which will be discussed in more detail below.[192] Consequently, for these critics, it should not be classed as a 'Scottish' film; instead it is read as being a European production. Going further than this, Martin-Jones (2009) suggests that there is a global sensibility at work in *Red Road*. He claims that it has been more successful on the international art house circuit than David McKenzie's film *Young Adam*, (2003, UK/France) which engages too readily with traditional 'national' representational techniques. He asserts:

> Whilst *Young Adam* displayed a sense of Scottish character and heritage in its period-set narrative *Red Road* deliberately avoids such recognisable markers of Scotland or Scottishness in its fantasy Scotland. *Young Adam*, then, is a film from another era, of the international dominance of the European art cinema model. In the new, *global* arena of world cinema, by contrast, it is not self-othering that is needed so much as a greater eradication of the self/nation, a process which creates films that literally anyone anywhere can engage with, like *Red Road*. (2009: 229, emphasis added)

In their analysis of the 'anywhere identities' and locations in *Red Road*, it seems these very deliberately read this film as 'anything but Scottish'. This begs certain questions regarding the perceived value of the local and the national in the dominant critical discourses on contemporary Scottish cinema. Are these critics consciously overlooking any traces of the 'conventional signifiers of 'Scottishness'' (Hill 2006: 101), which may be evident in this film and others like it, in an attempt to 'debunk the myths' (Neely 2008: 152) of Scottishness, such as Clydesideism, so often held to be

[192] Hibberd also links *Red Road* with the traditions of American independent film-making. Arguably, the recent biopics of singers Kurt Cobain (*Last Days* Dir. Gus Van Sant, 2005, USA), and Ian Curtis (*Control* Dir. Anton Corbijn 2007, UK) are similar to *Red Road*'s focus on 'individual psychological states' (see also Murray 2007, Neely 2008). Duncan Petrie recognises the influence of American independent cinema on earlier Scottish films: '*Shallow Grave* and *Trainspotting* owe a great deal to certain irreverent and quirky traditions of American independent cinema […] But there is also a discernable influence of post-WWII European art cinema on contemporary Scottish film makers, which can also be traced back to Bill Douglas and Bill Forsyth.' (2001: 56)

limiting and regressive (see McArthur 2000, Craig 2009)?[193] Or can these films actually be considered as being recognisably 'Scottish' as well as European and global productions?

This chapter aims to question the decreasing usefulness of national critical categories like Clydesideism and 'Scots miserablism' for analysing contemporary productions. It will also be questioned whether or not the destabilisation of the 'semiotics' of Glasgow in contemporary film - in which the city's traditional representational associations either 'lose their seeming fixity' or are discarded completely (Martin-Jones 2009) - is a mark of most contemporary productions, or is the result of a selective critical reception.

'DEGLASWEGIANISATION': GLASGOW AS 'NON-PLACE'[194]

According to Dave McKie 'celluloid images of Scottish cities, most especially Glasgow, cluster too exclusively round too narrow a range and treatment of topics and use too limited a set of representational strategies' (1983: 37). Such images are 'less than celebratory', focussing on a 'restricted range of topics: the three d's of drabness, deprivation and decay' (McKie 1983: 38). These depressing images of city life are synonymous with the social dislocation and unemployment characterising the Clydeside discourse and its associated discourse, miserablism. Each of the films under examination in this chapter seem to conform readily to this type of representational strategy: most of the characters are depicted as living in poverty, being out of work, and are mainly criminals, drug addicts, alcoholics or 'wasters'. However, representations of the city invoked in each of these films are not discernibly 'Glaswegian'.

[193] Kilborn and Meech comment on the pervasiveness of these myths in Scottish cinema: 'A particular problem with which Scottish film makers have had to contend concerns the myths or stereotypical representations of Scots and Scottish life. Films have proved to be a particularly powerful vehicle for perpetuating many of these myths and there has been a vigorous debate amongst the present generation of Scottish film makers as to how best to resist and contest them. Space precludes any detailed account of how these myths came into being, but suffice to say many of them were current before the film and television industries came into their own. The moving image merely enable them to take especially firm root in the public imagination.' (Kilborn and Meech 1989: 107)

[194] 'Deglaswegianisation' is a term used by Edwin Morgan (1990: 316).

Wasted, in line with the 'anywhere land' setting depicted in *Late Night Shopping*, eschews any easy identification with Glasgow and its working-class cultural heritage. This film is concerned not with depicting Clydesideism's working-class, unemployed, frustrated post-industrial male (this stereotype has been examined in depth elsewhere in this thesis), but instead with representing the 'post-post industrial classes' (Kane 2010: unpaginated). This 'underclass' of individuals have never known work in heavy industry and therefore do not feel regret for its demise. Crucially, this disenfranchised group do not inhabit the 'recognisable vistas' (Martin-Jones 2009) of Glasgow as post-industrial city. In contrast to the loaded imagery of cranes and shipyards evident in another recent Glasgow-set film, *On A Clear Day* (Dir. Gaby Dellal 2005), this film actively resists telling its characters' stories against a backdrop of post-industrial decline. Instead, its characters exist on the margins, inhabiting the 'other spaces' beyond, or on the periphery of, the city of Glasgow. In Foucault's discussion of 'Heterotopias', or 'other spaces', he comments that 'Bachelard's monumental work, the descriptions of phenomenologists have taught us that we do not live in a homogenous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly loaded with qualities and perhaps also haunted by fantasy.' (Foucault [1967] 2008: 16) If the space of the city is 'thoroughly loaded' then what of the 'other spaces' or representations which are aligned with the city in film, through accent or setting, but which are not influenced by its hegemonic cultural mythology? Glasgow, it seems, is no longer 'nationally representative' in film.

These alternative sites, i.e. the derelict factory in *Wasted*, are the forgotten spaces of the de-industrialised city. These sites resist any identification with Glasgow or its cultural history; instead they constitute, in Marc Augé's term, 'non-places':

> If a place can be identified as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places: instead these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of 'places of memory', and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position. A world where people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under

> luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps, shantytowns threatened with demolition or doomed to festering longevity); where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing; where the habitué of supermarkets, slot machines and credit cards communicates wordlessly, through gestures, with an abstract, unmediated commerce; a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and the ephemeral. (Augé 1995: 78)

In *Wasted,* the filmic adaptation of Raindog Theatre Company's stage play, much of the action is set in a disused factory which is situated on wasteland on the periphery of the city. This dilapidated building has become a squat for a group of homeless drug addicts. The film concentrates on the relationship between childhood friends Connor and Suzanne, who meet each other in the squat after years apart. Both characters damaged by years of abuse in the care system, find that they lead similar lives in that they are homeless, addicted to heroin and prostitute themselves for money to sustain their habit. The ruined site they inhabit is a 'utopia' for drug taking and prostitution; it is a place 'other' than the regenerated city, a site of transgression where 'junkies' can indulge in their addictions.[195]

Yet, despite the eschewal of a recognisable location, *Wasted* has been classed as a 'Scottish' film for its deployment of apparently 'national' representational strategies. Alison Rowat says of the film '*Wasted* is a regulation gritty drama set in

