Scottish Studies Newsletter

No. 46, March 2016

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Editorial

Dear Readers,
Here is the special issue on 'Scottish Media' projected in our editorial last year. Media are so important, so hugely contested, such a relevant business market, and so significant for people's understanding of reality that this *Newsletter* is a bit more voluminous than usual. It also wants to challenge you in important ways: media reflect the world we live in, and this issue points out the dangers we are facing as well as the enormous relevance of your active participation in making our world better, freer, more democratic.

Jana Schmick, Katharina Leible, and Andrea Schlotthauer set good examples of such participation and question whether the Scots have got what they wanted or have perhaps been rather manipulated by the media. Andrea makes a particularly strong point in her demand to "wipe away feudalist structures". Without being aware of this correspondence, she thus confirms Jürgen Habermas's description of "a 'refeudalization' of society" that Klaus Peter Müller takes up and expands. If you are not sure what this means, just read these texts. Or take a look at what the British conservative government has done: not allow Scotland to become independent, not allow the EU to regulate the financial markets, not allow free movement of people within the EU, and much more of this kind, such as their plans to change international human rights. If their idea to stop people moving within Europe without any restrictions does not remind you of the vagrant laws of the Middle Ages, then you will clearly find neo-liberalism as well as neo-feudalism in the deviant and secretive ways in which governments bypass parliaments and make important decisions behind closed doors. If you do not want to speak of "feudalist structures", you might prefer Frank Pasquale's expression "*The Black Box Society*" (explained in Klaus Peter's text), but you will not be able to deny these phenomena.

They are actually the key point about whether Britain will leave the EU or not. Boris Johnson opting for leaving has simply revealed again where he stands and what he wants. You should not really be surprised about a toff like him wanting to decide for himself what to do with Britain. Cameron, of the same class, wants this, too, but would also like to profit from closer links with the EU. Both, like their entire party, pretend that they represent the working people. And Boris does ride a bike like all of us, doesn't he? Both, and their party, also say that all outsiders, foreigners, or Brussel bureaucrats should not interfere with how this government treats Britain. They dare not directly say that it is this class and especially the oligarchs they really represent who govern Britain, as that would not serve their purposes, and they have sufficiently learned how to use the media for a positive spin on their objectives. (Just check this report on Boris's "'spontaneous' media scrum", but also the cartoons and comments.)

Scots who want to be independent or just have more rights and a greater autonomy are put by this government and its supporters amongst the outsiders. These aliens might indeed try to give the people more power, perhaps even make governments and local communities more democratic. So let Britain go, one could simply say, improve the EU, stop neo-feudal tendencies in it, and end up with an independent Scotland in the same process. England would thus eventually learn that it is part of Europe after all and that its special relationship with the US was already lost after WWII. This would be a very difficult learning process, but the best thing for everybody. Our last editorial said "it seems that the real period of uncertainty is about to begin", and that is completely true. We do not know what Britain will decide on 23 June, nor what will happen afterwards. This statement about uncertainty is also true because change is the normal thing in human life, a perennial process, life's basis. It is evolution, and it is never sure that life will eventually really improve. That, again, requires active human participation in trying to bring improvements about.

As active participation from Scotland for this *Newsletter* has not been very forthcoming, but is still needed, the reviews of Christopher Silver's and the Common Weal's books are

longer than reviews should normally be. Christopher said he did not have time for his own contribution, and we understand this, as who has time in these hard times? The review thus is a sort of variation of his contribution and intends to give a comprehensive insight into what he is saying there. The same applies to the Common Weal review, as their ideas deserve to be widely known and to be applied in practice. There is much hope in these ideas, so do give them your support.

Kate McClune's review takes us back into the intriguing past of Scotland's 16th century, while Ilka Schwittlinsky deals with Scottish crime fiction in our time. This is a nice example of the diversity we intend to offer our readers. Diversity and multiple perspectives on the same events are also behind the two reports on the ASLS conference in Stirling, respectively written by one of the organisers and one participant. Ilka Schwittlinsky allows us to share her experiences at the International Summer School in Edinburgh, an excellent institution. We are happy to have Douglas Dunn in this edition. Poetry could be a wonderful means of reducing the speed in our lives, slowing us down, and making us begin to think of completely new worlds or adopt a different point of view. We've got another opportunity to do this here.

There will be no further occasions to profit from the excellent insights of one of the best (for Klaus Peter clearly the best) Scottish journalists, Ian Bell, who died last year. Therefore you'll find a page sending you to some of his texts and expressing our deepest respect for this Scot who was always in support of human autonomy, freedom, and independent thinking and who set a wonderful example of outstanding journalism and high quality media. A choice example of Ian Bell's intellectual strengths and journalistic competence is also presented in Klaus Peter's article.

Here is a comment on Britain made some 150 years ago by a well-known British writer. Guess who this was, and wonder with us why so little has changed in Britain. What are we actually evolving towards? The author found "nothing [...] so galling and alarming [...] as the alienation of the people from their own public affairs" in a country where poverty is predominant, but which has "a non-working aristocracy, and a silent parliament, and everybody for himself and nobody for the rest". Are our hopes that this is changing and that Scotland is setting wonderful examples for significant improvements really justified?

The next newsletter will be out in October (with information on this author, even though this is easily found in our digital age). Klaus Peter Müller will retire in May, but has been asked by our Faculty to stay on until his successor has been selected. He has agreed to do this with much enthusiasm. Our faculty and department, in fact Mainz University as a whole, have a great interest in keeping the Scottish Studies Centre and the *Newsletter* alive. These Germersheim institutions have had such a long and good history that this excellent tradition should indeed be preserved by all means. Whether this will eventually be possible remains to be seen. We all know that conditions are not favourable to such undertakings. This one has been possible to a very great extent mostly by the continued efforts of Ron Walker and Lothar Görke, usually undertaken in their spare time. Endeavours to grant them at least some small rewards have not been successful. They definitely deserve everybody's respect and gratitude plus your cooperation in the future.

The Editors
Lothar Görke –Klaus Peter Müller – Ron Walker
Germersheim, March 2016

What the Scots Wanted?

Jana Schmick (Mainz / Germersheim)

John Robertson, professor in media politics at the University of the West of Scotland, is the writer of an innovative report on the influence of media bias on the outcome of the Scottish Referendum, *Scotland's Propaganda War: The Media and the 2014 Independence Referendum* 2015.[1]

Robertson's *SPW* is based on one of his precursory analyses, *Fairness in the First Year*[2] that examined how balanced the broadcast media, namely the evening news of BBC1 and Reporting Scotland as well as ITV and STV, were in their reporting on the Yes and No sides of the Referendum in the first year of the campaign, from September 2012 to September 2013. *SPW* expounds on this, taking into account the whole span of the Referendum campaign from September 2012 to September 2014, the immediate aftermath and longer-term effects. It also attempts to provide answers to key questions such as: "How biased were the Scottish and UK Media?", "Why were they biased?", "Why did it matter in 2014?", and "Why will it matter less next time?" (Robertson 2015, 1) and gives an assessment of a post-Referendum, perhaps more democratic, Scotland.

What is unique about Robertson's report is that it presents many of the personal experiences he had during its compilation, articulating how he was criticised, bullied, disadvantaged, ignored or passed over when he proved unwilling to modify his statements (14). BBC Scotland, for instance, protested their impartiality and deemed Robertson's analysis "'highly subjective'" and "'questionable'" (8). On the other hand, he received vast support from online media such as Facebook and Twitter as well as from online blogs and independent news agencies (9-10).[3]

Robertson's methods were simple but time-consuming. He observed certain television news programmes[4], newspapers[5] and social media[6] and compared their comments on the Referendum campaign during the period of September 2012 to September 2014. He analysed them under the pivotal criteria of fairness to the respective campaigns (Yes/No), what was presented (and what not), how it was presented and how many reports were actually given by each medium (17-20). This approach did not leave much space for being 'highly subjective'.

To summarise, the broadcasting and press results were quite similar. Both generally furthered the No campaign and thereby swayed the public to vote against Scottish independence. Robertson is quite clear on holding 'the interlocking elites' (commercial, educational and financial elites as well as favoured elites due to ownership or seniority status) responsible for this (2). It is often forgotten that the media, as independent and impartial as they may try to appear, are privatised and centralised. *Media Lens*, an independent online news agency devoted to "rais[ing] awareness of the systemic failure of the corporate media to report the world honestly and accurately" (Cromwell / Edwards 2013), has a good grasp of this trend:

> mainstream newspapers and broadcasters provide a profoundly distorted picture of our world. We are convinced that the increasingly centralised, corporate nature of the media means that it acts as a de facto propaganda system for corporate and other establishment interests. The costs

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[1] The complete PDF version is available at
https://thoughtcontrolscotland.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/propagandascotlandreferendum2014.pdf
and will be mentioned in the text as *SPW* and its page numbers.

[2] Full PDF version available at http://issuu.com/creative_futur/docs/robertson2014fairnessinthefirstyear.

[3] Highly recommended independent news agencies: newsnetscotland.com (now: http://newsnet.scot/),
opendemocracy.net (https://www.opendemocracy.net/) or
Glasgow University Media Group (http://www.glasgowmediagroup.org/.

[4] BBC1, Reporting Scotland, ITV and STV (evening news).

[5] Scottish: Daily Record, Scotsman, Herald, Sun; English: Daily Express, Daily Mail, Times, Telegraph.

[6] Facebook, Twitter, blogs and independent media.

incurred as a result of this propaganda, in terms of human suffering and environmental degradation, are incalculable. (*Media Lens* in Robertson 2015, 117)

The dilemma is that these centralised businesses continue to be widely trusted. They proclaim their loyalty to impartiality, democracy and freedom of the press; a sort of sugar-coated propaganda in order to favour said elites. According to Robertson, we are so blinded by the big names, like the BBC or Oxbridge, that we are not critical enough of them and tend to trust them without question. Though some of the establishments in question were once independent and impartial, many have now become overly centralised, tangled up in a web of commerce, elites and senior post-holders (2). Today they still seem trustworthy and stable in the sense that they have been around for a long time. Change seems unlikely. Consequently, what once was held to be true is unlikely to be questioned. "'[I]ndeed, people come to mistake indoctrination as press freedom, and misconstrue elite control of media (the means of persuasion) as democracy.'" (Harold Innis in Robertson 2015, 102) For example, the BBC's editorial guidelines say that they "are committed to accurate and impartial reporting" (8), ergo they are. Why doubt, right? "'Not since Iraq have I seen BBC News working at propaganda strength like this. So glad I'm out of there'" (Steerpike 2014), states Paul Mason, former BBC Economics Editor, in the Spectator. But does Robertson's criticism apply to all branches of the BBC? Can an entire broadcasting service be held responsible or would one have to single out the actual puppeteers?

With increasing frequency the BBC has been accused of giving sketchy coverage to whatever side is deemed to be opposed to their interests, and of censoring decisive news[7]. Censorship is a ubiquitous, deliberate mechanical manipulation of information input or output to determine norms, impose desirable values and opinions. It is usually applied by superiors who control power and financial resources, using their subordinates' dependence to steer the outcome in a way conducive to their aims. These superiors are not only media moguls, publishers or political speakers. Such manipulation can be exercised by an employer, teacher, or anyone else on whose approval one may be financially or in any other way dependent (118-19).

This is also the case with journalists. Journalists function as intermediaries between the (media) elites and the public but are also subordinated to hierarchies and ideologies, thus "their activities are directed by their superiors. Their wages and conditions are not princely, and they are subject to severe pressures by the very nature of their job." (Sparks 2007, 79) Therefore, news manipulation and censorship might not necessarily happen on a conscious level (Robertson 2015, 98).

Another cause for critique, particularly in Scotland, is the issue of class representation. Scots tend to identify themselves as working class (100), which is the largest part of the broadcast and press audience in numbers (123). It can thus be assumed that they attribute a certain amount of trust to these media. A journalist, who on average enjoys an elite education, functions as an intermediary between the (media) elites and the public. One might argue that reporting to the people should therefore be done by an equal who has a grasp for their interests and concerns. This is why journalists not belonging to the working class are often criticised in Scotland. Hence the urge for a shift from an elite-to-mass towards a more equitable mass-to-mass communication is not at all far-fetched (123). Social media, for example, is more likely to give evidence of the people's uncensored opinions, whereas [non-working class] journalists, who are often out of touch with people's interests, are paradoxically trusted to report on those (93). George Monbiot (2014) similarly criticises this 'fraud' in the Guardian: "How the media shafted the people of Scotland: Journalists in their gilded circles are woefully out of touch with popular sentiment and shamefully slur any desire for change."

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[7] For further reading on BBC Scotland's manipulations see "The Dirty Dozen: The case against BBC Scotland" the catalogue of twelve BBC manipulations available at http://newsnet.scot/?p=112428.

According to Robertson's analysis, the broadcast and press media generally furthered the Better Together campaign and thereby persuaded the public to vote No by bias. This bias was achieved by omission, selection, insertion or, in severe cases, distortion. In this matter, the press tended to be less balanced than the broadcasting services as the press is not obliged to follow any formal requirement of impartiality (69).[8]

Robertson aims to explain how media bias comes about (93-104) by means of two recognised theories of which he finds only the latter, the Propaganda Model (often associated with Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman), satisfying. It targets the imbalance of social classes in a society, convinced that

> […] power differentials […] are so great as to mean that media favour the interests of the more powerful against those of the less powerful. […] Because the large numbers of the less-powerful and less-affluent could outvote the elite groups in elections, it becomes necessary for the elite media to propagandise news, especially on the economy, to persuade the former to vote for parties which favour the latter. (Robertson 2015, 94)

All the more reason to believe that it is the elites that control the media and not the middle class. However, the Scottish situation is slightly different. The media in Scotland might not be controlled by certain establishments to the same extent as in England but, according to Robertson, what Oxbridge and the BBC are to England, Labour is to Scotland. The Scottish and UK Labour Parties seem to be the ones pulling the strings in the Scottish media industry through social ties (membership, marriage, etc.). This does not come as a surprise as Labour basically has the same monopoly status as said English counterparts (124-5). Yet, later, he argues that even elites are "very susceptible to media influences and 'dominant ideologies'" (142), which they have to be in order to remain elitist.

Thus, coming to the decisive question: "Did the media coverage's heavy anti Yes bias matter [in the Scottish Referendum of 2014]?" (131). After comparing several media-behaviour-effect models, Robertson deduces that media bias did indeed influence the voters in their decision-making, especially in reducing indecision among those who were already tending towards favouring the No side and propelling them, with the help of scaremongering, to vote against independence (21-26). The latter is achieved by our own human defence mechanism that prompts negative messages to remain in our minds longer, to be more present and pressing than positive news, which we tend to distrust. Combining with pre-existing anxiety, we are impelled subconsciously to try to prepare for the worst-case scenario, and are thus more likely to assume a secure position and not take any risks (141-44).

As indicated, Robertson, along with many others, is of the opinion that the No outcome came about mainly through media 'scare stor[ies]' (26) about all the devastating risks to the economy, taxation, justice, healthcare and welfare that independence would entail, as opposed to the Union's benefits: "Scots' savers and financial institutions might be at risk if country votes for independence", a presenter announced on STV, on 20th Sep 2013 at 6.00pm (in Robertson 2015, 21): "Nervous voters are asked to make a leap into the forbidding dark without so much as a few flimsy parachutes of facts. So the No side would have it, at any rate. Yet where the future is concerned they don't stock many facts themselves because that is not, it seems, their job." (Bell 2014) But fear is hardly an authentic political opinion, nor is spreading it a fair (though common) means of influencing voters in campaigns of this nature. The decisive factors that enable this tactic are money and human susceptibility: negative news sells better and remains in people's consciousness (97, 141), once more, hindering the provision of transparency and comprehensiveness.