[195] In his book *Industrial Ruins*, Tim Edensor comments that: 'despite [the] redesignation of formerly industrial sites as spaces of waste, ruins are the site of numerous activities and very quickly become enmeshed within new social contexts, whether as part of the neighbourhood to which they belong or as sites that draw people from further afield. Ruins may become spaces for leisure, adventure, cultivation, acquisition, shelter and creativity. And as spaces that have been identified as waste, as well as 'dangerous' and 'unsightly', ruins also provide spaces where forms of alternative public life may occur, activities characterised by an active and improvisational creativity, a casting off of self-consciousness conditioned by the prying gaze of CCTV cameras and fellow citizens, and by the pursuit of illicit and frowned-upon practices. These uses contrast with the preferred forms of urban activity in over-designed and themed space: the consumption of commodities and staged events, a toned down, self-contained ambling, and a distracted gazing upon urban spectacle.' (Edensor 2005: 21) Such forgotten 'non-places' are in contrast to the commodification of other defunct industrial emblems, like the Titan cranes on the Clyde, discussed in the chapter on television, which are maintained as tourist attractions, and constitute, in the regenerated or 'themed' space of the new Glasgow, cultural landmarks which commodify the city's industrial heritage. Other defunct industrial sites are re-used in different ways such as the old Harland and Wolff engine shed which was used to stage theatrical events, like Bill Bryden's *The Ship* and the scaffolding used in the mechanical stage production of the *Big Picnic*. (See Joyce McMillan (1990) for a discussion of the production details of Bill Bryden's *The Ship*)

the world of junkies' (2009: 23).[196] Rowat's use of the term 'regulation drama' serves to place this film within a recognisable tradition of Scottish filmmaking, namely the 'gritty' urban associations of Clydesideism. The film's 'national' credentials are also reinforced by the fact that, in contrast to films such as *Red Road*, the film's directors are both Scottish and the film is fully funded from indigenous sources (Scottish Screen and BBC Scotland). While the accents employed in the film are definitely 'of' Glasgow, there is little else to suggest that this film is set in the city. The disused factory in *Wasted* constitutes one of those 'inhuman' temporary places of living, which Augé defines as a 'non-place'. As such, it holds no significance as a site characterising the demise of heavy industry typical of the narratives of Clydesideism, indeed the precise nature of the now defunct factory's produce is never made clear. Indeed, its precise function is irrelevant. Rather, it is an ephemeral, transitory site temporarily inhabited by a group of homeless people. Any sense of belonging, to Glasgow, or elsewhere, is consciously avoided; these characters are marginalized literally by their removal from the city, and are isolated from 'normal society' through their addictions.

This sense of isolation from the city is emphatically reinforced when Connor and Suzanne are locked in the warehouse after a police raid. Desperate to get out and score drugs, they scream for help but are heard by no one; the site is completely cut off from anywhere. This wasteland is rendered as a 'no-where' land and for that reason it could be anywhere.

[196] It is worth quoting Alison Rowat's negative review of the film in full. It highlights one side of a major debate in the field of Scottish cinema studies concerning the best way to represent the nation in film, where there is the concern that many films focus solely on the negative aspects of life in Scotland. This debate will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter with reference to Petrie (2006) and MacDonald (2005). Rowat states: 'The thing about urban Scotland is we're simply bursting with reasons to be cheerful. As we tiptoe through the tulips of full employment, zero social problems and endless sundappled days, we're almost in danger of being too happy. Thank heavens, then, for Scottish Screen and BBC Scotland and their sterling efforts to depress the bejesus out of us with productions like *Wasted.* Following on from the terminally unfunny "comedy" *Stone of Destiny*, last year's submission to the film festival, *Wasted* is a regulation gritty drama set in the world of junkies. At its heart is the relationship between Connor and Suzanne, survivors of care homes and victims of the drugs trade. Admirable performances from the two young leads and other members of the Raindog Theatre Company, but you wonder what the point is of retelling a familiar tale in such a tired way. At times the attempts to generate misery come close to parody. Doubtless the writer-directors think they are doing good, but *Wasted* is a waste of time, and more importantly money, that could be put to better use elsewhere. Gie's peace, people. Better still, give us a picture that doesn't increase the nation's already sky high bill for anti-depressants.' (Rowat 2009: 23)

Wasted may be considered as yet another film produced and set in Scotland that actively rejects any sense of national or local specificity. For David Martin-Jones, the proliferation of this type of film suggests that:

> in the international arena, the art film's peculiar balancing act between the national and the international is currently tipping away from the nationally specific, and even European, and towards the universally understood and globally applicable, towards the further use of Scotland as a (gritty, miserablist) film set. With the Advance Party Initiative, Scotland's art cinema is following suit'. (2009: 230)

For other prominent scholars working in the field, however, the 'gritty, miserablist' nature of this type of film remains enough to identify them as 'Scottish'. Duncan Petrie points out that '[i]t is undoubtedly the case that the seamier side of life looms large in Scottish cultural expression. Our novels, plays and films abound with tales of deprivation and struggle in a world marked by brutality and suffering' (Petrie 2006: 72). The recurrence of this type of representation, whilst problematic, has served as a distinctive brand of Scottish cinema. As Petrie explains with reference to cultural commentator Stuart Cosgrove's negative attitude towards contemporary Scottish productions:

> Cosgrove certainly has a point in bemoaning an over-reliance on associations with masculine aggression and social deprivation as markers of an 'authentic' Scottish experience. It is certainly true that the Scottish middle-classes are as underrepresented as members of ethnic minorities in our films. But his blanket condemnation of Scottish cinema's lack of 'imagination' fails to acknowledge some of the depths and complexities that lurk in the shadows of such dark representations. In recent years the value of cinema as a popular medium has become increasingly linked, together with other elements such as tourism and heritage, to a process of 'national branding' within a global marketplace. Perhaps this is why critics like Stuart Cosgrove have such a problem with the kinds of images being produced by Scottish filmmakers. (Petrie 2006: 81)

Similarly, filmmaker Eleanor Yule claims that 'Scots miserablism has become a commodity. It sells to funding bodies, to domestic audiences and even occasionally, internationally' (Yule, quoted in Hassan 2010, unpaginated).[197]

More specifically, miserablism has strong connotations with the de-industrialised city of Glasgow. As has been pointed out earlier in this thesis, the discourses of Clydesideism and Scots miserablism share many attributes. Indeed, they are almost interchangeable: miserablism's focus on the negative effects of de-industrialisation in Scotland's cities, particularly Glasgow links directly with the later definition of Clydesideism (as it is defined by Petrie and Caughie), which focuses on the loss of heavy industry and Glasgow's move towards a service driven economy. Hassan's discussion of Scots miserablism in his article 'Telling Glasgow's Stories and the Culture of Miserablism' highlights these points:

> Glasgow has […] experienced constant change and adaptation, of coming to terms with decline and proclaiming renewal. Often this has involved a simple backstory of counterposing a caricature of 'old Glasgow', of traditional industries and an omnipotent council, with the 'new Glasgow' – of shopping, style and tourism. This rather simple story points to part of the problem we increasingly have with Glasgow beyond the economic and social problems. Namely, how these realities are presented, communicated and understood. Arguably, this has become part of the problem and is getting in the way of what we do about it. Film is one way in which Glasgow and Scotland have come to see themselves. Peter Mullan's latest offering 'NEDS' is part of what

[197] Yule defines the key characteristics of the miserablist genre as: 'A tragic hero as the lead character - a hard man, addicted to alcohol or drugs, or sometimes even the arts (as in Douglas's trilogy); the hero is often brutally ripped from the innocence of childhood; usually the hero is part of a dysfunctional extended family and/or collapsed community; the plot often implies generations of dysfunction so that secrets, lies, unforgiven deeds, lack of redemption, no reconciliation and the absence of hope characterise story lines in which the sins of the fathers are visited upon their offspring; uncompromising violence; there is no way out and no matter how hard a character tries, he always fails; women play secondary roles often chastising main protagonists encouraging them to change, but to no avail; black humour is used extensively to sweeten the bitter pill; urban squalor and industrial wasteland prevail as backdrops; low budgets often mean the films are often shot inside leading away from expressionism and towards realism.' (2010) She suggests that the origins of this genre emanate as a response to the tumultuous social and economic climate of the late seventies and early eighties: 'Since the 1970s Scottish filmmakers have garnered a reputation for producing *'miserablist'* films. Marked out by their tragic tone, they typically depict the lives of violent and addicted anti-heroes set against the backdrop of urban squalor from which escape is impossible […] At around this time, post war optimism began to fade and Scots miserablism can be seen as a legitimate response to this. People in Scotland began to suffer the effects of de-industrialisation and film showed this in an appropriate way.' (2010: unpaginated)

> has become known as the Scottish miserablist tradition; films which portray an urban wasteland of hopes, confused souls and brutalised lives. Undeniably miserablist films such as '*NEDS*', '*Sweet Sixteen*' and '*Ratcatcher*' tell a predictable story of unremitting bleakness, misogyny, misanthropy and no escape or resolution. There is now indeed a well-worn template for such films. A tragic hero as the lead character; a dysfunctional childhood and family – the hero often intelligent but battling against their immediate environment before succumbing to it, little possibility of transformation or redemption, and women playing secondary roles, either trying to manage problem men, or walk around in silence. (Hassan 2010, unpaginated)

Miserablism, it seems, encapsulates the worst elements of Glasgow's economic and cultural shift from being a city based on heavy industry to one dominated by the service industry. In her analysis of Scottish miserablist films Eleanor Yule, omits any consideration of *Red Road* and when asked (by the author of this thesis) the reasons for this, her reply was rather surprising; she based this omission on the fact that *Red Road*'s director, Andrea Arnold, is an English film maker and, as such, her work should be considered alongside British, not Scottish films. It was then put to Yule that if this was the case, then why were Loach's films included in the investigation to which she replied the writer of Loach's Scottish set films, Paul Laverty, is Scottish. Yule's assertions problematise the 'national' nature of such critical categories: Yule claims that *Red Road* should be viewed in context with the director's other 'English films', *Fishtank* (2009, UK, Netherlands) and the award-winning short film, *Wasp* (2003, UK). Both films are filmed in a social realist mode and are recognisably 'miserablist'. This implies that the miserablist trope in contemporary film isn't really 'Scottish' at all and this possibility will be explored in more detail below.

RED ROAD AND SCOTTISH FILM

> Hannah McGill argues that *Red Road* 'fits (un)comfortably into an oft-maligned tradition of slum-bound Scottish miserablism that stretches from Bill Douglas to Lynne Ramsay, David Mackenzie and Peter Mullan' (McGill 2006: 28). Yet the point is that such discomfort is felt (or at least should be felt) solely on the part of the critic, in any attempt to prioritise and privilege an engagement with this film which makes it a work primarily about the articulation, conscious or otherwise, of 'Scotland' and 'Scottishness'. (Murray 2007a: 89)

> It seems often to be the case that when an indigenous Scottish film production is successful, it is confirmed to be part of a European Art Cinema movement outside of Scottish filmmaking. Perhaps because what has been seen as a characteristic of the murky waters of what is defined as 'Scottish National Cinema' is generally derogatory. (Neely 2003: 172)

The reading of successful Scottish art films as 'European' points to a rejection of the national as an accepted mode of classification.[198] As pointed out above, this desperation to categorise Scottish films as European and, by definition, resultantly outward looking and progressive, forms part of a trend in the critical reception of Scottish films which expresses 'an urgency for debunking the myths of Tartanry and Kailyard' (Neely 2008: 152) and Clydesideism.[199] Arnold's *Red Road* (2006), the first in the 'Advance Party Trilogy', is a particularly interesting film to examine in light of these issues.[200] This film is a co-production between Scotland and Denmark, which is

[198] These European films include, amongst others, Timothy Neat's 1989 film *Play Me Something* (see Mathieson 1990, Schlesinger (1990), Petrie (1992), (2000), Goode (2005), (2007)) and the 1992 European co-production *Prague* (see Petrie 2000).
[199] See Colin McArthur (ed.) 1982. *Scotch Reels: Scotland in Cinema and Television* (London: British Film Institute).
[200] The Advance Party Trilogy is a project devised by Lars von Trier and Peter Aalbæk Jensen of Denmark's Zentropa films working in collaboration with Gillian Berrie at Glasgow based Sigma Films. See Hibberd (2008), Hjort (2010a), (2010b), Martin-Jones (2009), Murray (2007), (2008), Petrie (2009). It is influenced by von Trier's Dogme 95 rules, which von Trier calls the 'Vow of Chastity'. See http://www.dogme95.dk/menu/menuset.htm and http://www.vervepics.com/docs/rrnotes.doc. Accessed 9/10/2010.

set in Scotland, uses Scottish actors and has an English director.[201] Mette Hjort sets out the terms of this complex project:

> According to Gillian Berrie Advance Party can be seen as an attempt to do for Scotland what Lars von Trier's rule-governed and now globalized Dogme 95 movement did for Denmark and Danish film. […] von Trier […] is responsible for the basic Advance Party concept and for the rules by which participating filmmakers must abide. Advance Party, it was determined, would encompass three films by first-time filmmakers. All three films would be shot on location in Scotland, in no more than six weeks time, and using digital technology. Further constraints involved a budgetary ceiling of £1.2 million (U.S. $2,382,000) and the use of the same set of characters, played by the same cast, across all three films. Lone Scherfig and scriptwriter/filmmaker Anders Thomas Jensen were asked to produce seven character sketches, and the Advance Party filmmakers – Dartford-born Andrea Arnold, Scottish Morag McKinnon, and Danish Mikkel Nørgaard – were subsequently allowed to propose two more. These nine character sketches then became the basis for the full-blown scripts the directors were to develop themselves. (Hjort 2010: 55)

As such, this complex co-production resists easy classification, how then should such a film be read? In his rejection of the 'national-critical model', which he claims is 'less and less applicable to what is being produced in Scotland during the twenty-first [century]'; Jonathan Murray champions a European reading of *Red Road*:

> To be precise: *Red Road* is a pronouncedly 'European' film in a number of regards. [It] recalls specifically certain particularly celebrated European art films of the last decade or so, including *Morvern Callar, Under the Skin* (Carine Alder, 1996) and *Three Colours: Blue* (Dir. Krzysztof Kieslowski 1993) (2007: 86-88).