In the course of the Referendum campaign, a new source of high quality information emerged: the people. This 'army of unpaid researchers', as Robertson calls them (65), and contributors he found on Twitter, Facebook, online blogs, etc. is considerably more likely to

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[8] A dubious example of a press mock-up can be found on pages 70-71.

be free from establishment and ideology ties, though lacking the trust that comes with official status and alleged devotion to accurate and impartial information services. The social media became a characteristic of the Referendum campaign and its input should be re-evaluated, as the aforementioned anonymous contributors shared elaborate and contextualised information of high quality (159). They are often met with indifference, so their only chance for recognition lies in the community, in gathering support in order to make their voices heard, which, after the Referendum more than ever, seems to be the Scottish way.

> Much has been written of the wonders of the Yes campaign, especially its online aspect. The above was for me frankly eye-opening. Before and after, I saw many more examples of anonymous contributors engaging with ideas of research, of politics and of ethics at a level that would have charmed the first champions of democracy in Ancient Greece or later in Enlightenment Europe. (Robertson 2015, 81)

Robertson does not stop at the Referendum's end. Everything that has been happening post-Referendum, a development towards a truly democratic, politically aware and active Scotland is cause for optimism (151, 171). The Scots have enhanced the quality of their public spheres dramatically, from social media and independent online media to broadcast and press media (166-7)! Now all that is left to do is to keep this spirit up, in order to hopefully vote in a "fairer, balanced fully democratic environment" next time. (167)

> It is impossible to have visited Scotland in recent days (September 2014) and not to have been exhilarated by the sheer vigour of democratic engagement. Scotland at the moment is what a democracy is supposed to be: a buzzing hive of argument and involvement, most of it civil, respectful and deeply intelligent. This energy has been unleashed not by atavistic tribal passions but by a simple realisation: for once, the people have some power. (O'Toole 2014)

In addition to being highly informative, Robertson's report is also fun to read, as he balances facts and numbers with score-settling sarcasm. *SPW* is not another attempt to voice disapproval over the 2014 Referendum result. It is instead an attempt to draw attention to media bias and to ask whether there was fair treatment given to all in the Scottish Referendum campaign of 2014. The key issue is "thought control in [alleged] democratic societies" (Chomsky 1989).

Robertson does not hide his own affiliation, but his bold honesty combined with his intellect gives him an air of trustworthiness. He employs a clever discursive technique that allows him to both present his results and, subsequently, invalidate objections by anticipating and refuting them. Additionally, he backs up his evidence with supporting proof from others (cf. 32, 40) and contextualises it by comparing results on an international level (cf. 39). However transparent and comprehensible Robertson's methods might be, he does tend, now and then, to give rather specific examples to champion his results, for instance on page 47: "So, overall we have eight quite marked examples of the expert witness or evidence of dubious value to the debate, supporting the BT campaign, and no balancing examples the other way." They are, however, somewhat lacking in empirical quality as he fails to present the criteria used to select them and "eight examples" do not meet the quantity requirements. This is the exception though. The overall impression is that his extraordinary meticulousness makes up for his lack of fame (cf. 53).

We are susceptible to propaganda because we tend to believe (at least to a certain extent) what people tell us and often do not have the time to question this. The alarming proportions this can attain are shown very well by Robertson, also making us aware of the fact that the future of an entire people is at stake.

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General Election and Poll Manipulation
Katharina Leible (Mainz / Germersheim)

After the UK general election was over, criticism of pre-election polling arose. Lord Foulkes, former Labour MP, had already spoken ahead of the election of corrupt polling companies that manipulated their polls on behalf of "people with money". Foulkes pointed out that polling firms "were 'making millions' and accused the companies of failing to employ the 'academic rigour' that they used to." Asked about polling firms' methodology, Foulkes said: "The whole thing did seem to me to be effectively corrupted." (Simons 2015)

One month before the general election, the BBC published an article entitled "How poll tracker works" in order to give an insight into the methodology of polling. The introduction claims: "Polling a sample of the population has often been likened to tasting soup: if it is well stirred then you need to have only one spoonful to tell what the whole bowl is like." There are some important factors to be considered to ensure that the outcome of such polls accurately represents the voter's opinions. The wording of the question on who respondents would vote for can already manipulate the results. They may be asked if they would vote for one person/party, named in the poll (yes or no), or to cross one or more options. Another significant factor is the weighting; the poll has to accurately represent the population of the UK, in terms of gender, age group, social class and region. Some companies give more weight to respondents who show a high level of likelihood to vote. The results, commonly shown as percentages, are often rounded up or down and the polls don't add up to 100%. Past votes are also often taken into consideration in order to find out voters' intentions in case of a majority 'don't know' response in the poll (BBC 2015). All these factors show that polls can be easily manipulated, especially because the respondent cannot influence the poll. Even where respondents are aware that their responses may be distorted, they cannot influence the weighting given to factors such as gender, age, social class or region. And they are just as powerless when it comes to the polling companies' procedure with regard to the weighting given to likelihood to vote, the possibility of "don't know" responses being counted for the party with the best result in previous intention polls, or the practice of rounding up or down. This gives a

great deal of scope to polling companies, though obviously interpretations of what constitutes academic rigour vary considerably.

The day after the general election David Cowling, editor of the BBC Political Research Unit, wrote: "When all the qualifications of margins of error are allowed, there did appear to be a systematic overstatement of the Labour share and an equally systematic understatement of the Conservative one." (Cowling 2015) He stated that he found nothing in the 91 GB-wide intention polls that prepared him for the actual outcome of the election. In other words, the polls were not accurate. The reason for this inaccuracy seems to be a matter for speculation, as polling companies could argue that this was due to intentionally wrong responses and voters could argue it was manipulation.

The question that occurred to me personally was whether polls could affect voters' behaviour and therefore how much the manipulation of polls could affect the outcome of an election. During my research I came across many articles and papers that discuss this issue not only in relation to the general election in the UK but in relation to many elections and referendums in a national or international frame. Reference is often made to the so called "bandwagon effect", which means that the rise in popularity of one party or person results in more engagement in form of donations, volunteering or even turnout. Research has found two psychological mechanisms underlying the "bandwagon effect": firstly, the feeling of acceptance in the society which accrues from voting for the most popular party, and second, the belief in the crowd, which means that the voters think that the respondents to the polls were well informed and made their choices on the basis of factual knowledge (Rothschild 2012).

The Report on the administration of the 7 May 2015 elections, including the UK Parliamentary general election contains the results of a questionnaire that "[…] asked people how easy they had found it to access information on how to cast their vote at the May polls." (Electoralcommission 2015) For the general election, the results were with 90% "Very / Fairly Easy". This is not as straightforward as it may at first glance appear, however, for while the access to information is obviously "Very / Fairly Easy" the results obtained are also often slightly falsified, in order to create a reality that does not yet exist, though it could become reality if the bandwagon effect comes into play. Therefore, it is not the access to information that needs to be asked about but rather the quality of information and the general knowledge of its accuracy or none accuracy that seems to me important and interesting.

In conclusion, poll manipulation is not only an international, but also an age-old phenomenon. As a quotation often attributed to Winston Churchill has it, "The only statistics you can trust are those you falsified yourself." This warning not to trust statistics is probably rooted in the tactical media manipulation of wartime. Many people believe the quotation to be based on German Third Reich propaganda aimed at discrediting Churchill (Barke 2004). It appears, then, that there is a double warning here: don't trust any statistics that you have not falsified yourself, and don't trust the source that this warning is attributed to. This turns out to be one of many examples of the bandwagon effect – often repeated, until it becomes accepted as the truth.

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High Time to Wipe Away Feudalist Structures – Not Only in Scotland
Andrea Schlotthauer (Mainz / Germersheim)

What is democracy? The dictionary tells us it is: government of, by and for the people. And what is the goal of a democratically organised state? Theoretically speaking, it is a system to ensure liberty, equality and fraternity, the values of the French Revolution, whereby the equal participation of all citizens in the political process should guarantee justice and, ultimately, foster the common good. More than two thousand years ago, Aristotle pointed out that, in a true democracy, property would have to be distributed relatively equally and a certain minimum level of prosperity would have to be guaranteed for all citizens because, otherwise, the poor would use their voting rights to take away property from the rich.[1] Put simply, if you have extremes of poor and rich, you cannot talk seriously about democracy.

Now consider the system of land ownership in Scotland, where 432 private individuals own more than half of the land mass of Scotland. The prerogative of the landlords includes using the land for their leisure activities and shutting out the general public, or leasing it, or building infrastructure which is then used to extract wealth from the land. They determine what the land is used for, as well as rental rates and land value, while their sole legitimization for ruling is that they either have the money to buy the land, or else that they have inherited it from their ancestors. To call such a system democratic is an instance of Orwellian *blackwhite* expression – a word whose meaning has been turned upside down. In reality, while most other European countries have freed themselves from feudalism, Scotland seems to be stuck in the pre-democratic past.

Political endeavours for land reform began with the opening of a Scottish Parliament in 1999. A first Land Reform Act was introduced in 2003. Now, Nicola Sturgeon has promised a second one, to be implemented before the next Scottish election in 2016. To fight against oligarchs, aristocrats and economic giants is always difficult. But in my view, it is important that local communities have decision powers over the ground they live and work on, and I also believe that it is necessary to protect tenants from the landowners' despotism, so I hope she will succeed.

The problem of oligarchic structures underlying and undermining so-called democratic states is not only a problem in Scotland. I mentioned above that other European countries have freed themselves of feudalist structures. The latest trend in Europe is, however, to return to the state where the country is owned by a small moneyed elite. In many cities, including London, Toulouse, Istanbul and Athens, the governments are selling land to private investors who in turn build infrastructure or realise projects to make the cities more attractive.[2] From a short-term point of view, this relieves a government of the financial burden of investment. But imagine what it will lead to in the long run.

Districts in the hands of corporations are no longer public spaces. Paternoster Square in London's financial district is a good example of this. Video surveillance and the banning of "annoying behaviour" such as begging, loitering or skating is intended to make them safe and

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[1] Chomsky, Noam, "The Common Good", in: Naiman, Arthur (ed.), *How the World Works*, London: Hamish Hamilton – Penguin Books 2011, 208-9.

[2] "Wem gehören unsere Städte?", Arte documentary, produced in France in 2013.

quiet places. In 2012, the protests by the anti-capitalist movement Occupy London were prohibited there.[3] In many ways this smacks of a return to the Middle Ages, when the rabble was banned from nobler parts of the city. Previous generations fought long and persistently to make public spaces a right and not a privilege. So what happens through privatisations is that the opening and democratization of society is reversed and replaced by segregation and social exclusion.

Noam Chomsky has pointed out another possible negative consequence, emphasizing that privatisations and a further spread of neoliberal ideology will result in increasing social inequity. He explains that the primary purpose of corporations is to make money, while protecting human rights or the environment are merely – if they figure at all – subordinate points on their agendas. So as the political power of corporations increases, civil rights are diminished, public spending that benefits the less privileged decreases and the social contract at large deteriorates.[4]

I personally believe that the introduction of welfare states and the level of democracy that has been established in many European countries during the previous centuries are great achievements that need to be preserved and further advanced. Even while under pressure to remain competitive in the global market economy, a responsible government has to protect civil rights and democratic values. The system of land ownership is of course a fundamental aspect of a country's economic and social structure, as it involves the power to decide a lot of things. And this power should be in public hands to ensure that it's the people who benefit from the land, and not some prosperous individuals.

The planned land reform in Scotland is a small, but crucial step on the road toward democracy and self-determination.

(Andrea Schlotthauer is a student of English and Spanish at Mainz University in its Faculty 06 and would be pleased to get your comments at aschlott@students.uni-mainz.de).

The Scottish Universities' International Summer School –
Where Lovers of Literature Meet
Ilka Schwittlinsky (Mainz / Germersheim)

Summer in Edinburgh is a great time for lovers of literature. Not only do the Edinburgh International Festival and the Festival Fringe take place in August, which always occasions lots of interesting theatre productions, in late August there is also the Edinburgh International Book Festival with many exciting events for book lovers. But even before the festival season begins in August, another absolute highlight to anyone who loves books and literature takes place: the Scottish Universities' International Summer School (SUISS).

SUISS is a collaboration of seven Scottish universities – the Universities of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrews, Strathclyde and the Open University in Scotland – which takes place every summer in Edinburgh and offers a range of different summer school programmes all about literature. Its core is the six-week long Text & Context programme, which itself consists of three separate two-week courses that can be combined or taken on their own. The three courses are: Modernism, Scottish Literature and Contemporary Literature. Additionally, there is a four-week long Creative Writing programme and, for the first time this year, a new two-week Theatre and Performance course.

I was lucky enough to receive a partial scholarship for the Scottish Literature course this summer and spent two amazing weeks discussing great books, making new friends and exploring a stunning city. The course aims to provide an overview of Scottish literature since

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Chomsky, Noam, "The Prosperous Few and the Restless Many", in: Naiman, Arthur (ed.), *How the World Works*, London: Hamish Hamilton – Penguin Books 2011, 76-133.

1900 by discussing some of the period's major authors and works as well as including lectures on wider topics such as "The Scottish Short Story since the 1970s". Some of the authors discussed were Lewis Grassic Gibbon, Muriel Spark, Alasdair Gray, Edwin Morgan, Liz Lochhead and James Robertson.

Mornings at SUISS are devoted to the academic part of the programme while afternoons and evenings are dedicated to the accompanying social and cultural activities or left to students to spend as they wish. Every day begins with a lecture on the day's topic, usually one specific book, by a leading expert in the field. After the lecture, there is time for more questions and discussion with the lecturer over coffee. The coffee break was followed by my favourite part of the day: the seminar. For the seminar, course participants were divided into two groups of ten to facilitate better discussion. These discussions were led by a tutor, who followed up on points made in the lecture or raised further questions, but also gave us the chance to discuss ideas or issues that had occurred to us while reading the day's text. The discussions were always lively and engaging, but what made the experience really special was the diversity within our group. We came to these texts from many different cultural backgrounds and it was fascinating to learn how others read the same texts I had read from a totally different perspective. The discussions were wide-ranging and often looked for parallels between the Scottish texts and texts from the participants' own cultures and literatures, thus moving beyond a narrow focus on Scottish identity. In fact, the lecturers' preoccupation with Scottish identity in their readings of the set texts was frequently questioned and criticized during our discussions. Other aspects that we discussed in relation to a number of texts were feminist issues and the stereotypical depiction of non-Scottish characters (e.g. the American military in *Black Watch* or the American investor and German tourist in *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*).

Apart from the academic programme, SUISS also offers a varied social and cultural programme. During the two weeks I spent in Edinburgh, I attended a reading by Ron Butlin, the former Edinburgh Makar, who read both poetry and extracts from his prose fiction; took part in a literary pub quiz; and attended a Burns supper followed by a ceilidh. We visited the National Library of Scotland and, during the SUISS Annual Reception, which took place while I was in Edinburgh, the stunning Playfair Library. Alongside all those events organised by the SUISS team, we also found time for film and game nights, a day-trip to St Andrews and we explored the city of Edinburgh, which included lots of visits to bookshops.