[201] See Hjort (2010b) for a discussion of the funding details of this international co-production.

Although it is certainly the case that *Red Road* is rendered in a visual style influenced by European art-house techniques, focussing only on the 'Europeanness' of this film is somewhat problematic, particularly given that *Red Road* has been read as a pronouncedly 'national' or 'Scottish' film.[202]

In contrast to the non-places evident in films like *Wasted* (and to the received critical opinion on this film), *Red Road* is set in a relatively recognisable Glasgow and, as McGill points out, utilises some 'national' representational strategies associated with the 'Scottish' discourses of Clydesideism and miserablism.

RE-REPRESENTING THE CITY

According to Juliet Garside, unromantic images of deprived areas of city contribute to 'the predominant image of Scotland on film', which 'remains one of urban deprivation in the central belt' (2002: 14). Indeed, initially *Red Road* implies that it too will fall into this category; an immediately recognisable depiction of Glasgow is captured by the gritty realism of the *mise-en-scéne*. The main protagonist Jackie (played by Kate Dickie), is a CCTV analyst, and her viewing of grainy CCTV images, which are inter-cut sporadically throughout the film, allows us visual access to the most deprived areas of Glasgow. Jackie is witness to the squalid nature of inner city life, capturing on video violent knife attacks on school children and sordid sexual encounters. The depiction of Glasgow here, in contrast to Murray and Hibberd's arguments, is, it seems, the recognisable one of urban squalor, decay, deprivation and violence. In his discussion of the *Last Resort* and *Red Road,* Andrew Burke too suggests that the setting of both films, far from being incidental, is highly significant. Burke focuses his discussion on the image of the tower block, which he claims 'has

[202] In his article Jonathan Murray does recognise the fact that some commentators have emphasised the 'Scottishness' of the film (89), but he ultimately disregards such readings.

become part of the basic vocabulary of British cinema, most often invoked as a visual signifier for the marginalized and menacing' (Burke 2007: 177).[203] He continues:

> Pawel Pawlikowski and Andrea Arnold draw on a national cinematic tradition of social realism to document the conditions of life in the disintegrating towers and schemes of the post-war period, but they do so in the recognition that the concrete high-rise is symbolically overdetermined. These spaces are routinely associated in the popular imagination as the sites of, and symbols for, the major social problems of contemporary Britain (crime, poverty, anti-social behaviour), but such identification, by politicians and the media especially, frequently serves only as a cover for anti-working class and anti-immigrant sentiment. Neither *Last Resort* nor *Red Road* turn a blind eye to the structural decay and disintegration that characterises many of the post-war housing schemes nor do they ignore the social problems that plague them. […] In both these films, setting is integral rather than incidental. (Burke 2007: 178)

For Burke, both films rely on the British cinematic tradition of social realism to convey the despair and drudgery of everyday life in these sites of urban deprivation. Clandfield and Lloyd suggest that Glasgow-based film *Small Faces* (Dir. Gillies MacKinnon 1996, UK) deals with the negative effects housing schemes like Red Road have on their inhabitants, terming it 'oppression-by-architecture' (2005: 195). In this film, most of the male characters succumb to lives of crime (see O'Hagan 1995 for more on this film). Yet, the representation of Glasgow is not rendered emphatically depressing in Arnold's film*; Red Road* arguably redeems the drab cityscape by interspersing shots of natural imagery captured from within even the worst excesses of urban deprivation. Experimental cinematography unexpectedly and subtly evokes nature in a poignant scene which follows the movement of a discarded paper bag dancing in the wind, framed against a light sky. This expressionist element in the film works to undermine somewhat the 'gritty' associations of social realism.

[203] Burke goes on to name some of the British films which deal with the particular setting of the tower block 'Much contemporary British realist cinema wrestles with the legacy of mass housing schemes and examines the ways in which life and community persists in the allegedly inhospitable, cold, concrete surroundings of high-rises and tower blocks. *Ladybird Ladybird* (Loach 1994), *Nil By Mouth* (Oldman 1997) and *All or Nothing* (Leigh 2002) all examine the working-class terrain of the council estate and, whatever struggles and traumas form the substance of their narratives, firmly resist condemning the spaces wholesale or demonising the people who live in them.' (Burke 2007:178)

For Samantha Lay, this mix of styles is a defining feature of current British social realist films: 'to speak of style in contemporary British social realism is to speak rather of a plurality of stylistic approaches ranging from the naturalistic, observational style of Ken Loach, to the poetic, even hypnotic style of relative newcomers like Ramsay and Pawlikowski' (Lay 2002: 110).[204]

Even the eponymous Red Road flats, which scar the cityscape, provide their city-dwellers with a somewhat surprising opportunity to experience nature. In Clyde's dingy, sparsely furnished home on the twenty-fourth floor of one of the tower-blocks, Clyde's young friend Stevie (played by Martin Compston) asks Jackie if she wants to "feel the wind". In this scene Jackie, Stevie and April (Natalie Press) are shown experiencing an almost sublime moment as they look out an open window over the vast expanse of Glasgow and feel the purity and freshness of the air at such an intense height, we later learn however that Stevie uses this opportunity to steal Jackie's purse as she looks out of the window. These small but significant moments help to undermine expectations of the sprawling, urban cityscape associated with Clydesideism, although at this point in the film, perhaps not its inhabitants.

GLASGOW AND ITS IDENTITIES

It is not only the city itself that has been problematically represented in the Clydeside discourse, so too have the identities of its inhabitants. The male centred natured of this discourse, which has been explored in depth elsewhere in this thesis, has had the effect of making invisible the Scottish female, who has been under represented in narratives of the nation. Such identities are renegotiated in *Red Road* within the space of the city as Arnold frequently undermines and subverts our expectations of the character-types normally associated with Clydesideism.

[204] The most recent instalment of the Advance party Trilogy, *Donkeys* (2010), is also praised for its almost poetic invocation of the tower block, as Rowat points out in her review of the film: 'Gorgeously shot by McKinnon, a director who can make a tower block look like a thing of beauty, *Donkeys* was worth the wait.' (Rowat 2010: 17)

The central narrative trajectory of *Red Road* is set in motion when Jackie recognises a man who has just engaged in casual sex on derelict waste ground. The subsequent action follows Jackie's obsessive mission to exact revenge on the man, Clyde Henderson (played by Tony Curran), whom we later find out has accidentally killed her husband and daughter. Voyeuristic cinematography allows the audience to share in Jackie's obsession, with 'over-the-shoulder shots' creating immediacy, allowing the viewer to see things as Jackie sees them. An explanation of Jackie's relationship to Clyde is withheld until near the end of the film creating a sense of ambiguity, which is further enforced by the long shots used to film Clyde, and the grainy, unclear CCTV footage of him. We know by means of a phone call made by Jackie that he has recently been released from jail, and our assumptions of the flawed, potentially dangerous nature of this man are reaffirmed as Jackie stalks him on CCTV, following his movements within one of the most deprived areas of Glasgow. As his name would suggest, our initial impressions of Clyde are that he is a product of his drab surroundings; we witness him manipulate women, engage in heavy drinking and seemingly vandalise the surrounding area by dragging rubbish from skips. In this, *Red Road* conforms quite readily to the conventions of British social realism which is, according to Hallam and Marshment (2000: 184), best understood as a 'discursive term used to describe films that aim to show the effects of environmental factors on the development of character through depictions that emphasise the relationship between location and identity' (quoted in Lay 2007: 231). We learn in the film that the Red Road flats are used to house offenders released from jail, and it is implied at this point in the film that the uninspiring location has an adverse effect on Clyde, encouraging a cycle of apparently criminal activities.