The course was a great introduction to twentieth-century Scottish literature as well as some of its major authors and themes. Of course, there would have been a lot more to discuss, both in the lectures and in the seminars, had the time been there. Most of the participants had never before read or been taught any Scottish literature, so the programme was geared mostly towards them. We, therefore, received a good overview of themes and issues over the course of the programme that offers a solid basis for further exploration of Scottish literature. This was enhanced by the multicultural perspectives that were brought to bear on the texts in seminar discussions, which led to interesting observations and raised important questions. I highly recommend the Scottish literature programme, or any of the other SUISS programmes, to anyone with a passion for literature and an interest in spending a couple of weeks exploring Scotland.

For more information see the SUISS website (http://www.suiss.ed.ac.uk/), where you can find the 2016 Brochure (http://www.suiss.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/2016-Brochure.pdf) with all the dates for next year's courses as well as what should be included in the application.

Scottish Media: The Evolution of Public and Digital Power
Klaus Peter Müller (Mainz)

The scope of this article is fairly comprehensive. It intends to provide readers with an understanding of the basic structure of Scottish media today. This structure is no longer a national one. It should actually be part of an entire systems theory, which we do not yet have, even though excellent work has been done for such a comprehensive and holistic theory.[1] We must in any case be aware of the fact that we still are evolving out of the industrial age into the post-industrial world, which is far from being clearly defined and for which the expression 'digital age' might be quite useful. We are strongly involved in creating its specific form. There are several key powers influencing the shape of the new world we are moving into. These powers constitute the basic elements of this structure and of this huge media system that will be described here: **the media** with their forms and kinds (digital, print, TV etc.); **we**, the users, **the public**; the media **makers and owners**; **politics** with media regulation, public charters, and many other significant influences; the **economy** with its various kinds of markets on which media have to compete, predominant competitors, emerging challengers etc. All of these basic elements are connected with various kinds of thinking, desires, emotions, wishes, and speculations on the part of the people involved, their **mentalities** or **cognitive characteristics**, which are linked with individual experiences but most importantly with **cultural and historical influences**. These elements and the structure they provide for Scottish media will be described and critically analysed with the intention of enhancing the power of the public, which at the moment is extremely limited. As the public's power depends very much on knowledge, skills, active participation, and a synoptic understanding, a fairly high amount of sources will be mentioned, which are meant to show not just the basis of my opinions but also give directions for further insights.

We are in fact at the beginning of *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, which, as Klaus Schwab, the founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, points out, "entails nothing less than a transformation of humankind", where "all stakeholders of global society – governments, business, academia, and civil society – have a responsibility to work together to better understand the emerging trends" and "to shape a collective future that reflects common objectives and values." Schwab notices that we have been moving "towards a me-centred society" which needs to be rebalanced "towards a focus on the self with a pervasive sense of common purpose." "In the end", he says looking at the enormous challenges we are facing, "it comes down to people, culture and values."[2] This article will try to show what this means in connection with media.

Media depend much on the economy which in the current transformation might create "*The Zero Marginal Cost Society*", bring about "*the Eclipse of Capitalism*", and thus create a wonderful new world. Jeremy Rifkin sees only one huge problem that might prevent this development: big monopolies that already exist on the web and will be described later. Arun Sundararajan, on the other hand, notices already today "*The End of Employment and the Rise of Crowd-Based Capitalism*", caused by the dizzying array of emerging on-demand platforms. He considers two possible results of this new paradigm: either a world of empowered entrepreneurs who enjoy professional flexibility and independence, or a mass of disenfranchised

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[1] Cf. Roland B. Meyers (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Complexity and Systems Science*, New York: Springer 2009. For a short description that mentions the holistic aspect I find particularly important, cf. the Principia Cybernetica Web (http://pespmc1.vub.ac.be/SYSTHEOR.html).

[2] Klaus Schwab, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, Geneva: World Economic Forum 2016, 1f, 109, 114.

digital labourers scurrying between platforms in search of the next wedge of piecework. Not only journalists will be affected by this.[3]

Another phenomenon also already visible in the new digital world is "*The Economics of Manipulation and Deception*" with millions of people "*Phishing for Phools*" that has been excellently described by the two Nobel Prize winning economists George A. Akerlof and Robert J. Shiller. When they say our political system is distorted by money, most of us will probably agree. But they also state that we are attracted, more than we know, by advertising, and that there is an enormous "difference between what people really want (what is good for them) and what they think they want (their monkey-on-the-shoulder tastes)." People thus often make "dysfunctional decisions" based on "the mental frames that inform people's decisions." These frames are "'the stories people are telling themselves'", which bring a new variable into economics. This "makes natural the idea that people make decisions that can be quite far from maximizing their own welfare, and that these stories are quite manipulable. Just change people's focus and one can change the decisions they make."[4] The essential role of the media in the creation of these frames, these stories that provide us with a focus and with our understanding of reality will be pointed out in this article.

You now know what competent people think about the evolutionary process we are involved in and where media have a central role. But this is not yet enough. There is a dimension in what is currently going on that goes far beyond the dangers these people also describe, and it is very clearly expressed by an expert of the work currently done on artificial intelligence, Jerry Kaplan of the Stanford Artificial Intelligence Lab. He qualifies this work as "the twenty-first century moral equivalent of the Manhattan Project."[5] Very few people, he goes on, are aware of this. We all must be aware of this, as its huge moral problem concerns all our lives, our entire future. All elements of the structure mentioned will dramatically change in this process. The media are at the centre, as they either provide this information or avoid it, give us control of the media and the process we are in or take away our autonomy. They are also central because of their new digital characteristics described below. We are at an immensely crucial moment in human history and need to be aware of the relevance of media, of their place in this universal structure, and of us, the public, in this context today.

Part 1, **Scottish Media, the (Scottish) BBC, and Reality**, will begin with most people's experiences of these media, and then point out details and general characteristics which too many do not seem to be aware of and which significantly shape our limited understanding of reality. Part 2, **The Endless Struggle for Public Power and Public Discourse**, shows that the position we are currently in with regard to the media has actually been with us since the beginning of the modern age and always been connected with current values and our struggles for democracy and freedom. Part 3, **The New (Scottish) Media: What's New?**, focusses on the digital media and their characteristics, before part 4, **The Digital Media Power of the Public**, describes the powers the public is seen to have today over the new media, before part 5 draws relevant **Conclusions**. Part 4 is fairly short, as it focuses on visible shortcomings and as the public is actually dealt with in all parts of this article, where we, the people, are at the centre, the place we actually should be in in a democratic society. This position, however, and this democracy are under serious threats.

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[3] Jeremy Rifkin, *The Zero Marginal Cost Society: The Internet of Things, the Collaborative Commons, and the Eclipse of Capitalism*, New York: Macmillan 2015. Arun Sundararajan, *Sharing Economy: The End of Employment and the Rise of Crowd-Based Capitalism*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 2016.

[4] George A. Akerlof / Robert J. Shiller, *Phishing for Phools: The Economics of Manipulation and Deception*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2015, 170, 172, 173. From now on, University Press will be abbreviated UP.

[5] Jerry Kaplan, *Humans Need Not Apply. A Guide to Wealth and Work in the World of Artificial Intelligence*, New Haven: Yale UP 2015, XI. From now on, Artificial Intelligence will be shortened to AI.

1. Scottish Media, the (Scottish) BBC, and Reality

Discussions about Scottish media have had a long, intriguing history, and the book by Christopher Silver reviewed in this *Newsletter* is just a very recent example of this good analytical and discursive tradition.[6] The facts on the ground, however, are extremely bleak and getting worse: "Johnston Press identifies 59 'sub-core' titles, including Wigan Evening Post and Scotland on Sunday", which, therefore, might not survive long. There are "Bad (and worse) news for UK newsbrands in latest ABC figures", and the imminent end of the British *Independent* or the *Guardian* facing "financial meltdown" are just two more proofs of how bad the situation at the moment is. Robin McAlpine is also highly critical of the media, but he at least has hope in the new digital media world.[7]

At the moment, there are only two newspapers in support of a Scottish national perspective, namely the *National* and the *Sunday Herald*. Both are owned by Newsquest, "one of the UK's leading regional media groups". This is a telling description, but not really correct, as Newsquest is owned by the US Gannet media group, also the proprietor of the Guardian media group and the largest US newspaper publisher with significant broadcast and internet media divisions, independently run as the publicly traded company Tegna since 2015.[8] These links of media to international business corporations are highly significant, especially in relation to the fact that at the same time Scottish media are indeed "regional" and not really national.

While both the *National* and the *Sunday Herald* do try to adopt a national perspective, they fortunately are miles away from what is usually understood by nationalism on the Continent, the kind represented in France by the Front National or in Germany by the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland), and you can select your own representatives in the US, Russia, China etc. Nationalism has strongly been on the rise throughout Europe, with Russia among the worst examples, Hungary and now Poland showing this development blatantly within the EU, clearly revealing that nationalism is inseparable from excessive egoism and corresponding hostility to foreigners. It is really very comforting to see that this kind of nationalism has no relevance in Scotland. It is, however, very significant in England, not only in connection with

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[6] A few more typical examples are William Dinan / David Millar / Philip Schlesinger, *Open Scotland? Journalists, Spin Doctors and Lobbyists*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 2001; Brian McNair / Matthew Hibberd / Philip Schlesinger, *Mediated Access: Broadcasting and Democratic Participation in the Age of Mediated Politics*, Luton: University of Luton Press 2003; Neil Blain / David Hutchison (eds.), *The Media in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 2008; Blain / Hutchison / Gerry Hassan (eds.), *Scotland's Referendum and the Media. National and International Perspectives*, Edinburgh UP 2016. Cf. also website comments, such as by Pat Kane (http://de.slideshare.net/theplayethic/media-under-indy); Angela Haggerty (the editor of Common Space), "New Media, New Scotland: Indyref was only the catalyst for a shake-up of Scottish journalism – it's time for the next chapter", *Bella Caledonia* 17-6-15; Robin McAlpine "The time is now for Scotland's new media to flourish".

[7] William Turvill, "Johnston Press identifies 59 'sub-core' titles, including Wigan Evening Post and Scotland on Sunday", *Press Gazette* 20-1-16; Chris Sutcliffe, "Bad (and worse) news for UK newsbrands in latest ABC figures", *Media Briefing* 22-1-16; William Turville, "Independent newspapers closed, but will continue online, after I sale to Johnston Press", *Press Gazette* 12-2-16 with the owner Evgeny Lebedev's mail to staff; Dominic Ponsford, "While 'open' Guardian faces financial meltdown, paywalled Times is breaking even", *Press Gazette* 26-1-16. Robin McAlpine, "The Scottish media – really?", *Common Space* 4-2-16.

[8] The quote is from http://www.newsquest.co.uk/. Cf. http://www.gannett.com/, where the site begins with the slogans "Local is national" and "We deliver the stories within the stories", then "Here to tell your stories", thus instantly highlighting the importance of story-telling in the media. On presenting their brands, the slogan is "Storytelling At Its Boldest. Media that drives action, not passive consumption." Presenting themselves, they say "We Are Gannett. From local to national, we engage the country to tell its stories." Their purpose is to "be a next-generation media company that empowers communities to connect, act and thrive." They thus use succinct and popular slogans. Take a look at the Tegna video, and these sites will instantly give you an idea of the scope of the businesses we are talking about. The point of Gannett creating Tegna was simply to increase profits on the New York Stock Exchange.

Ukip, but with most of the media there. Silver has impressively shown how ignorant and arrogantly dismissive the dominant British media are of their own nationalism.

BBC Scotland offers TV and radio programmes where local elements can become important, but again as regional ones only. There is no space on BBC Scotland for a national perspective, the Scottish nation is not relevant, and the clearly predominant position that of the much bigger nation England, often identified with Britain. BBC Scotland does speak about local art, events, such as sport, e.g., accidents, and so on, but the national perspective is that of the British Union. Which is why Iain Macwhirter and many others say that "The BBC needs a new Scottish channel".[9]

This blatant lack of a Scottish perspective becomes frustratingly evident in connection with the three most prominent Scottish BBC presenters Andrew Marr, Andrew Neil, and Kirstie Wark (even more important as a producer), who will not be discussed individually here and whose personal reasons for adopting the British position is also not relevant. They clearly simply do not want to rock the boat that carries all their possessions. But individual perspectives are not important, because the point I am trying to make is that BBC programmes significantly fail to provide a platform for diverging opinions, even though they usually pretend to do just that. BBC bias has repeatedly been documented, confirmed, and contested, but what I intend to do here has not yet been done (or at least I am not aware of it): I want to point out an enormous lack of basic journalistic skills and knowledge connected with how the BBC predominantly works and show that this is a significant characteristic not of individuals but of the conditions and structures of our society. These structures and especially the mindsets connected with them by both the producers and the recipients will be presented, in order to reveal the disastrous result that is eventually produced, namely media where public discourse only seems to take place, but does not really exist, with misguided concepts of reality as a serious result.

Typical examples will be given, which everybody will have detected in the media and for which many more specimens can be put forward. The cases are from the BBC, but they exist in the same way on all other British channels and in other media, too. One such typical example were the discussions in November and December 2015 about bombs on Syria, a highly complex topic, which was repeatedly and usually turned into discussions about Jeremy Corbyn. It would really have been good to see the presenters in 'Daily Politics' or 'Marr on Sunday' being aware of this easy avoidance of addressing difficult questions by turning them into personal problems. The presenters should have insisted on the real issues being discussed rather than allowing the discussion to be reduced to a personal or party political matter. Such a competent, experienced, and masterminding position, however, has never been adopted in any of these or similar programmes I have seen.

After this short sketch of how serious political topics are dealt with in the dominant media today, another example of the state of the media can be found in history programmes. Basically, they, of course, have the intention of giving the public information about a period in the past. These programmes, however, have more and more become dominated by personal impressions and feelings of the historians or producers involved, or by such gimmicks as the 'historians' putting on clothes of that time and turning themselves into the centre of the spectators' attention. This is an odd combination of comical, farcical, ridiculous, showy with serious, realistic elements, as, after all, these are the kinds of clothes worn at that time. Occasionally this might be even funny and is certainly meant to be entertaining, but becomes boring when one gets the impression that this is the main thing done again and again. Especially as this is never really used to point out that we, indeed, always look at the past from our point of view, with our mental clothing on. The past in this way simply becomes something one can play with, it is nothing substantial, nothing that can be looked at in various ways and has had

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[9] Macwhirter, "The BBC needs a new Scottish channel", *Open Democracy* 3-12-15.

significant consequences, it's just fun. The past is most of all a good opportunity for the presenter to perform him- or herself in pseudo-historical situations. That the past is in fact presented in this way is clearly a symptom of our time.

One final example is taken from the programme dedicated to the arts, 'Artsnight'. It is really good to have something like this on the BBC. Its history reveals how difficult it has been to preserve such programmes. There had been the 'Review Show', but that was evidently thought to be too elitist, intellectual, or difficult, or just not attracting enough spectators (but did one really know?), and it was stopped in April 2012. Somehow some people managed to bring something like it back last year, but, of course, with less time given to it, and dominated by the attitude I want to describe as both typical of what is predominant in the media today and dangerous to our society. The new series has actually occasionally managed to show that art can deal with more than just entertainment, when, e.g., Irvine Welsh spoke about the arts in post-referendum Scotland.[10]

Using art in this way is a rare case, though. What dominates are programmes showing people's feelings about something, their attitudes to whatever. One key characteristic of this series, therefore, is that each episode is conducted by a personality figure, somebody fairly well known. There is, of course, no lack of such people, as everybody wants to be a star, and a star today inevitably gets replaced by another one the next day. So how can they actually really matter? This, however, is usually not discussed. It is enough to have somebody for this role. Which is why this approach appears to be 'normal', 'natural' and precisely the way in which any topic is dealt with in too many programmes.

A recent episode about the influence of robots on and in the arts thus became an impressionistic piece of personal likes, where economic or social questions had no relevance at all. Infotainment we have had for a long time already, what has been added now is that idiosyncratic feelings of pseudo or 'real' personalities become exhibited as the essential thing. Don't get me wrong: I do not mind anybody liking anything and speaking about this whenever they want to. What I do mind, however, is producers of TV programmes who allow or demand such a kind of programmes only, where 'personalities' and their very individual feelings are what counts. One might, of course, say what does it matter? And it does indeed not matter what x or y thinks about robots or anything else. What does matter, however, is when this becomes the dominant approach or even the only one for presentations of realities. Then this appears as the only acceptable way of dealing with reality. Which it is not. But alternatives are missing (even though there was also a Panorama programme on robots).

The characteristics of current TV programmes I have just described, and which are present in the same way in other media, are actually not new. They have simply increased specific elements and dangerous effects of TV that were already succinctly analysed by Pierre Bourdieu almost 20 years ago. It does not matter whether these BBC producers, presenters, and many others like them on other channels and in other media are aware of these characteristics and prefer to ignore them or whether they unconsciously just follow a general trend. I would of course prefer them to be aware of what they are doing and then, especially as people working at a public service station, not just do what everybody else does, especially private commercial channels. The BBC should indeed act much more consciously and critically of current dominant trends in the media as well as in human thinking and behaviour. If it does not, and if it simply rather desperately tries to copy commercial media, then it loses every justification for its existence. It should not do this, as it is vitally important to have independent-minded, critically, and consciously working media.

What we have instead and what happens in these programmes is that complex problems (like terrorist attacks and how best to deal with them rather than by throwing bombs on Syria,

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[10] Cf. this survey of 'Review Show' episodes (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00qcp6t/broadcasts/2014/04) and the site with Welsh on 25-9-15 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b06dslsg).

how one can understand an earlier period in human history, what the influences of robots on art are etc.) are turned into personality questions, connected with what a person likes, that person's feelings, preferences etc. Complexity, difficulty, is dramatically reduced in this way, things are dangerously simplified, and the programmes are made to be "amusing at all costs", or they become superficially confrontational. Even the programmes that seem to pass on information just follow the rules of entertainment and suspense. By "this policy of demagogic simplification", journalists "are projecting onto the public their own inclinations and their own views". They act in ways that are "utterly contrary to the democratic goal of informing or educating people by interesting them" in significant historical developments, and they thus provide images of the world that are "at once dehistoricized and dehistoricizing, fragmented and fragmenting." "**They direct attention to the game and its players rather than to what is really at stake**, because these are the sources of their interest and their expertise."[11]

The game and the players are on the one hand the world people lived and live in, the politicians, artists, workers, business people etc., but, on the other hand, they are also the world of the media, the media people and their creations. The two worlds are very often hard to distinguish from each other, or a distinction is consciously avoided. People are often not invited to make this distinction, which instantly and unconsciously increases the relevance of the media. Media always have a significant reality effect, whose influence has risen dramatically with the predominance of visual and digital media. Bourdieu (1998, 22) said: "ultimately television, which claims to record reality, creates it instead. We are getting closer and closer to the point where the social world is primarily described – and in a sense prescribed – by television". This has become even more the case with the digital media. TV, Bourdieu (1998, 18) thought, the digital media, we must now say, enjoy "a de facto monopoly on what goes into the heads of a significant part of the population and what they think."

2. The Endless Struggle for Public Power and Public Discourse

The kind of media usage just described in connection with the BBC is actually now the most common form of how media are employed, even more predominant on private, commercial channels as well as on the web, Facebook, and Twitter. This has had a most significant, most challenging and dangerous result: intellectual discourse is not invited, not wanted, and simply excluded. Is there any space left for it in our society? Is there a chance that (new) Scottish media can provide this space and discourse?

Intellectual discourse is Bourdieu's term for what Jürgen Habermas has called 'public discourse', i.e. critical reasoning, arguing, controversial discussions about what the authorities, the people in power want and what the general public prefer, about what is in the interest of the public, the majority as well as minorities of the people, rather than the authorities or any important, influential group in society. Public discourse is a key characteristic of a democratic society. There is no democracy when it does not exist. Bourdieu (1998, 11) already described how this discourse was destroyed on TV. He also expressed its significance: "intellectual discourse remains one of the most authentic forms of resistance to manipulation and a vital affirmation of the freedom of thought."

Habermas as well as David Riesman have provided excellent analyses of its destruction in the media in connection with governments, business, advertising, and consumerism. For Riesman, **the essence of mass entertainment media** was **to educate people to become consumers**, an education beginning in everybody's childhood and continuing throughout people's adult lives. "Today", he said in 1950, "the future occupation of all moppets is to be skilled consumers." Riesman was not very critical of this development, even though he also noticed that in this process politically aware citizens became "consumers of gossip rather than pro-

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[11] Pierre Bourdieu, *On Television*, New York: New Press 1998, 3f (the publication of a 1996 paper), my emphasis.

ducers of strict moral judgements."[12] Lewis Grassic Gibbon's trilogy *A Scots Quair* (1932-4) had already critically described the importance and destructive influence of gossip, "the claiks of Kinraddie" etc., its effects on people's understanding of themselves and reality, and the often totally false ideas of reality gossip creates. The strength of his protagonist includes her ability to resist the influences of gossip and official media speak.[13] The new media on the other hand have increased these influences tremendously.

Habermas has been far more critical of the loss of public discourse and its replacement by consumerism, and key elements of his analysis of this process provide us with a good understanding of the perennial struggle for public power, where our media come from and where we are today in our digital media age. Most of us seem to be too unconcerned or unaware of how media are used and affect people. That majority is the new "new-style indifferents".[14] What we should have today, public discourse, the voice of the people speaking for themselves and in opposition to the authorities, began to express itself with the printing press in the 16th century, but took many more centuries of people fighting for their political and social rights to be allowed to be used openly. This has been a movement, again an evolutionary process, inseparably connected with what the 1688 Glorious Revolution, the French Revolution of 1789, and the various Reform Bills of the 19th century were all about, events with enormous consequences for people's individual as well as social, economic, and political lives. Public discourse became officially possible and found an influential outlet in the press in the 18th and 19th centuries. These fights for a public sphere, a space of free discourse and free exchanges of different opinions are instantly evident in these revolutions and reforms, but it is worthwhile to be aware of the relevance of media in these events. In Paris in 1789, e.g., 450 clubs and more than 200 journals were created just between February and May.[15]

What took place during those centuries was a substantial change, a paradigm shift, in the way in which western societies organised and defined themselves. Kings who thought of themselves as representatives of God assumed absolute power in their dominions, including the power to determine the law. Louis XIV's statement 'L'état c'est moi', 'I am the state' and the law is just the best known example of this way of thinking.[16] It can also be found in an-

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[12] The first quotation is from Riesman / Reuel Denney / Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd. A Study of the Changing American Character*, New Haven: Yale UP 1950, quoted in Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press / London: Polity Press 1991, 192, the second from Daniel Horowitz, "David Riesman: From Law to Social Criticism", *Buffalo Literary Review* 58, 2010, 1005-1029. Consumers are mainly 'other-directed' people, influenced not by their own ideas, wishes, objectives, understanding etc. but by external influences, especially the media, but also their neighbours, colleagues etc.

[13] One could say that the book is very much "About what happened after that some told one thing and some another and some told both together." (Gibbon, *A Scots Quair*, London: Penguin 1998, 72.) It is, however, especially about how not to allow oneself to be influenced by gossip. Many more Scottish writers could be mentioned in this context.

[14] Riesman (1950, 171) already called the consumers of his time the "new-style indifferents": "since they are neither morally committed to political principles nor emotionally related to political events, they are rather easily welded into cadres for political action – much as they are capable of being welded into a modern mechanized and specialized army".

[15] Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1990 (a reprint of the 1962 original, but with a new preface), 277f (1991, 183f). 'Clubs' here means the French 'salons', where free discussions of relevant political events took place. Questions of how free these discussions and places really were, about women being excluded, e.g., cannot be discussed here. But it is important to see that in these bourgeois "*salons* the mind was no longer in the service of a patron; 'opinion' became emancipated from the bonds of economic dependence." (Habermas 1991, 33; 1990, 94)

[16] His statement made to the President of the Parliament of Paris in 1655. Some people contest that he really said this, but it neatly expresses the ideology of absolute monarchies and actually still today the position of people in power seeing themselves as above the law. VW and FIFA are just recent examples, banks have acted in the same way. For relevant historical contexts of Louis's statement, cf. http://www.bartleby.com/344/254.html;

cient Egypt, though, and in many countries today. As it is such a traditional and widespread attitude, there is a common Latin expression for this position, "auctoritas non veritas facit legem" (Habermas 1990, 179; 1991, 103), the law is determined by the authority, not by truth. Thomas Hobbes, who supported King Charles I and, therefore, went into exile to France in 1640, defended this tenet in his *Leviathan, or The Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651). He thought that without such an absolute authority people would endlessly fight against each other. Once they come to their senses, they will agree to a contract with an authority curbing their greed, giving them laws and thus creating a peaceful commonwealth. It is intriguing to see in this context that even the enlightened David Hume thought absolute monarchy was the best way of bringing Scottish factionalism under control.

But Hobbes' idea that human beings are by nature mostly dangerous animals ('homo homini lupus', Plautus 195 BC) was not supported by people emphasising positive human qualities more, especially rationality, a key word of the Enlightenment. John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* (1689) offers an excellent stepping stone into the 18th century with his explanation of where the laws come from that determine human actions: "The laws that men generally refer their actions to, to judge of their rectitude or obliquity, seem to me to be these three: 1. The *divine* law. 2. The *civil* law. 3. The law of *opinion* or *reputation*, if I may so call it. By the relation they bear to the first of these, men judge whether their actions are sins or duties; by the second, whether they be criminal or innocent; and by the third, whether they be virtues or vices."[17] Locke's law of opinion is not yet the public opinion Habermas has in mind, as it is not yet really public and also not necessarily the result of rational arguments (cf. Habermas 1990, 164ff; 1991, 91ff). But Locke had a very relevant influence on the political thinking of his time, not only through his *Essay* but also with his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), which opposed the idea of the divine right of kings and absolute monarchies as defended by Hobbes and also Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1648). Trade and property, the division of powers, a representational system, and a middle-class individualistic approach were essential elements in Locke's theory of how a state should be organised, namely on the basis of a general consensus and a contract between the governor and the governed. In precisely this context, parliament passed a bill in 1695 which enhanced the freedom of the press.[18]

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http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/france-in-the-seventeenth-century/absolutism-and-france/;
http://www.history.com/topics/louis-xiv; Alain Boureau, "The King", in: Pierre Nora / David P. Jordan (eds.), *Rethinking France. Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. I: *The State*, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press 2001, 181-216. Even sources claiming Louis did not say this admit that he meant this, and it fits in perfectly with the idea of the divine right of kings. Glen Burgess, "The Divine Right of Kings Reconsidered", *English Historical Review* 107, 1992, 837-861 confirms this, too, beginning with a fitting quote of James I in 1609: "'The State of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth: For Kings are not only Gods Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called Gods.'"

[17] Locke, *Essay Concering Human Understanding* (1689, published 1690), book II, chap. XXVIII, from A. D. Woozley's edition Glasgow: Collins 1980, 223.

[18] Cf. http://copy.law.cam.ac.uk/cam/tools/request/showRecord?id=commentary_uk_1662 for Locke's influence. Jürgen Wilke, *Censorship and Freedom of the Press*, 2013 at European History Online neglects the UK's shortcomings, which are well depicted by Mark Knights, "Parliament, Print and Corruption in Later Stuart Britain", *Parliamentary History* 26, 1, 2007, 49-61 (available at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/pah/summary/v026/26.1knights.html or http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/parliamentary_history/v026/26.1knights.pdf). A good description of the historical background is provided by C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*, Oxford: Clarendon 1962. Mark Rose, "The Public Sphere and the Emergence of Copyright: *Areopagitica*, the Stationers' Company, and the Statute of Anne", in: Ronan Deazley / Martin Kretschmer / Lionel Bently (eds.), *Privilege and Property. Essays on the History of Copyright*, Cambridge: Open Book Publishers 2010, 67-88 is equally helpful in pointing out Milton, Queen Anne's 1710 statute, and correctly suggesting that the historical process already began before the period Habermas focuses on. For the UK's "tarnished reputation for free expression", see https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2013/08/united-kingdom-a-tarnished-reputation-for-free-expression/, a site with important objectives and information.

Influential examples of the 18th century press are the *Tatler* (1709-1711) and the *Spectator* (1711-1712, 1714). Joseph Addison's and Richard Steele's contributions are still read today, as they give good insights into that time's attitudes, and in the *Spectator*, Steele defines the 'public spirit' as the 'general opinion', a fairly objective indicator of the spirit of the age, finding adequate expression in the press. The press actually establishes itself as the fourth estate in the early decades of the 18th century.[19]

Support of the public opinion and its expression in the press did not come from the Whigs only or friends of Whig politics, like Locke, Addison, and Steele, but also from Tories like Henry St. John Bolingbroke, strongly involved in establishing political journalism, and claiming in an article in the *Craftsman* in 1730 that the "public spirit" of the enlightened people had become a "Spirit of Liberty" against the corruption of the authorities. The traditional "sense of the people" had thus developed into a public oppositional voice.[20]

Edmund Burke is another Tory involved in pointing out the importance of public opinion. His letter "On the Affairs of America" (1777) says "That general opinion is the vehicle and organ of legislative omnipotence."[21] The law thus is once again not determined by the authority but by public agreement. It depends on good reasons, not the authority's will, and it must be accepted by the public as just and, therefore, convincing. This connection between a reasonable, just law in accordance with public opinion was a key element in Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) political philosophy, in which politics was necessarily and always moral and determined by reason. The same is true for David Hume, Adam Smith, and most of the Scottish enlightenment writers. The 'freedom of the pen', i.e. the freedom to discuss everything openly and to write about it publicly was eventually 'the only palace of the people's laws'.[22] The guideline for all laws and political decisions is the welfare and happiness of the public: "'sie [müssen] dem allgemeinen Zweck des Publikums (der Glückseligkeit) gemäß sein'", "'they must accord with the public's universal end, happiness.'" Indeed, Kant and Habermas continue, "It was the proper task of politics 'to make the public satisfied with its condition.'" Which is another important reason why publicity is absolutely necessary.[23]

Details of Kant's influential theory are discussed in Habermas (1990, 178-195; 1991, 102-116), who also mentions Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel's and Karl Marx's criticisms of Kant's middle class position (on pp. 195-209; 117-128). Hegel gave the state absolute power over individuals, founded on a supernatural world spirit, and Marx pointed out the class distinctions Kant had neglected. Marx's criticism is fully justified, but there are intriguing elements in Kant's theory that become even more important today when one understands it as a project that must indeed include all classes, all people in fact, where Kant's principle of the sover-

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[19] Habermas's (1990, 166; 1991, 93) claim that Steele does this in the *Spectator* no. 204, 1712 is not correct, as that no. came out on 24-10-1711, and I have not found an explicit definition of this kind. But this does not contradict Habermas's point. The *Spectator* can be read at https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12030/12030-h/12030-h/SV2/Spectator2.html. Cf. also Habermas (1990, 105f, 125f, 166f; 1991, 23f, 42f, 85f) on the coffee houses, the reading public, the periodical essay, the moral weeklies, and Addison seeing himself as a "censor of manners and morals".