Clyde's unlikeable character is even more pronounced as we are made aware of the severe emotional impact his release from prison has had on Jackie. The use of 'shaky' hand-held camera work, and minimal dialogue creates ambiguity and a resultant sense of unease contribute to our ambivalent feelings towards Clyde; we can only speculate about what crime he has committed and therefore what he is capable of. It is for these reasons that the viewer empathises more with Jackie's character throughout much of the film, actively colluding in her misconceptions of Clyde's true nature. Our expectations of drama set in the West of Scotland are also confirmed at this point with the main characters, Clyde and Jackie, slotting easily into the recognisable stereotypes of, respectively, urban hard man and woman victim.

However, as the plot unfolds, an unsettling inversion of roles occurs as Jackie frames Clyde for rape, essentially turning from victim into perpetrator. Her calculating, vengeful and reprehensible actions suggest she is a much stronger, more complex character than the viewer has initially given her credit for. Here Arnold eschews the masculine bias we have come to expect from films set in a de-industrialised Glasgow by providing a central female protagonist through whom all the action is focalised. We see nothing that Jackie does not directly witness or experience as she plots revenge on Clyde and struggles to come to terms with the loss of her family. This intense exploration of Jackie's grief allows a valuable insight into a complex and confused femininity; Jackie represents at once a childless mother, grieving widow, mistress, and a calculating potential criminal. Resultantly, the depiction of female identity in *Red Road* challenges the limited gender identities associated with the West of Scotland based discourse of Clydesideism.

In a further interrogation of such identities, *Red Road* also portrays a more sensitive masculinity, contributing to the trend in contemporary Scottish film making which engages with what Duncan Petrie labels 'a complex, vulnerable and damaged masculinity [which] can be seen as a concerted effort to critique and move beyond the Glasgow 'hard-man' stereotype' (2000a: 167). In *Red Road* Stevie provides the subject for such an investigation into masculinity. Initially, he seems to conform to the relatively recent stereotype of the unemployed, foul-mouthed, Glaswegian 'ned'. There is more to him, however. He displays a more sensitive masculinity, being described by his girlfriend April as 'sweet' after giving her a puppy. Stevie also contrasts with his drunken, abusive father, who goads him in the pub by insulting April, during which scene the extent of his frustration and anger is evident in his vicious and violent response. It is after the fight that we are given an insight into the emotional fragility of the young man as he is reduced to a child like state, crying and being comforted by April. This obviously problematic father/son relationship points to the possible reasons for his damaged, fragile masculinity and such difficult father/son relationships are a staple of the Clydeside discourse.[205]

[205] Peter Mullan's recent film NEDS (Non-Educated Delinquents) (2010, UK/ France/ Italy) draws heavily on this trope. This film tells the story of talented student John McGill (played by Conor McCarron) who enters the world of 1970s Glasgow's gang violence. John's unstable home-life, which is frequently disrupted by his violent alcoholic father (played by Peter Mullan), has a detrimental and stultifying effect on his academic potential and life chances.

Clyde has also been adversely affected by something in his past, as he tells Jackie "You said you shouted at your daughter before she left? At least she knew she was loved, some people don't get that." Clyde implies that his childhood was not a particularly happy or emotionally nurturing one, and it is because of this that his later life experiences are fraught with drug problems and prison time and his own estrangement from his daughter. Here, Arnold suggests that subjectivity is a consequence of a number of conditioning factors, for example one's family life, which has a lot to do with criminality and drug abuse.

It is not only Scottish women who are represented in more complex ways in the film, so too are Scottish men. The damaged masculinities exhibited in *Red Road* are not the result of unemployment or exclusion from heavy industry, as they are in more traditionally 'Scottish', or Clydesideist, productions like David Lelland's 1990 film *The Big Man*; they are the result of experiences at a much smaller, more personal level. Steve Blandford attributes this change in focus to 'a different sensibility', which is evident in the work of contemporary Scottish filmmakers like Lynne Ramsay (*Ratcatcher* (1999), *Morvern Callar* (2002)). He explains:

> Whilst Ramsay remains interested in telling the stories of the variously dispossessed characters she will chose to do it more through asking to look again, and in different ways, at the details of these lives rather than by foregrounding the root causes of the economic and social injustice that has made their world (Blandford 2007: 77).

In Arnold's production, we are required to 'look again' at Clyde's character and in doing so, we notice the ways in which he subverts traditional notions of West of Scotland masculinity. As the narrative progresses, it soon becomes apparent that the viewers' initial conclusions about Clyde are wrong, having been influenced by Jackie's perceptions. The moment of realisation occurs when Clyde is massaging Jackie's feet and he apologises for the roughness of his hands, which he attributes to his hobby of carving. We are reminded here of the scene in which he is captured on CCTV apparently vandalising the estate, dragging broken branches, exuding the 'general barbarity' associated with the discourse of Clydesideism (Matheson 2000, unpaginated), although our expectations are challenged when we learn that he required the wood for artistic purposes. As well as indicating Clyde's sensitivity, the

wood also provides a metaphor for redemption; when Jackie asks what the piece will turn out to be, Clyde replies that he doesn't know yet: "every piece of wood is different; you're supposed to let it be whatever it wants". In this way, the organicism of artistry mimics the development of Clyde's life; like his attempt at "going straight", he is working on getting to know his daughter and doesn't know how this will turn out, but he continues to try. It is this relationship between father and daughter that convinces Jackie to drop the charges of rape against Clyde; she cannot go through with it after recognising Clyde's struggle to build a better life for himself, and his daughter.

Red Road therefore offers a more hopeful narrative than one which we would expect from a miserablist film. For Andrew Burke, the portrayal of reconciliation between Clyde and Jackie offers a positive representation of the inhabitants of tower blocks:

> The reconciliation comes only as a consequence of her forays into the Red Road estate. Whereas before the towers of Red Road were a forbidden zone, the space of lawlessness and perpetual danger; her contact with Clyde, as well as with his roommate Stevie and girlfriend April, humanises the residents of Red Road, transforming them from mere video images to something more (Burke 2007: 186).

These characters form tenuous bonds with each other making the ending of *Red Road* rather more affirmative than expected. The representation of working class life in *Red Road*, however, avoids more traditional forms of cinematic nostalgia for communal social action, characteristic of Clydeside narratives. For example, the exploration of Jackie's subjectivity is highly complex and can be likened to the protagonists of Lynne Ramsay's films, who fit into the category of the isolated and internally focussed subjects of European art-house films (see Murray 2007, Neely 2008 for a discussion of this).