[20] Quotations from Habermas (1990, 166; 1991, 64). Cf. also the *Craftsman* 27-7-1734, and Bolingbroke's "A Dissertation Upon Parties", *The Craftsman* 1735. Good insight into the relevance of media in the 18th century is provided by Alok Yadav, "*The Craftsman* (1726-1752) and *Gray's Inn Journal* (1753-54)", beginning with *The Craftsman*, "the leading anti-Walpole political journal of its time".

[21] Burke's text in his letter of 3-4-1777 is available at http://ota.ox.ac.uk/text/4015.html as well as in the 1864 edition of Burke, *The Works*, vol. II *Political Miscellanies*, London: Clowes & Sons.

[22] My translation of Immanuel Kant, *Zwo Abhandlungen über moralische und politische Gegenstände*, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1795, 92f ('two treatises on moral and political topics'). Cf. Habermas (1990, 184), and for a good critical comment, pointing out that Kant, of course, did not have our understanding of freedom in mind, see Erich Ribolits, *Bildung – Kampfbegriff oder Pathosformel. Über die revolutionären Wurzeln und die bürgerliche Geschichte des Bildungsbegriffs*, Wien: Löcker 2011, 38ff (https://www.fastbot.de/red.php?red=33421693372085728618+https://uscholar.univie.ac.at/get/o:360619).

[23] Habermas 1990, 190; 1991, 113, still quoting Kant 1795.

eignty of the people, of the public use of reason, moral considerations, and open communication with the intention of defining pragmatic truths, improving people's lives, and establishing peace not only in one nation but worldwide are essential in our evolutionary development towards a fairer, more just and more equal society. The media have had an essential position in this process.

They were for instance inseparably involved in the creation of our concept of 'humanity', developed in the 18th and 19th centuries and based on freedom, love, education, privacy, economic independence, and justice. These are not just bourgeois rights, as Habermas sometimes seems to think, but they to a great extent express how we today understand citizens' and human rights, which still need to be defended, established, and re-imagined.[24] Public discourse in the existing media of those times, especially in letters, novels, newspaper articles, and essays propagated these ideas as totally reasonable, natural, normal, and universal. We still think so today when we speak of human rights, and also desire laws that are not just a formal set of rules, but make sense, are based on a shared and common human understanding, so that what is lawful is also right and just, thus totally acceptable. It is evident that we still have to make these ideas reality, and for that we clearly need media which support free discussions about how to improve our societies.

Public opinion, based on reason, knowledge and learning, developed in public discussions, and thus highly qualified, not just a whim or a feeling, slowly became the monitor and arbiter of government and society in the centuries mentioned. One typical result of this development was Robert Peel's Tamworth Manifesto of 1834, the first such outline of a party's intentions, made public so that it could be widely discussed.[25] What is particularly important in this context is that public opinion was explicitly meant to be created by reasoning about topics, problems, socially, economically and politically relevant cases, not by agreeing or disagreeing in naïve or plebiscitary ways with well-known people. The Whig's admonition at that time (two years after the 1832 first Reform Bill) is indeed highly topical today: "'Remember that you are now fighting for things, not men – for the real consequences of your reform.'"[26]

Such an attitude, however, seems to have always been rare, and my article began with media examples where people are much more relevant than any important issues. The middle of the 19th century also saw the beginning of advertising and consumption as dominant factors in human lives, societies, and the media. Thomas Carlyle's comments on the London hat maker in Book 3, *The Modern Worker*, of his *Past and Present* (1843) is a wonderful text on this development, which instantly came to my mind when I saw I could no longer avoid setting up my own university homepage, even though I did not at all like the idea that I was supposed to present myself favourably in this way. I simply thought like Carlyle that one should leave praise to one's friends or enemies, but definitely not do it oneself. Historically speaking, Carlyle thought that "the Quack has become God", and he was totally opposed to this kind of "English Puffery", forcing every man or woman to be "his [or her] own trumpeter".[27]

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[24] Cf. Habermas's (1990, 19) new preface to the 1990 edition, where he speaks about feminism, the social emancipation of workers, and the 'universalisation of bourgeois rights', the 'rights of unlimited inclusion and equality'. (Single inverted commas are always my translations.) Pages 111f (1991, 48, 261) are also particularly important on the development of the new concept of humanity created at that time precisely "in the humanity of the intimate relationships between human beings", i.e. in the family. Footnote 48 there accordingly quotes Max Horkheimer, *Autorität und Familie*, Paris 1936, 64 with "the bourgeois family leads […] to a premonition of a better human existence."

[25] The Tory Party Manifesto can be read at http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/politics/tam2.htm.

[26] Habermas (1990, 133; 1991, 67) quotes from C. S. Emden, *The People and the Constitution*, Oxford: Oxford UP 1956, 205.

[27] The text is available at http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13534 or http://genius.com/Thomas-carlyle-past-and-present-chap-31-annotated. John Perring, the London hat maker Carlyle wrote about, is described here (https://londonstreetviews.wordpress.com/2014/01/27/john-perring-hat-maker/) with a picture of the "mobile advertisement". Mobile indeed.

Carlyle already described the essence of marketing when he said the hat maker "has not attempted to *make* better hats, […], his whole industry is turned to *persuade* us that he has made such!" In a serious sense, this is the beginning of virtual reality, for which we now have much more influential media, taking us out of our worlds into ones that appear to be more attractive. The importance of marketing, consumption, and business has increased since that time to such an extent that it does not seem to be necessary to point it out again.[28] It is, however, very significant that Habermas described developments more than 50 years ago that most people today are not at all aware of. The reason for this ignorance is only partly connected with people's lack of interest in politics. One rather has to acknowledge that this lack of interest is precisely the result of what Habermas (1990, 269; 1991, 177) describes, namely that the public sphere has become "depoliticized through a preoccupation with consumption of culture."

Consumption destroys critical thinking, and "[c]ritical publicity is supplanted by manipulative publicity." (1991, 178; 1990, 270) The "mediatized public is called upon more frequently and in incomparably more diverse ways for the purposes of public acclamation; at the same time it is so remote from the processes of the exercise and equilibration of power that their rational justification can scarcely be demanded, let alone be accomplished any longer, by the principle of publicity." (Habermas 1991, 180; 1990, 273f) In this context, a journalist or publisher "changed from being a merchant of news to being a dealer in public opinion" or rather in "ideologies and viewpoints". (Habermas 1991, 182; 1990, 276) The public sphere becomes "a platform for advertising" (Habermas 1991, 181ff; 1990, 275ff), for persuasion already described by Carlyle.

A key point in this context is **how reality becomes presented** in this way. We all now know or think we do that reality is never just what we see, it is not just there, it is always constructed, shaped by the forms in which we see it, the mental frames Akerlof and Shiller speak of. Reality thus is shaped by the concepts in our minds, by our culture, by what we believe in. Reality is indeed *The Embodied Mind* Thompson, Varela and Rosch described so succinctly. This has become confirmed by important research in the cognitive sciences, but has not yet been sufficiently accepted by the majority of the people.[29]

One should, however, always remember this when on deals with media: each medium, every single text offers its users a specific world, constructed by the signs in the text and the users' presuppositions. This encoded world can, of course, be decoded critically, even disruptively, but how often does this actually take place, and how often do we not simply accept what is offered us?[30] As consumers we tend to take for granted what we get, as long as it confirms our expectations or is even better. But do we sufficiently question our expectations, why we have them and not others? There is an increased need to do this in connection with the media, especially the new ones. Is what we get really what we want, and is it real anyway, or just a fiction?

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[28] Riesman's 1950's remarks on consumption have already been mentioned. Jonathan Crary, *24/7. Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, London: Verso 2014; John H. Hartley (ed.), *Creative Industries*, Oxford: Blackwell 2005; Naomi Klein, *No Logo. 10th Anniversary Edition*, New York: Picador 2010; Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press 1997 give more recent descriptions.

[29] Francisco J. Varela / Evan Thompson / Eleanor Rosch, *The Embodied Mind. Cognitive Science and Human Experience*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1999 (7th printing of the first edition of 1991). Cf. also Chris Frith, *Making Up the Mind. How the Brain Creates Our Mental World*, Oxford: Blackwell 2007; George Lakoff / Mark Johnson: *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books 1999; Lakoff, *The Political Mind: A Cognitive Scientist's Guide to Your Brain and Its Politics*, New York: Penguin 2009.

[30] Stuart Hall's "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse", Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies Stencilled Paper no. 7, 1973, is common knowledge and with other good texts from the Centre easily available. For important later developments, cf. the excellent book by David Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology: The Geography of the New*, London: Routledge 2007.

The illusion of private autonomy is another consequence of the influence of consumption, as this autonomy is no longer based on the public's control of authorities and of property, but simply on the public's "capacity to enjoy". This leads to the "illusion of an intensified privacy" and is often experienced as "reducing a burden, since [-] consumption [… can] be indulged in all the more 'privately'." (Habermas 1991, 156; 1990, 243) "Discussion as a form of sociability gave way to the fetishism of community involvement as such". (Habermas 1991, 158; 1990, 246)

Reality becomes seriously reduced in this way. There are "'group activities'", but no longer a general public (Habermas 1991, 163; 1990, 251). Even the discussions in these groups assume "the form of a consumer item" (Habermas 1991, 164; 1990, 252), as the markets no longer enable the public to get access to and understand serious social problems, but they present such problems in simplified forms, if they present them at all. The 'dumbing down' effect we have become aware of in our age thus also has a long tradition. Mass cultural products characteristically do not produce new insights or significant changes in people's behaviour, they simply satisfy people's desires and usually even work regressively. Habermas' analysis is intriguingly confirmed by recent descriptions of our dominant culture and the new media, defining them as the *Empire of Illusion* and *The Shallows*. The key points are the seriously limited understanding of reality, people's illusions about themselves, including their desires, and the dangerous destruction of literacy, of critical and analytical thinking.[31]

Such a shallow way of satisfying the people's desires had already been described as a strategic device employed by dominant powers in Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835-1840), where he detected it in the "despotism of an increasingly bureaucratized state." Tocqueville was totally opposed to the "centralization of government power'" and "demonstrated how the [US] citizen slipped into a state of tutelage" in such a system: "'Over this kind of men stands an immense protective power which is alone responsible for securing their enjoyment and watching over their fate. That power is absolute, thoughtful of detail, orderly, provident and gentle. It would resemble parental authority if, fatherlike, it tried to prepare its charges for a man's life, but on the contrary, it only tries to keep them in perpetual childhood. It likes to see its citizens enjoy themselves, provided that they think of nothing but enjoyment. It […] facilitates their pleasures, manages their principal concerns, directs their industry, makes rules for their testaments, and divides their inheritances. Why should it not entirely relieve them from the trouble of thinking and all the cares of living?'"[32]

Influences of this kind have only increased through the new media and the much higher relevance of business and consumption in our world. Critical discussions and public reasoning "give way to 'exchanges about taste and preferences' between consumers – even the talk about what is consumed, 'the examination of tastes', becomes a part of consumption itself." The public sphere in such a world is at best an illusion, but never a reality, and so is "the integrity

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[31] Cf. Habermas (1991, 164ff; 1990, 253ff) with Chris Hedges, *Empire of Illusion. The End of Literacy and the Triumph of Spectacle*, New York: Nation Books 2009, and Nicholas Carr, *The Shallows: What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains*, New York: Norton 2011. The effects of such limited understanding on the political reality today are made evident in texts like this one by Leonid Bershidsky, "Trump's One-Man Show Is a Smash", Bloomberg 29-1-16: "The competing spectacles put on by Republican presidential candidates in Iowa on Thursday night should put to rest any remaining doubts that the party's 2016 nomination contest is a show business phenomenon, and has little to do with the boring realities of governing after Election Day."

[32] Habermas (1990, 221f; 1991, 138) quotes Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835-1840) from Siegfried Landshut (ed.), *Tocqueville. Das Zeitalter der Gleichheit. Auswahl aus Werken und Briefen*, Stuttgart: Kröner 1954, 98. Tocqueville's text can be read at https://www.gutenberg.org/files/815/815-h/815-h.htm in Henry Reeve's translation, also published in 2014 by the University of Adelaide at https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/t/tocqueville/alexis/democracy/complete.html. Eduardo Nolla's historical-critical edition published by the Liberty Fund in 2010 is available at http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/De_tocqueville_alexis/democracy_in_america_historical_critical_ed/democracy_in_america_vol_2.pdf (for vol. 1 replace the 2 in this URL).

of the private sphere". These two spheres no longer have their former distinctiveness, "indeed, the public sphere becomes the sphere for the publicizing of private biographies, so that the accidental fate of the so-called man in the street or that of systematically managed stars attain publicity, while publicly relevant developments and decisions are garbed in private dress and through personalization distorted to the point of unrecognizability." (Habermas 1991, 171f; 1990, 261f)

Everybody will have enough examples of the lack of integrity of the private sphere in the media today. For those who still think that there is a public sphere after all in the British Parliament and in the predominant first class media where intellectual discourse is supposed to exist today, the opposite was blatantly revealed in the House of Commons on Friday, 4 December 2015, in a 10-hour debate about whether the Royal Air Force should be allowed to throw bombs on Syria or not. Prime Minister David Cameron disclosed his understanding of democracy and controversial discussions by calling everybody who did not share his opinion "terrorist sympathisers". Jeremy Corbyn gave him the opportunity to apologise for this statement made hours before the parliamentary discussions, but Cameron did not take it up. The lack of intellectual discourse, even the willingness to engage in it, was then highlighted again in Hilary Benn's speech in the House. It was praised by both Labour and Tory party members, even though it used outdated, totally inappropriate traditional war rhetoric, did not elucidate anything, simply spoke to people's emotions and nostalgic memories of times past. The response in the British press was accordingly a unanimous approval.

In this one-sidedly emotional, uncritical, and unenlightened context, it was simply wonderful to hear the experienced, intellectual, sane, and lucidly rational public voice of Ian Bell in the *Sunday Herald* on 6-12-15 describe the speech for what it was, "empty war rhetoric".[33] How important to read this in a Scottish newspaper against the abundance of war clichés and admiration for them in the English papers, even in one with basically good qualities like the *Guardian*![34] How sad for all of us that the time for Ian Bell's intelligent comments is now over.