THE ISOLATED INDIVIDUAL OF EUROPEAN CINEMA

Duncan Petrie argues that it has been 'possible to identify certain tendencies that suggest a particular relation to the European Art film tradition' in films produced in Scotland since the 1980s. He continues:

> There does appear to be a particular interest in cinema as personal expression, marked by certain recurring themes such as the alienated or isolated subject […] and a preoccupation with biographical and autobiographical modes of narrative (2000: 151).

The beginnings of this tradition in Scottish cinema can be traced back to the intensely personal narrative of a damaged childhood in Bill Douglas' seminal trilogy of short films *My Childhood* (1972), *My Ain Folk* (1973) and *My Way Home* (1978).[206]

The isolated or alienated subject of the European art film has been well represented since Douglas and is evident throughout much recent Scottish cinematic output (for example Ramsay's *Morvern Caller*, whose eponymous protagonist is an intensely introverted individual attempting to deal with the suicide of her boyfriend).[207] Similarly, *Red Road* can be seen to embrace this 'European art house concern with voyeurism and alienation' (Petrie 2001: 70). Jackie is shown to exist on the margins of society, she has retreated into herself and lives a lonely, solitary existence after her daughter and husband were run over and killed by a drug-fuelled Clyde as they waited at a bus stop. As Jonathan Murray points out (above), in terms of plot, *Red Road* can be read comparatively alongside prolific European director Krzysztof Keislowski's *Three Colours: Blue* (1993, France/Poland/Switzerland). In *Blue* Juliet Binoche plays a mother, Julie, who has suffered the same tragedy as Jackie, losing both her husband and daughter in a car crash. In a description which seems suitably befitting of *Red Road*, Ginette Vincendeau claims that *Three Colours:*

[206] See John Caughie's 1995 discussion of Douglas's iconoclastic oeuvre in 'Don't Mourn – Analyse: Reviewing the Trilogy', in *Bill Douglas: A Lanternist's Account.*
[207] See Petrie (2000), (2002), (2004), (2005), Caughie (1993), Murray (2005), (2007), Neely (2008), Sillars and McDonald (2008).

Blue is an example of 'a type of European art cinema which values ambivalence, mystery and anguish' (1993: 24).

In both films Jackie and Julie are the central protagonists through whom all action is focalised, with each film concentrating on the loss of family and exploring the anguish and isolation of the grieving widow. The films are also characterised by a central concern with voyeurism, in *Red Road*, although Jackie's role as CCTV analyst essentially defines her as such, she becomes an obsessive voyeur of screen images as she stalks the mysterious Clyde. In *Blue* Julie uncovers her dead husband's secret affair, and she is shown spying on his mistress. Both women lead solitary lives after the deaths of their respective families and stylised filmic techniques are used to highlight their isolation. In *Red Road*, a heightened sense of isolation and loneliness is invoked in one scene after Jackie has been driven to the country to have unfulfilling sex with her married lover; she is immediately shot standing alone in a car-park in the city, silhouetted by the setting sun behind her which effectively highlights her dissociation from others. In *Blue*, Julie is often shot from behind, in the centre of the scene with no-one around her, implying that she has retreated into herself and is the centre of her own world of personal grief.

However, the films differ in a number of respects, for example the ways in which each woman deals with their loss is markedly different. Emma Wilson points out that 'for Julie, survival is achieved in the denial of memories of her past' (2000: 42). Julie represses memories of her husband and daughter by clearing out her house, discarding of her husband's music and moving away from her home and friends in order to deal with her pain, taking only a blue ornament with her as a tenuous link to her past. Jackie has also distanced herself from her family and friends, yet Jackie cannot bear to let go of her past to the extent that she sleeps hugging her loved ones' urns.

The solipsistic nature of the intense 'psychological explorations' (Neely 2008) characterising this strain of European art-house film may be viewed as problematic; Wilson discusses one review of Kieslowski's film, noting that he 'has been criticised (in a review of *Blue*) for his "blithe abandonment of social issues and retreat into a remote, mystical realm where personal experience is all that matters."'[208] Kieslowksi's film has as a background narrative the re-unification of 1990s Europe,

[208] Macnab, Geoffrey. 1993. 'Trois Coleurs: Bleu', *Sight and Sound* 3/11, Nov: 54-5 - quoted in Wilson, 2000, pp.42-3.

as Julie's husband, a famous conductor, was writing the music for a concert which would be performed by twelve symphony orchestras simultaneously in twelve Capital cities in Europe. This concern remains but a sub-plot to the main action which concentrates fully on Julie's personal experience of grieving. This claim may extend to *Red Road* as, initially, in its intense focus on one woman's trauma, it seems to constitute a deliberate move away from Clydesideist films which were associated with social issues such as unemployment and the disintegration of traditional communities in an era of post-industrialism (Murray 2007).

Yet, some recognisable cultural 'cadences' exist in the film, which may appeal to local audiences, rather than more international ones on the global art-house festival circuit. Glasgow is not depicted as an unrecognisable 'non-place' in *Red Road*; the exploration of Jackie's grief, as manifested in her unhealthy obsession with Clyde, is enacted through her constant surveillance of the city's streets on CCTV in order to catch sight of him, during which she (and consequently, the viewer) bears direct witness to its inherent social problems. Also, the characters in the film, with the exception of English woman April, are all played by Scottish actors with broad Glaswegian accents.

In this, *Red Road* can be categorised as both a Scottish (but not Scottish in the traditional sense, i.e. because drawing on cultural national discourses) and a European Ultimately, what *Red Road* shows is that it is better not to be too restrictive or prescriptive about the branding of contemporary filmic productions; *Red Road* fits 'uncomfortably' into a number of local, national and international categories.[209] This is a particularly significant point as often what the 'national' means - in terms of style and representational strategies - is itself a site of contestation and 'instability'.[210] Indeed, Sarah Street comments on the 'uncertain national branding of new Scottish cinema, particularly in the light of debates about contemporary cinema's relationship to so-called "national" styles and economic structures' (2009: 140). Street continues: 'In this context the usefulness of the term "new Scottish cinema" needs to be called into question, at a time when most contemporary film is very much a mix of styles, finance, acting talent, production personnel and locations' (ibid).

[209] Sarah Neely also comments that *Red Road* resists easy *generic* classification (2008).
[210] For more on this see Andrew Higson's argument about the postnational nature of contemporary 'British' films, particularly the 2000 article 'The instability of the national'. In this article he suggests that 'It might in fact be more useful to think of [recent British films] as embodying a new post-national cinema that resists the tendency to nationalise questions of community, culture and identity.' (38)

The next section will interrogate the 'so-called national style' of 'Scots' miserablism by referring to the work of Samantha Lay, who, in her analysis of British social realism, terms such films as *Nil by Mouth*, *Twentyfourseven* (Meadows, 1997) as exemplary of 'miserablist British social realist film-making' (Lay 2007: 232).