Bell in his way confirmed that the press had indeed developed to a business involving ideologies and viewpoints. "From mere institutions for the publication of news, the papers also became carriers and leaders of public opinion, and instruments in the arsenal of party politics." (Habermas 1990, 275; 1991, 182) The developments connected with the increased importance of business, advertising, and consumption, the changes "from a culture-debating to a culture-consuming public" have indeed not enhanced public discourse, they have stifled

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[33] Ian Bell, "The dismantling of Hilary Benn's empty war rhetoric", *Sunday Herald* 6-12-15 : "A single speech endorsing an attempt to kill off Islamic State was lauded [...] as a triumph for parliamentary democracy. An interesting claim, if true, and a still more interesting claim if false. The difference between resounding oratory and a great speech is that the latter depends on coherent argument. [...] Benn did something else: in place of argument, he gave the Commons gallery emotion, otherwise known as 'passion'." Considerate arguments had no place here, there was no intellectual discourse at all, and it even got worse (if that is possible): "As his roll-call of battle honours rang out, you waited for words that never came. Spain, the Hitler war, the founding of the UN, a party that had always stood up for rights and justice. Labour and Britain, said Benn, 'must confront this evil'. Then it was plain: there had been not a mention, at any point, of Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya from a politician who had voted for each of those catastrophes." This is enough here, but do read Bell's excellent text completely, in order to see how intelligently he deconstructs this speech.

[34] I know many Scots who do not like the *Guardian*, but I do, as I think every paper which has been forced by a Tory government to destroy its data files, simply because they contained things the government did not like, deserves the support of everybody in favour of free media. But this article by the Guardian's chief political correspondent Nicholas Watt reveals how deeply ingrained in English people's minds this old-fashioned war rhetoric is: Watt, "Hilary Benn: of the tribe but his own man", *Guardian* 4-12-15 . One can imagine how long it will take to change such thinking. Hard work. Or simply impossible? Salmond was another Scottish voice criticising Benn and incurring censure in return.

free discussions of controversial topics and led to the disintegration of the public sphere.[35] They have also led to a serious lack of understanding and thoughtful discussion of reality. There are still such discussions, but only in small expert groups, whereas mass discussions are part of mass consumption. "The parliament itself has correspondingly evolved away from a debating body; for the parliamentary rubber-stamping of resolutions haggled out behind closed doors not merely satisfies a formal requirement but serves to demonstrate party consensus toward the outside." This new kind of exclusion and manipulation of the public and of determining key questions in small circles "leads to a 'refeudalization' of society". The current discussions about TTIP, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership between Europe and the United States, are another typical example of this. The public sphere and a free, self-determined public opinion have been turned into a "Fiction".[36] Can this terrible decline of public power and public discourse be stopped by the new media? Do they give us greater freedom? Or just another fiction, such as "The grand illusion of empowerment"?[37]

3. The New (Scottish) Media: What's New?

The two most important new qualities of the digital media will be discussed here: **speed** and **ubiquity**. Information now travels around the world in seconds, and it is available everywhere by everybody. In theory. In practice, the necessary technical equipment is far from being generally available: "only 2.7 billion of the world's seven billion people have internet access", i.e. 39% in the world (only 16% in Africa). Which is why both Facebook and Google are working on providing every region with the necessary facilities.[38]

Ubiquity includes the users' ability to instantly respond to messages in the medium, thus to 'talk back', which was regarded as almost impossible in the media Habermas, Riesman, and Bourdieu discussed (cf. Habermas 1991, 170f). TV programmes and cinema films today are often instantly talked about, sometimes while they are still being presented. Programmes like the 'Daily Politics' invite instant Twitter, Facebook, and e-mail comments. So is this not a significant way of enlarging the public sphere, improving rational criticism, and enhancing diversity?

Indeed, are there not also excellent Scottish websites where enlightened discussions take place, such as 'All of Us First', 'Bella Caledonia', 'Common Space', 'Thoughtland', 'Wings Over Scotland', and many more, all (we hope) mentioned at http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/75.php? Absolutely, this is indeed the case, and one does get useful

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[35] See chapters 18 and 19 "From a Culture-Debating (kulturräsonierend) Public to a Culture-Consuming Public" and on the "Disintegration of the Bourgeois Public Sphere" (Habermas 1991, 159ff (1990, 248ff) and 175ff (1990, 267ff)).

[36] Quotes from Habermas 1991, 205, 231; 1990, 305f, 337, and cf. § 24 in Habermas 1990 and 1991. On TTIP, cf. Lee Williams, "What is TTIP? And six reasons why the answer should scare you", *Independent* 6-10-15, the next line says: "Have you heard about TTIP? If the answer is no, don't get worried; you're not meant to have". It is not surprising that groups "Fighting Global Poverty" and for "Global Justice" are against TTIP (http://waronwant.org/what-ttip; http://action.globaljustice.org.uk/ea-action/action?ea.client.id=1784&ea.campaign.id=41431&ea.tracking.id=62c7d068&gclid=CIKsrvKl1MoCF UmeGwodtw8MOQ). Even this letter in the *Financial Times* 29-1-16 acknowledges that TTIP is a "major power grab by the existing global elites, represented by the multinationals [… and] resisted by civil society."

[37] This is the title of the article by Gillian Tett in the *Financial Times* 22-1-16, who says "'The Internet gives people the impression that they have a voice but in most countries power remains firmly in the hands of the elite'". People can use the internet for shopping, she continues, but not for bringing about political change. That causes frustration. There are also no signs that "the global elite is going to share power (or money) with the masses."

[38] The quote is from David Talbot, "Facebook's Two Faces", *MIT Technology Review* 17-12-13 with sound information about the two-sidedness of this undertaking, where more data faster is much more relevant than connectivity. The *MIT Review* on 24-12-2015 reported 56.6% of people still unconnected . John Naughton, "If the price of giving everyone internet access is total domination by Facebook, it's not worth it", *Guardian* 11-1-15 is equally critical, whereas Brad Stone, "Google and Facebook's Race to Bring the Web to the Developing World", *Bloomberg Businessweek* 3-3-15 sees the business side only.

information there as well as intelligent discussions and profound insights. The reason why these sites as well as other means like Facebook and Twitter do not create a healthy public sphere is that exchanges of opinion are met with either instant agreement or equally direct opposition. Discussing this with Pat Kane at our 2013 conference on Scotland 2014, I pointed out this frustrating danger of preaching to the converted only, which he could not deny. Recent research has confirmed the dangerous development that the new media allow people not only to select the news, information, messages, and media sources they prefer, but also to just exchange opinions with like-minded people, one's 'friends', the in-group. The exclusion of other important parts of reality that was already present in the media with the advent of business, advertising, and consumption thus has become even stronger and more easily effected.

In this context, June Cohen, former director of media at TED, says "The Rise of Social Media Is Really a Reprise". We have got new media, new tools, but "human character and cognition [-] remain unchanged by time and technology." The new media may in fact "be returning us to the intensely social animals we evolved to be." The point is "simply to belong." Which is why "the truth is that most bloggers, vloggers, tweeters, and Facebookers are talking mainly to their friends." The new decentralized media tools of unprecedented power have been used by people in a very 'natural' way, namely to build "a digital world strikingly similar to the tribal societies and oral cultures we evolved with."[39]

While this development is looked upon rather favourably by Cohen, and with much justification, the new media, and especially the social media, have revealed that, yes, this is indeed true, but can also be regressively destructive. There is now an abundance of hate and planned misinformation distributed by e-mail, Twitter, Facebook, and elsewhere on the web, on specific fake-news sites, which has made Caitlin Dewey decide to stop her information on such fakes, because "There is nothing — NOTHING — too crazy for the Internet hoax beat." Her column 'What Was Fake?' had been launched in 2014. Since then fakes have become much easier to detect, but they have also become a new business, because "not much drives traffic as effectively as stories that vindicate and/or inflame the biases of their readers. Where many once wrote celebrity death hoaxes or 'satires', they now run entire, successful websites that do nothing but troll convenient minorities or exploit gross stereotypes." They "specifically [try] to invent stories that will provoke strong reactions in middle-aged conservatives. They share a lot on Facebook, [...], they're the ideal audience."[40] These texts full of hatred and Schadenfreude are an international phenomenon reflecting once more the increase of emotions and decline of rational arguments. It seems as though the social media, which were once incorrectly hailed as bringing about the Arab Spring, are more and more wilfully used in order to confirm people's prejudices and serve the purpose of creating a sense of belonging by excluding and even denigrating others.[41]

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[39] Cohen, "The Rise of Social Media Is Really a Reprise", in: John Brockman (ed.), *Is the Internet Changing the Way You Think? The Net's Impact on Our Minds and Future*, New York: Harper Perennial 2011, 38-40. TED is a non-profit trying to spread "a deeper understanding of the world." Two typical examples are Michael Sandel, who teaches political philosophy at Harvard, with "Why we shouldn't trust markets with our civic life", as we offer ourselves up for sale in this way, and – quite fittingly – he also spoke about "The Lost Art of Democratic Debate". Leo Chalupa (neurobiologist at the University of California, Davis), "The Greatest Detractor to Serious Thinking Since Television", in: Brockman 2011, 44, makes a similar point: "Serious thinking requires honest and open communication, and that is simply untenable on the Internet".

[40] Caitlin Dewey, "What was fake on the Internet this week: Why this is the final column", *Washington Post* 18-12-15.

[41] Cf. Cass R. Sunstein, "How Facebook Makes Us Dumber", Bloomberg 8-1-16, who asks "Why does misinformation spread so quickly on the social media? Why doesn't it get corrected? When the truth is so easy to find, why do people accept falsehoods?" A new study shows "the explanation is confirmation bias: people's tendency to seek out information that confirms their beliefs, and to ignore contrary information." "When people are online, do they encounter opposing views, or do they create the virtual equivalent of gated communities?" The latter is true and connected with "group polarization". The studies referred to are by Michela del Vicario et al., "The spreading of misinformation online", Rome etc. 2015 and the same team,

A very significant conclusion, therefore, is that **users do not** at all **employ the new media in new ways**. This is not surprising, as we indeed have new media, but we use them with our usual concepts, utilise them in mostly unconscious ways that are determined by emotions and perennial urges, drives even, like the one to belong, to be safe etc. Our minds have not yet had enough time to find new ways of using new media. We are still dominated by traditional mental schemata (or frames). Schemata that have been with us for a long time, precisely because they have helped us to survive and improve our lives.[42]

So much about the users here, now what about **the makers of the new media**? Initially the internet had been intended as a completely free space by most of its creators. It was meant to give users a new sphere of independent thinking and free exchange of opinions and data. Plain indicators of these beginnings are Tim Berners-Lee's use of royalty-free technology and offering his ideas to the public free of charge. With Nigel Shadbolt and many others he is a strong supporter of net neutrality, which they regard as a kind of human network right. The web, they say, needs defending like democracy, and I can only agree.[43]

But instead of offering a space for all kinds of freedom, the web quickly became a mirror of our culture and has since been overwhelmingly dominated by business. Freedom on the web has in fact been in decline in the past years, not only politically.[44] Political threats to the freedom of the web are fairly easily detectable, find quick opposition, but are not rapidly defeated, as is shown by the ongoing battle for net neutrality. Big companies like Telekom, Vodafone and others want to abolish net neutrality, in order to make more money. The public does not want this, but would eventually even have to pay for it.[45] Even more dangerous are the much less evident threats created by the big new media players Google, Facebook, Apple,

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"Debunking in a World of Tribes", found in October 2015 that efforts to debunk false beliefs on Facebook are typically ignored. For the international context and hate messages, cf. Mathias Blumencron, "Hetze im Netz. Wenn sich der Hass Bahn bricht", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (from now on abbreviated *FAZ*) 16-1-16. Angela Philips, "Social media is changing the face of politics – and it's not good news", *The Conversation* 9-2-16, because "'me' journalism – provided according to its audiences' pre-determined requirements – is on the rise." There are also, of course, positive effects of the social media, cf. Yara al-Wazir, "Is Facebook the answer to the expat workers' dilemmas?", *English Al Arabiya* 9-1-16, and this good collection of pros and cons by Mark Bauerlein (ed.), *The Digital Divide: Arguments For and Against Facebook, Google, Texting, and the Age of Social Networking*, New York: Tarcher 2011.

[42] I have tried to show this in connection with narration and the presentation of British history in the media in Müller, "Narration und Kognition britischer Geschichte transmedial. Medienkonvergenz im britischen Fernsehen", in: Karl N. Renner / Dagmar von Hoff / Matthias Krings (eds.), *Medien. Erzählen. Gesellschaft. Transmediales Erzählen im Zeitalter der Medienkonvergenz*, Berlin: de Gruyter 2013, 301-340; not so comprehensive but in English is Müller, "Stories Told about British Cultures and Languages in Current TV Documentaries: The Noughties, Kidults, Chavs, MCs, and the Breaking Up of Britain", in: Melanie Arnold / Silvia Hansen-Schirra / Michael Poerner (eds.), *Streifzüge durch die Welt der Sprachen und Kulturen*, Frankfurt: Lang 2013, 231-258.

[43] Cf. Shadbolt (http://users.ecs.soton.ac.uk/nrs/) and Berners-Lee, "Long Live the Web. A Call for Continued Open Standards and Neutrality", *Scientific American* 1-12-10. Shadbolt and Berners-Lee co-founded the Open Data Institute (http://theodi.org/), where they are chairman and president. Berners-Lee's site at the World Wide Web Consortium has a link to the 'Battle for the Net' against US Congress plans to end net neutrality and links to further information on the history of the web. Cf. also his book written with Mark Fischetti, *Weaving the Web: The Original Design and Ultimate Destiny of the World Wide Web*, New York: Harper Collins 1999. https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/web-science/4/steps/59273 gives a short video description of net neutrality.

[44] For figures and commercialisation, cf. http://www.internetworldstats.com/emarketing.htm; http://www.Internetsociety.org/internet/what-internet/history-internet/brief-history-internet#Commercialization. The "winner-take-all dynamic" is analysed by Andrew McAfee / Erik Brynjolsson, "Investing in the IT That Makes a Competitive Difference", *Harvard Business Review* July-August 2008. Jenny Marsh, "The Commercialisation of the Internet and the Erosion of Free Speech", *Energy Grid* 5 2009. More on freedom in the "Freedom on the Net 2015 Report", with a PDF, country reports etc.

[45] See this report on the 'Medientage München 2015', which also discussed the dangers of regulations (http://www.medientage.de/presse/news/detail/news/detail/News/datenflut-stellt-infrastruktur-vor-herausforderungen/).

and Microsoft. They are the owners of the new media and know how to make a good impression on the public. Millions idolise Apple, and even more seem to believe that Facebook and Google really want to do something for underdeveloped countries by funding internet connections there (cf. fn. 38).

The dimensions of these companies' influences on human lives are hard to imagine. They do have the "ambitious plan to connect the whole world", and they also claim that "the internet should be considered, like health care or clean water, a basic human right." Not only sceptics see this "mission as a play to colonize the digital universe." Indeed, "Zuckerberg has become an aspiring statesman."[46] Like the other media owners, he is indeed busy creating the world according to his own plans.

The world Mark Zuckerberg, Eric Schmidt, Larry Page, and Sadya Nadella have in mind can sometimes easily be imagined by what they have said. Google's, now Alphabet's Eric Schmidt is rather well-known (and infamous) for saying "We know where you are. We know where you've been. We can more or less know what you are thinking about."[47] There are still people, though, who do not quite get that he indeed speaks about not only diminishing human agency but actually getting complete control of everything. Google and the other companies do this by "trying to understand everything", which, of course, includes language, "speech recognition" as well as the analysis of all parts of the world through machines. Machines that imitate human learning, in fact human beings generally. This can be useful on many occasions, e.g. when machines drive cars and people can do other things on their way to work etc. But what we are talking about is a new 'centralised intelligence' with the internet as a "software-defined network" encompassing the whole world. This project, first presented by Google at the Open Network Summit in Santa Clara in 2012, intends to dramatically improve how data are sent, centrally programmed and controlled. The Open Networking Foundation tries to market OpenFlow and includes almost all important computer companies.[48]

The ensuing consequences are actually hard to imagine at the moment and go far beyond auto-pilot cars, instant translation, and recognition of human beings. The technology involved is extremely complex and ultimately comprehended by experts only. If you are interested in this, listen to the ETH Zürich professors Bernhard Plattner and Laurent Vanbever of the Department of Information Technology and Electrical Engineering discussing this. They are involved in developing OpenFlow in connection with Stanford and Berkeley, speak of a paradigm shift, and give good explanations in talks in English. Key words are 'active networking',

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[46] Quotes are from Jessi Hempel, "Inside Facebook's Ambitious Plan to Connect the Whole World", *Wired* 19-1-16.

[47] *Business Insider* 4-10-10 with a link to the video of the entire interview. *The Register* 4-10-10 calls this a rather "tactless rebuff to his company's PR's efforts to persuade us that it truly, deeply cares about our privacy." It then adds one more Schmidt proposal for "removing human agency from other areas of life." What Google is after is "diminishing the role humans play." Here are more of Schmidt's quotes. Page, too, speaks about the future they want to create: "What is the future going to be? And how do we create it?" (Jillian D'Onfro, "14 Quotes That Reveal How Larry Page Built Google Into The World's Most Important Internet Company", *Business Insider* 18-11-14. Microsoft's Nadella also wants to change the world and says only Microsoft has the necessary skills and tradition to do so (https://news.microsoft.com/exec/satya-nadella/ is a 2013 interview with him).

[48] The first quotation is from Charlie Rose, "Larry Page, Where's Google going next?", March 2014 about Deep Mind, the UK company Google bought. The single quotation is my translation from Betschon, Stefan, "Die Neuerfindung des Internet", *Neue Züricher Zeitung* 18-12-15, i.e. 'the reinvention of the web'. The ONF (https://www.opennetworking.org/) gives further information on itself, the key words of the next paragraph, and OpenFlow. Ethan Banks, "Crossroads for OpenFlow?", *Network World* 7-1-16 gives a good description of OpenFlow, which is different from SDN, and is first of all "simply a tool", but "both a useful and powerful tool". Consumers know nothing about all this, they simply buy "the capabilities these tools bring", whereas "companies are turning to the tech for traffic manipulation, security and network virtualization." Banks is very optimistic about the future of OpenFlow. Further information also at https://www.sdxcentral.com/resources/sdn/who-is-open-networking-foundation-onf/.

especially "Software Defined Networking (SDN)". This has much to do with "Fibbing", "Fake Topologies", and "Sweet Little Lies". The questions of reality and control are indeed once more vital here and differently discussed by technically minded people on the one hand and people wondering about how all these tools might be used on the other. Are these really *sweet little lies*, or are there serious threats for human freedom and democracy involved?[49]

The paradigm shift taking place at the moment towards a centralised web can perhaps be best understood by non-technical people like me when one remembers what has been a key characteristic of the internet from its beginning: its decentralisation. The excellent book by James Curran and Jean Seaton *Power Without Responsibility* describes the strong influence of the US military on this development of a decentralised medium, and it highlights the internet's "incongruent features. It is still a decentralized system in which information is transmitted via independent, variable pathways through dispersed computer power. But on top of this is imposed a new technology of commercial surveillance which enables commercial operators – and governments – to monitor what people do online." Curran and Seaton could not help noticing that "most of the net's major players are now private companies."[50] What they could not foresee in 2010 is this new development of the internet towards a strongly centralised system. And it is easy to guess who will be at the centre and in control.

Google's Deep Mind or Microsoft's Neural Net are telling names in this context. The effort to "understand everything" centres on people's minds, their thinking and feeling which eventually determine their actions. AI plays a key role here and means that machines learn not only to do things humans do, but even to learn, think, describe and understand life like human beings. They build their own neural nets. In theory this could lead to making life much easier for everybody. In practise, however, this has never been the case in the history of huge technological advances. Or have you gained more spare time by having a car, e.g.?[51]

What is being done here is hard to imagine, these are enormous undertakings, and "Google's Go Victory Is Just a Glimpse of How Powerful AI Will Be". This is not just about Google, however, it is about "Facebook and Microsoft and the other giants of tech. The effort to create the smartest AI has truly become a race, and the contestants are among the most powerful and wealthy people on the planet." Cade Metz gives a short explanation: "DeepMind specializes in both deep learning and reinforcement learning, technologies that allow machines to learn largely on their own. […]. Using what are called neural networks – networks of hardware and software that approximate the web of neurons in the human brain – deep learning is" behind image search, face recognition, and language translation tools that we already use. "Reinforcement learning takes things a step further. Once you've built a neural net that's pretty good at playing a game, you can match it against itself. As two versions of this neural net play thousands of games against each other, the system tracks which moves yield the highest reward—that is, the highest score—and in this way, it learns to play the game at an even higher level. But again, the technique isn't limited to games. It could apply to any-

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[49] The quotations are from Stefano Vissicchio / Laurent Vanbever / Jennifer Rexford, "Sweet Little Lies: Fake Topologies for Flexible Routing", *Hotnets '14*, 27-10-14 (i.e. given at the 13th ACM on Hot Topics in Networks). Cf. also Plattner's lecture on 10-12-15, "The Internet – What Else?", and Vanbever on 2-12-15, "Improving the Internet: From Fragility to Resilience". In another lecture, Vanbever speaks about three key challenges the web is facing: 1. manageability & reliability; 2. scalability; 3. security.

[50] James Curran / Jean Seaton, *Power Without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting and the Internet in Britain*, London: Routledge 2010 (7th ed.), 272.

[51] In order to get an idea of the enormous advances made in connecting data with meaning, understanding, and learning, cf. Shadbolt / Wendy Hall / Berners-Lee, "The Semantic Web Revisited", 2006 with Metz, Cade, "Microsoft Neural Net Shows Deep Learning Can Get Way Deeper", *Wired* 14-1-16. Jordan Novat, "Google launches a deep learning course on Udacity", *Venture Beat* 21-1-16 gives practical insights, and *Wired* recommends this text, but says "You'll need a couple of years' programming experience and an understanding of calculus to take advantage of the course." (http://www.wired.co.uk/news/archive/2016-01/22/wired-awake-22-january)

thing that resembles a game, anything that involves strategy and competition." Anything in our world in fact, so that the question instantly arises "Can a Robot Do Your Job?"[52]

Many people hope robots can replace humans, especially business people. SAP boss, Henning Kagermann, spoke of a Copernican revolution at the World Economic Forum this year, where the CEO of Thyssen-Krupp, Heinrich Hiesinger, stated that 'all know-how can be copied today' by Big Data and AI. Industry 4.0 promises to do just that and raises high hopes as well as strong fears. While opinions about this development are understandably diverse, nobody thinks it can be stopped. It is clearly evolving and determining the forms and possibilities of everything, including media. Eventually, it comprises the challenge of "*How to Create a Mind*" or even the "*End of the Human Era*".[53]

So what is it that the makers of the new media are giving us? The answer is at first simple: tools. Nothing more. Tools which can be used to good or bad effects. Do the makers offer us tools with which we can do what we want? This is the illusion they want us to believe. But it is a fib, a fiction (also in Habermas' sense). And it is even more dangerous than any of the earlier endeavours in human history to fool the masses, because we, the masses, simply accept, adopt, and enjoy what we are given. We are not yet sufficiently aware of the fact that we in this way allow ourselves to become part of the new media machinery: we too easily accept that we become a small cog in a big wheel. Jason Lanier already expressed this warning succinctly when he said *You Are Not a Gadget*. How many of us are? Too many, says Evgeny Morozov, too. So how much chance does Scotland have to be different?[54]

Morozov extensively describes how much the philosophy behind Google, Apple, Facebook etc. has been accepted by most people without any criticism or even awareness of these companies' infiltration into the depth of our minds. He wants us to get rid of the dangerous illusion that difficult political and moral problems can be easily solved by technological efficiency. We must not allow ourselves to be determined by machines and their algorithms. If we do not, we will have "Smart Gadgets, Dumb Humans". Morozov repeatedly notices that it is "not arguments!" which bring about human action but rather "Skinnerian […] incentives". Entertainment as well as consumption elements like "'gamification'" are essential lures in this long-term process of deluding the public. Democracy is seriously endangered in this way. Therefore, we do need information about "how these technologies are produced, what voices and ideologies are silenced in their production and dissemination, and how the marketing literature surrounding these technologies taps into the zeitgeist to make them look inevitable." Eventually we need "to have a meaningful debate about" how these technologies should be used, how they can be improved, what they should and should not be allowed to do with hu-

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[52] Cade Metz, "Google's Go Victory Is Just a Glimpse of How Powerful AI Will Be", *Wired* 29-1-16. David Floyd, "Can a Robot Do Your Job?", Investopedia 20-1-16. Cf. the BBC site with information on how much your job is threatened by computers (bbc.in/1NqYHDi) and their site on intelligent machines (http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-33978561). Richard Mallah, "The Top AI Breakthroughs of 2015", Future of Life Institute 29-12-15 has good examples.

[53] Carsten Knop, "Thyssen-Krupp-Chef Hiesinger: 'Das beste Fachwissen kann heute nachgeahmt werden'", *FAZ* 21-1-6. Bert Rürup, "Industrie 4.0 braucht einen Sozialstaat 4.0", *Handelsblatt* 5-2-16 ('Industry 4.0 needs a Welfare State 4.0'). Cf. Maria João Rodrigues / Josef Weidenholzer (eds.), *The Technological Revolution*, in: *Journal for a Progressive Economy* January 2016, published by the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, with the ideas of strategy consultants Anne Dujin / Cornelia Geissler / Dirk Horstkötter (eds.), *Think Act Industry 4.0. The New Industrial Revolution*, München: Roland Berger 2014. Ray Kurzweil, *How to Create a Mind: The Secret of Human Thought Revealed*, New York: Penguin 2013. James Barrett, *Our Final Invention: Artificial Intelligence and the End of the Human Era*, New York: St. Martin's Griffin 2015. Cf. also the Open Letter demanding "Research Priorities for Robust and Beneficial AI" at the Future of Life Institute, signed by Stephen Hawking, Elon Musk, and many others.

[54] Cf. Morozov, *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*, New York: Perseus 2013. Lanier, *You Are Not a Gadget*, New York: Knopf 2010.

man life. We indeed need to "think and ask questions" about where we are and where we want to go with the new media.[55]

Let's ask a simple question in this context: where do you get your news from? The local paper, perhaps even a journalist you know? Or a website you trust, where you know the people who produce it? Or are you one of the millions of users who get their news from Google News, Apple News, or Buzzfeed? Then you get them from machines, algorithms, produced with very specific purposes. It's helpful to be aware of this and see the significant connections between advertising, commercial and political influences, consumption, media and human minds. Jonah Peretti, the founder of BuzzFeed, wanted to find out whether one can create 'viral phenomena', how they can be understood and commercially used. Peretti intended to create "'memes'", which "self-replicate, like genes in the cultural ecosystem." 'Memes' is a term used in cultural and media studies and was first coined by evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins. Memes are ideas and behaviour spreading from one person to another in a culture. Ideas and behaviour thus are imitated, which is the meaning of the Greek source of 'meme', 'mimema', and the basis of viral phenomena. How does this happen, Peretti wanted to find out, and his approach has now been widely adopted by traditional newspapers, on TV as well as in the new media.[56]

BuzzFeed and similar machines live on creating stories, diminishing the differences between contents and ad stories, and "'makes money by creating *BuzzFeed*-type stories for brands. In some respects they are an advertising agency'", and again live on people who like to share similar stories with their friends. This mechanical construction of news gets even more perverse when one learns that the news we get does not have a reliable source, even when the immediate source is one's own sister. News is often circular, redundant, and a form of communication of equals, where none of these equals has a reliable message. Usually it is enough that the message is about celebrities or simply funny. But the main point is that the media "co-opt" your friends, your sister, "using her as a vector to spread its contents. She *is* the new delivery mechanism. We don't learn about the world from *The New York Times*, we learn about it from the *Times* stories that our family and friends share or that show up as push notifications four minutes before one from *The Guardian* does. Thirty percent of American adults get news from Facebook, according to the Pew Research Center, and more than half of Americans got news from a smartphone within the past week, according to the American Press Institute. And these metrics are just going up, up, up. The question for news publishers is no longer how to draw an audience to their sites, it's how to implant themselves into their audience's lives."[57]

This is why Nilay Patel says, "Welcome to Hell: Apple vs. Google vs. Facebook and the slow death of the web", and predicts a "bloodbath of independent media" in this war of "Apple going after Google's revenue platform", whereas "large publishers with digital savvy, big brands, and big audiences (like *BuzzFeed* and yes, Vox Media) will be just fine in this new world." Many others are also deeply worried about the dangers of media becoming dependent on algorithms and machines, as these machines are learning how to write news and other sto-

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[55] The first quotation is the title of the book's last chapter, the second from p. 296, "Gamify or Die" is on pp. 296-301, where "Gabe Zichermann, a gamification entrepreneur, paints this future: '[…]. I think consumers will increasingly expect and demand that experiences become more fun and engaging. We can never go backward. People's expectations have been reset. This will be the new normal.'" Fortunately Morozov points out that people "also have duties and obligations, which occasionally spoil all the fun." (300f) The final quotes are from pp. 356 and 358.

[56] Cf. Andrew Rice, "Does BuzzFeed Know the Secret?", *New York News & Politics* 7-4-13; Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, Oxford UP 2nd ed. 1989 (orig. 1976), 352 understands a meme as a "unit of cultural transition, or a unit of imitation".