SOCIAL REALISM: QUESTIONING THE SCOTTISH BRANDING OF MISERABLISM

Paddy Considine's BAFTA Award-winning *Dog Altogether* (2008), a production of Glasgow based Sigma films, is a violent short film in the social-realist mode (see Shand 2008). This short immediately resonates as a vicious take on the 'hardman' stereotype; in a particularly harrowing scene, Glaswegian alcoholic Joseph (played by Peter Mullan) beats up his own dog in a frenzied attack. The remainder of the film depicts Joseph's struggle to come to terms with his own violent actions. His frustration is palpable as he picks a fight with three men in a pub in an apparent attempt to be punished for what he has done. This punishment initially evades him, however, as he finds that the men are much weaker than he is. The film culminates in Joseph receiving the violent retribution he has been seeking; he is severely beaten by a group of men out for revenge for his earlier attack in the pub. The Glasgow depicted here is the stereotypical one of darkness, misanthropy and violence. This short, then, lends itself readily to the Scottish narratives characteristic of Clydesideism. Mullan, 'the official face of troubled masculinity in Scotland' (Shand 2008: 73), provides a potent portrayal of the 'anguish, cynicism and violence' (Caughie 1990) of the Glaswegian hardman. Yet, despite fitting rather neatly into this national frame of reference, the film was originally intended to be set in Considine's hometown of Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire but took place in Glasgow 'due to heavy Scottish funding'. [211] The Glaswegian setting then, it seems, is an incidental rather than

[211] http://www.paddyconsidine.co.uk/dog_altogether.htm Accessed 16/07/08.

integral aspect of the narrative, which somewhat undermines the 'Scottish national' elements of this film.[212]

Further, the 'Scottishness' of the 'hardman in crisis' in this film, as well as others like *Red Road*, can be called into question. This type of representation can be likened to the crisis of masculinity seen in recent British social realist films, as Samantha Lay discusses:

> It has been noted by some critics that issues relating to unemployment, poverty, drug and alcohol abuse are constituents not merely of the decline of the traditional working class, but symptomatic of a crisis in masculinity (see Hill 2000a; Monk 2000b; Luckett 2000). For John Hill, British social realist texts of the 1990s articulate a certain 'weakening of the ideologies of masculinity, and he identifies two specific approaches evident in contemporary texts – failure and utopianism. The former, taken by Loach and Oldman for example, shows men, caught in circumstances they cannot and will not change (2000a: 178). So in Loach's *My Name is Joe*, there is only defeat for the film's central protagonist. And in Oldman's *Nil By Mouth*, Ray's alcoholism, drug abuse and violence are not properly addressed, which renders the whole family vulnerable to the turbulent effects of the cycle of abuse when it inevitably begins again. (Lay 2002: 104)

The failure of a central male protagonist is prevalent in recent Scottish and British social realist films,[213] especially so, as Lay points out, in English director Ken Loach's Scottish set films, particularly *Sweet Sixteen* (2002, UK/ Germany/ Spain).[214] This film is set in the housing estates of Greenock and follows young protagonist

[212] Glasgow has a relatively established position as a centre of production in film-making circles due to the Glasgow Film Fund, the Glasgow Film Office and successful, low-budget indigenous production companies such as Sigma Films, see Ivan Turok (2002) and Hjort (2009) for more discussion of this.
[213] *Small Faces* is another example of a narrative of hopelessness associated with the failure of young Scottish men to escape their oppressive urban milieu (see Petrie (2004), Clandfield and Lloyd (2005) and O'Hagan (1995)).
[214] In Scottish film studies, Loach is often discussed in Scottish national terms, with his social realist films contributing much to the definition of the New Scottish Cinema as gritty and miserablist, as Hill points out in an above quotation. The contribution Englishman Loach has made to Scottish cinema is worthy of further investigation. It raises some interesting questions concerning the ways in which films are categorised on the basis of the director/writer's national identity. Connections may also be made between Loach's socially concerned films that have defined a particular period of Scottish cinema and the influence of another English man on Scottish cultural production, John McGrath, whose socially concerned Scottish theatre productions were hugely influential.

Liam's (Martin Compston) attempt to make a better life for himself and his drug-addict mother by raising enough money to buy a caravan for them to live in when she comes out of prison. Along the way however he gets embroiled in Greenock's underworld of drugs and violence and is ultimately defeated by his struggle. On his sixteenth birthday he stabs his mother's abusive boyfriend, effectively sealing his fate, as he will now be tried as an adult under the Scottish justice system. In the final scene Liam stands overlooking the bleak Clyde estuary: an ambiguous ending that implies that the only two options left to him are either going to jail or committing suicide. Although it deals with similar concerns to *Red Road*, namely the disintegrating effects of drugs on families and urban deprivation in Scotland's sprawling council estates, Loach's film is much less affirmative than Arnold's, which, though often depressing, is essentially optimistic. Unlike *Red Road*'s Clyde, there is no way that Liam's future can be whatever he wants it to be. This tragic ending, which offers no hope for the central male protagonist, apparently works to situate the film within the 'culturally Scottish' miserablist tradition. But, as Lay discusses, miserablism and thematic concerns such as a crisis in masculinity are not especially 'Scottish', so to identify this, and other films, as Scottish on the basis of its adherence to the miserablist tradition is somewhat questionable.[215] Moreover, Loach's work, like Considine's short film, is set in the West of Scotland - the heartland of Clydesideism - mainly due to funding considerations, so while these films may be, to use Andrew Higson's terminology, 'industrially' Scottish, they are not recognisably 'culturally' Scottish.[216]

[215] In his discussion of Mullan's film *Orphans* (1998, UK) Steve Blandford, however, argues the opposite: '*Orphans* is then at least partly about a Scotland that is concerned with a multi-dimensional question of male-dominated cultural past. This is, of course, not to suggest that issues of masculinity have not also been prominent in other work from the UK in the last decade, but rather that the dominance of the 'hardman' in representations of Scottish culture has previously been so dominant as to make its relevance to a changing Scotland particularly pointed.' (Blandford 2007: 81)

[216] Higson makes the distinction between 'industrially' and 'culturally' British films: 'One of the distinctions often made in public debates about cinema in the UK is between *industrially* British films and *culturally* British films. Industrially British films are those made in the UK, drawing on UK production and post-production resources, locations and personnel, but without necessarily engaging with identifiably British subject matter. Culturally British films are those that explicitly engage with British subject matter, characters and stories. Within the context of the global film business, it has to be accepted that films that exploit the UK industrial infrastructure will often prove financially attractive to those in the business. Equally, it has to be accepted that culturally British films are very much a niche brand.' (Higson 2011: 6)

CONCLUSION: SCOTLAND'S POSTNATIONAL FILM INDUSTRY

It is undeniable that there is a certain strain of recent films that actively resist definitive classification, whether it be as 'Scottish' or otherwise, through an eschewal of recognisable setting. Further, it is often the case that these films resist easy categorisation by exhibiting a number of discernible influences. The mix of styles characterising many recent contemporary Scottish-set films suggests that there is a 'postnational' sensibility at work in Scottish cinema, as Sarah Street remarks:

> Films made in Scotland and those featuring Scottish themes since the 1990s, often referred to as "New Scottish Cinema" (Petrie 2000a, 153-169), represent however a rather different level of engagement with a number of national film traditions and styles. The latter include, but are not exclusively restricted to, British ones (Various 2005, 213-245). European and American influences are visible within much new Scottish cinema, in ways that result in films which are not necessarily presented as "outsider constructions". Indeed, the issues of class, identity, poverty and deprivation brought to screens by Gillies MacKinnon in *Small Faces* (GB, 1996), Danny Boyle in *Trainspotting* (GB, 1996) and Lynne Ramsay in *Ratcatcher* (GB/Fr, 1999) can be related to many different national experiences: in these films the "local" and the "global" are interrelated, appealing to a diverse range of audiences in a way that can be described as "trans-national" or even "post-national".' (Street 2009: 139)

The postnational nature of this kind of cinema, however, does not mean that films should always be classed otherwise than national, but that the terms defining what Scottish, British and European means should be considered more carefully. Higson discusses this point:

> We cannot […] simply dismiss the category of the nation altogether, but nor should we assume that cultural specificity is best understood and addressed in

> national terms. To persist, as Hill does, in referring to a 'nationally specific' cinema that deals with 'national preoccupations' (Hill 1992: 11) within 'an identifiably and specifically British context' (Hill 1992: 16) seems once more to take national identity, and specifically Britishness, for granted. It seems to gloss over too many other questions of community, culture, belonging and identity that are often either defiantly local or loosely transnational. Concepts like 'national life' and 'national culture' thus seem destined to imply a homogenizing and enclosing tendency. (Higson 2000: 72)

Just like the films under discussion, the 'national' elements of the discourses of Clydesideism and miserablism are not purely 'Scottish'. What it means to be a 'Scottish' film is therefore difficult to ascertain and the loosening of national categories of classification is indicative of a postnational sensibility.

CONCLUSION: GLESCA DOESNA MEAN MUCH TAE SCOTLAND[217]

> It seems to me that we search in vain for the 'true' image, because none such exists, nor should we be looking for it in the late twentieth century. To take McArthur's comment and play it back on its own analysis: "a limited number of discourses have been deployed…to give an impression that no other constructions are possible." Not only are Tartanry and Kailyard such discourses, along with Clydesidism, but so is this radical discourse itself. And its problem is that it asks a particularly inappropriate question: What is (distinctive about) Scottish culture? My question is: why should there be an obsessive search to find one; why is the question even framed in this way; where does it come from? The answer is that it derives from an older, essentially 'nationalist' assumption that all societies worthy of the name should have a distinctive culture. (McCrone 1989: 168-169)

The search for a distinctive national culture, and a 'Scottish' cultural identity, seems a rather outdated endeavour. Scotland, as a nation, 'matters' less (to use Sassi's terminology, 2005) in an era of postnationalism, with its associated discourses of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. In an era characterised by internationalism and globalisation the nation's boundaries, both political and cultural, are more porous (Bell 2004) and open to challenge and change.

Both Bell and Neubauer's contention that, in a world shaped by postnationalism and globalisation, belonging and identity will become both more local and global than the national seems pertinent to the ways in which identities are being represented in contemporary popular culture. This is clearly seen in the intercultural exchange between the local and the global in contemporary Scottish theatre.

In each of the examined texts, traditional notions of Scottish national identity, although sometimes still present, do not overtake the importance of other notions of

[217] This title is influenced by John Hill's 1982 article ''Scotland doesna mean much tae Glesca': Some Notes on *The Gorbals Story*'.

identity thinking, such as class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality.[218] This goes against Tristan Clayton's contention, discussed in the introduction to this thesis, that cultural national discourses continue to exert a 'strong popular resonance', which, he claims 'enables the location and embedding of national groups in time and space' (2002: unpaginated). The notion of 'national groups' is now problematic; Glasgow is evoked through the current manifestation of Clydesideism as a locality, or a region, not as representative of the entire nation. No longer is Clydesideism taken to mean the whole of Scotland.

Yet, even this localised culture must be interpreted in new ways, as Goldie points out:

> What such a reinterpretation [of the local rather than the national] would also have to show, however, especially if it is to deal with twentieth century diversities, is the contribution of a different set of identifications – ones that derive not from the regional 'below' but from the national and international 'above'. (2006: 128)

The usefulness of 'national' myths such as tartanry, Kailyard and Clydesideism as a form of local resistance against the perceived threat of global cultural homogenisation does have some contemporary relevance. However, this is rather limited; they are arguably too flimsy as markers of distinct cultural identities. It is more useful to set discussions of Scottish cultural production in a global context, where the local takes on different meanings, not just as a form of resistance against a standardising global culture, but as a point of departure from parochial tendencies. Ryan Shand reinforces this point:

[218]McCrone, one of the most positive scholars on the possibilities of postnationalism in the Scottish context, points out that 'what is on offer in the late twentieth-century is much more of a 'pick-'n'-mix' identity, in which we wear our identities lightly and interchangeably, and feel we can change them according to our circumstances. Those who would argue for 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. Hence national identity need not take precedence over class or gender identities (or, indeed, vice versa) except in so far as people prioritise it. These identities themselves, in turn, cannot be defined except with reference to the cultural forms which give them shape and meaning.' (McCrone 2001: 145)

> In the last few years the 'local' has become a cultural and political buzzword of choice. Politicians and cultural policy makers, opposing advocates of centralisation, are embracing policies on local issues. In these debates the very value of the term 'local' is being re-defined. No longer need it be synonymous with the insular and the parochial. The local has now become the means to assert ones own identity and history within an increasing global culture. (2006: 21)

The local must be interpreted through the realities of a postnational Scotland; where the global has as much, if not more, 'purchase' than the national.[219] In the same way that Glasgow is no longer representative of Scotland, Clydesideism it seems, doesn't mean *as* much to the locality of Glasgow. Glasgow's 'pop-cult' expectations are different now. In contrast to Clydesideism's nostalgic impulse, which informs many traditional representations of Glasgow, in recent Glasgow-set productions there is a form of anti-nostalgia at work, where the city's past is overlooked in favour of portraying Glasgow's current situation as a global, cosmopolitan city.

In an era of postnationalism, the usefulness of discourses such as Clydesideism for accurately reflecting notions of 'Scottish' identity, particularly as it is represented in popular culture, is, at best, questionable. There now exists, as this thesis has sought to show, a discernible trend where cultural producers are moving away from 'identity narratives' based on national myths and discourses, particularly in film, to ones informed by more postnational discourses.

Ultimately then, the usefulness of Clydesideism as a marker of identity is increasingly becoming defunct. It is arguably fair to say that a redefinition of Clydesideism has been completed; it has been interrogated, renewed, and reclaimed; now perhaps it is time for it to be renounced. Not because it represents in Colin McArthur's terms, an 'inferiorist 'or reductive discourse (although certainly at times this has been the case), but because it is a much less important and tangible way of reflecting notions of contemporary Glaswegian, no less Scottish, identity in the postnational era. Further, the categorisation of texts as 'Scottish', based on traditional

[219] 'In this era of intensely transnational and at times global cultural and economic activity, the national still has some purchase; but it is too often an empty signifier, a brand name for a particular type of commodity or a particular economic space, rather than a clear exposition of values and identities.' (Higson 2011: 46)

notions of cultural nationalism, is becoming increasingly redundant. It seems ‘tradition inspired readings of texts’ (Bell 2004) are less relevant in a ‘postnational Scotland’.

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