[57] The first quote is from Adrienne Lafrance / Robinson Meyer, "The Eternal Return of BuzzFeed", *The Atlantic* 15 April 2015, the second one from Mat Honan, "Inside the Buzz-Fueled Media Startups Battling for Your Attention", *Wired* 17-12-14.

ries and might very well take over the journalists' jobs. "The race for the master algorithm has begun", "an algorithm as fast as the brain" and of importance in all areas of our society, not just the media.[58]

As we are speaking about the basic structures behind the new media today and how they have influenced us, the public, we need to take account of another important description of the two huge influences on the media that have already been addressed in this article, namely the state, including state politics, and the economy. The excellent book by the communication experts Shawn M. Powers and Michael Jablonski, *The Real Cyber War. The Political Economy of Internet Freedom* addresses both influences and says that "efforts to create a universal internet built upon Western legal, political, and social preferences is driven by economic and geopolitical motivations rather than the humanitarian and democratic ideals that typically accompany related policy discourse. In fact, the freedom-to-connect movement is intertwined with broader efforts to structure global society in ways that favor American and Western cultures, economies, and governments." They also say that we really should not have any illusions about the efficiency of digital media to enhance democracy, but we nevertheless must by all means continue to fight for democracy, even though the forces against it are overpowering. It is, as they also say, our lives we are fighting for.[59]

The US State Department's interest in support of a universal internet freedom corresponds completely with Google's undertakings. It thus is no surprise at all to learn that "Rob Painter left the CIA to become Google's senior federal manager" in 2004, that in 2010 "Jared Cohen, a member of the Secretary of State's Policy planning staff, advisor to Hillary Clinton, and chief architect of the State Department's internet-freedom doctrine, left to become director of Google Ideas." Other names are mentioned, and, of course, "a number of former Google employees also left for important positions in government." Significant positions indeed, all concerned with influencing the public: "Katie Stanton joined the State Department as its director of citizen participation and special advisor on innovation. Google.org's Sonal Shah was director of the White House's new Office of Social Innovation and Civic Participation. Sumit Agarwal led Google's mobile product management team before he joined the Department of Defense as deputy assistant secretary for outreach and social media."[60] The state we live in thus has a huge interest in the new media because of their geo-political relevance. This is why "information-control policies are becoming more prominent throughout the world today." Information and data generally are "the new oil", i.e. they are of vital political, economic, and social importance. But what "legitimate authority do states have in managing information flows"?[61] Just think of where this authority should come from, from us, the public. Does it?

Let me finish this description of what the producers of the new media have given us and what their objectives are with the best analysis I have come across and found printed in a business series on 'Digital Capitalism'. The first part of this series intended to investigate the

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[58] Nilay Patel, "Welcome to Hell: Apple vs. Google vs. Facebook and the slow death of the web", *The Verge* 17-9-15. Worries are expressed by John Herrman, "The Next Internet Is TV", *The Awl* 5-2-15; Pedro Domingos, "The race for the master algorithm has begun", *Wired* 25-1-16; Pedro Domingos, *The Master Algorithm*, New York: Basic Books 2015; Nick Bostrom, *Superintelligence: Paths, Dangers, Strategies*, Oxford UP. Eric Siegel, *Predictive Analytics: The Power to Predict Who Will Click, Buy, Lie or Die*, Hoboken: Wiley 2016, shows how algorithms can be profitably used. Emily Reynolds, "Harvard is trying to build an algorithm as fast as the brain", *Wired* 25-1-16.

[59] Shawn M. Powers / Michael Jablonski, *The Real Cyber War. The Political Economy of Internet Freedom,* Champaign: Univ. of Illinois Press 2015. The quote is from the Press's website.

[60] Powers / Jablonski 2015, 74f. Cf. their entire chapter on "Google, Information, and Power" (74-98) with several reports indicating "Google's interest in spreading access to the internet exclusively on its own terms." (97)

[61] Powers / Jablonski 2015, 207f. Cf. also their sub-chapter "Data Is the New Oil" (75ff), comparing these two markets and revealing Google's relevance again. The business world is well aware of the huge value of data, cf. the business weekly's article "Das neue Gold. Die Datenrevolution", *Euro am Sonntag* 26-9-15, 16-21, about 'the new gold', "Big Data, Big Profit", which is described as a "Megatrend".

facts behind the promises of salvation made by Google, Facebook, and Apple, and raised the questions 'are they priests of progress?', and 'are they making the world better?'[62] The answer is a clear 'no', as for these apostles of digital capitalism the operating system of their world is the algorithm, and their excessively credulous belief in a morally neutral technology destroys the project of the enlightenment by pretending to make it real. The final result will be the destruction of human life by making human beings illiterate again, unable to think and act independently, with their own minds. The religious vocabulary of Schnaas' description of the new media giants is quite appropriate, as he talks about what they believe in, namely their digital world and its key motor, algorithms. As they do not believe in social responsibility and in human beings in control of their lives, the result is a world dominated by algorithms, where human beings fit in accordingly, as gadgets, as Lanier would say, or as people going back to self-incurred immaturity, nonage, the stage Immanuel Kant and others of the Enlightenment movement wanted people to leave behind.

Schnaas does not detect any sign in Google, Facebook, Microsoft etc. that would suggest they are trying to make human life better, human beings more capable of understanding, empathetic, creative etc., but endless signs of these companies exercising control and supervision. The data they collect and give back to us convey the illusion of improving our lives, but in fact they keep us in an auto-logical circle as 21st century Narcissuses, making us eventually unable to adopt an outside position, a human and humane standpoint. Questions about what is good in life get instant answers based on our past and on what is currently purchasable. Narcissus is a good image of what the new media makers want us to be, gadget is another one, and both instantly highlight the genuinely human qualities we lose in this way, qualities which are difficult to gain, hard to preserve, and nowhere to be bought. But only they make us human.

A vital conclusion, therefore, is that we simply have to acknowledge what has always been the truth: it is not the media as such that are important. The key element is how and for which ends human beings use them.

4. The Digital Media Power of the Public

How then does the public use the new media and with how much power? Just a few reports shall be mentioned here with typical examples of current public media power. Keep in mind that public discourse is meant to force official powers to find legitimacy by public agreement, i.e. in public opinion. The public should be the deciding, determining judge who defines what is right and wrong. The basis for these judgments should be reason, law, knowledge, understanding, and open exchanges of different opinions, where the authority of such judgments and reasoning against political, economic, or social hierarchies is based on the parity of human beings, the equality of everything human.

The first example, you might say, is not relevant in your area. It is nevertheless a fact that "Millions of Facebook users have no idea they're using the internet".[63] In Britain, thus closer to home, digital skills charity 'Go On UK' shows a digital exclusion map of various areas in the UK, and says that 23% of UK adults and of UK small businesses do not possess basic digital skills.[64] This figure is probably even higher in other parts of the world.

The second example is even more generally valid and applies to all of us with the exception, perhaps, of those who are technical experts. With regard to Google search and search engines generally, one can simply say 'We are using them without the foggiest notion of what

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[62] Dieter Schnaas, "Digitaler Kapitalismus (I): Was von den Heilsversprechen der selbst ernannten Weltverbesserer aus dem Silicon Valley zu halten ist", *Wirtschaftswoche* 50, 2015, 20-26.

[63] Leo Mirani, "Millions of Facebook users have no idea they're using the internet", *Quartz* 9-2-15. Cf. also their 'Next Billion' conference series about the next new users of the internet (http://qz.com/on/the-next-billion/).

[64] 'Go On UK' (http://www.go-on.co.uk/) also defines these skills fairly extensively with the help of the London School of Economics, the London Business School, Tinder Foundation, and Citizens Online.

we are doing'. Research has shown that our cognitive activities are at their lowest when we use search engines. Not only do we not know anything about what happens technically, we also know nothing about the consequences of our actions, the data that are produced by them, nor do we actually care. We just want to get information, and are usually content as long as we get something that seems to be useful. We hardly ever question the quality of what we get. While traditional media have been prone to criticism with regard to their contents, Google evades this strategy, as its algorithms are neither intelligible nor transparent, and users lack the knowledge of understanding them anyway. A more competent use of search engines and the new media in general is vital and must be connected with demands of greater neutrality and transparency of these tools.[65] But is there the slightest chance of achieving this?

5. Conclusions

There is an evident need to improve digital literacy and to connect this competence with a much greater awareness of the society we live in. Scotland is a country where many people have become aware of the fact that they still do not have much influence on how their society is organised. They have learned this (again) through the stimulating process of the referendum and, of course, through the media, and they have used the new media to express and share their demands for more social concerns, for the creation of a better society with responsible actions by everybody and by all institutions.

In this context, the demand for new Scottish media, expressed by Silver, Macwhirter, McAlpine and all the others, is fully justified, but requires much more than simply renaming ITV STV, employing various Scottish presenters, or even getting a really autonomous Scottish BBC.[66] Is there a greater chance for this to happen now that BBC 3 has been moved from TV to the internet?[67] Not really, I think. This is just another example of traditional media turning digital mainly for financial reasons. The same is happening with "UK magazine publishers putting all their eggs in the digital basket".[68] Such an economic stimulus does not promise much variety or improved creativity. The possibility for an independent national Scottish newspaper in this context is simply economically very unlikely. It could survive only if all Scots subscribed to it. But would they? And what would they get? The same, just from a

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[65] The single inverted commas are my translation of Stefan Schulz, "Wir nutzen sie ohne einen blassen Schimmer", *FAZ* 2-1-15, a review of Birgit Stark / Dieter Dörr / Stefan Aufenanger (eds.), *Die Googleisierung der Informationssuche. Suchmaschinen zwischen Nutzung und Regulierung*, Berlin: de Gruyter 2014. Cf. also Siva Vaidhyanathan, *The Googlization of Everything (And Why We Should Worry)*, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press 2012, who demands concerted efforts by everybody for his "Human Knowledge Project" and says waiting for others to do this for us is "simply irresponsible." (209f) Torsten Fricke / Ulrich Novak, *Die Akte Google. Wie der US-Konzern Daten missbraucht, die Welt manipuliert, und Jobs vernichtet*, München: Herbig 2015 ('The Google File: How the US Company Abuses Data and Destroys Jobs') are even more critical and also demand conscious actions by everybody. Cade Metz, "AI Is Transforming Google Search. The Rest of the Web Is Next", *Wired* 4-2-16 says Google's work in AI "includes deep neural networks, networks of hardware and software that approximate the web of neurons in the human brain." These neural nets "can learn a task so well that they outperform humans. They can do it better. They can do it faster. And they can do it at a much larger scale. This approach, called deep learning, is rapidly reinventing so many of the Internet's most popular services, from Facebook to Twitter to Skype."

[66] STV Group, formerly known as Scottish Television, in 1996 became the Scottish Media Group, finally merged with Grampian to form STV in 2006 (more info at http://www.stvplc.tv/). BBC Alba has existed since 2008, it covers Scotland, but in Gaelic, was created by the BBC and the Gaelic Media Service. So why is there not, as Macwhirter rightly asks, a similar channel in English?

[67] Cf. http://www.bbc.co./bbcthree. The final TV transmission was on 16-2-16 (http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-35578867). BBC 3 is now also on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCcjoLhqu3nyOFmdqF17LeBQ), i.e. working with Google. Here are "Reasons to fight for BBC3", and pros and cons for going online.

[68] Chris Sutcliffe, "UK magazine publishers putting all their eggs in the digital basket: Latest ABC figures", *Media Briefing* 12-2-16.

Scottish point of view? What Scottish point of view? The good Scottish websites mentioned show the existing variety of views, which is great and needed for a vital, free society.

The media and human society are facing enormous threats and possibilities at the moment. Scotland is once again the best example of this. Even people in England want to support Nicola Sturgeon and the SNP who are regarded as being at least more honest than English politicians and more interested in what worries people than the traditional big parties. The Tories are in support of big business, finance, and the oligarchs, and have revealed this again with their protection of tax havens and their tax deal with Google.[69] Whether the SNP's opposition will have any effect remains to be seen in this case, too. But there are at least hopes that it "could set precedents".[70]

We do not just need new Scottish media. We do have to reform our society. Its current institutions are in a terrible state, unwilling and unable to improve human life. They endanger our democracy, which is not in good shape either. We are at an enormously significant moment in human history, still looking for where we are heading in our digital times. 'Shift Happens' in a degree and at a pace we have never seen before.[71] Shift happens all the time because of evolution. Most recent developments have been hinted at in connection with AI. The huge field of **Virtual Reality** has not yet even been addressed. Like everything else connected with the new media, our understanding of reality and our position in it are greatly influenced by these tools.[72]

Support from the state cannot be expected at the moment, especially not in Scotland's case, as Scotland has no power over the media in a general way. **Funding** for a national broadcaster and newspaper would be absolutely necessary, though. Charitable trusts must also be asked for support. The Common Weal Idea #29 to "Create a digital media fund to support and encourage innovation in digital journalism" (http://allofusfirst.org/the-key-ideas/29-create-a-digital-media-fund-to-support-and-encourage-innovation-in-digital-journalism/) is another one of their excellent ideas and deserves everybody's support.

We indeed cannot wait for the state to help us, but we must try to influence the important parties to bring about significant change, and it would help enormously to at last have an independent Scotland. What we are facing, though, is states without significant powers to really

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[69] Cf. Editorial Board, "The U.K. Gives Google a Sweetheart Tax Deal", *Bloomberg* 28-1-16: "In its recent tax dispute with Google, the U.K. government had an opportunity to make a principled stand for fairness and transparency. It failed." The deal reached, £130 million for the past 10 years, "amounts to far less than the U.K.'s standard 20 percent corporate tax rate, but the deal's flaws are more profound: It reflects the deep-seated problems of the system of international corporate taxation, which is opaque, complex and increasingly unfair. How the government arrived at its figure is something akin to a state secret, though members of the British parliament are trying to find out." Here is a BBC report on the Prime Minister's Questions session on 27-1-16, where this was discussed, plus several comments (http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35416812), and a later report on Britain opposing EU plans against tax havens: Daniel Boffey, "Tories lobbying to protect Google's £30bn island tax haven", *Guardian* 30-1-16.

[70] Mark Latham, "After Google sweetheart deal, Scotland calls for tax changes", *Sunday Herald* 7-2-16; David Jamieson, "Tax expert Richard Murphy: SNP Google investigation bid could set precedents", Common Space 29-1-16.

[71] 'Shift Happens' is the slogan used for the series on 'Digital Capitalism', and you will find further intriguing contexts for this expression, not least linguistic ones. An excellent context is the Global Agenda Council on the Future of Software and Society, *Deep Shift. Technology Tipping Points and Societal Impact, Survey Report September 2015*, Geneva: World Economic Forum 2015 (http://www.weforum.org/reports/deep-shift-technology-tipping-points-and-societal-impact).

[72] On Virtual Reality, cf. Stuart Dredge, "VR could change human consciousness – if we get there, says Chris Milk", *Guardian* 16-10-15. Milk is the co-founder of the VR story-telling app Vrse and has made the VR film 'Waves of Grace', which you can watch there, or listen to his March 2015 TED talk "How virtual reality can create the ultimate empathy machine". A good survey is provided by Rachel Metz, "The 6 Most Important Things That Happened in Virtual Reality in 2015", *MIT Technology Review* 21-12-15. Nigel Shadbolt, "Why we should not fear AI. Yet", *Wired* 8-5-15 must be mentioned here, because of his important past, and as he wants "principles that embody the highest levels of respect for human life and safety" built into computers.

influence the media. There is a situation much worse than that of Scotland's lack of power over media. It has been expressed with a fitting rhyme by journalist and critical analyst of the new media Adrian Lobe, the winner of the 2016 Surveillance Studies Prize: "Amerika ist abgebrannt, wir leben jetzt in Google-Land", which literally means 'America is burnt down, we now live in Google-Land'. What he means is that states today are too expensive, too much against innovation, do nothing to improve life, are, therefore, useless, inefficient, and no longer have any real function in this digital age. Google is now stepping in to fulfil the state's traditional role of lawmaker and street warden. The background for such ideas is delivered by investor Tim Draper's plan to divide California into six new states and create a new Silicon Valley state. There are many similarities here with Catalonia trying to become independent, as they, too, think they pay too much in support of poor, backward minded Spain. For Draper, a state is just a rival in a competitive market, and Google delivers the same services a state provides, such as information, nets, and insurances.[73]

Too absurd an idea? Frank Pasquale does not think so, and as a professor of law at the University of Maryland, an affiliate fellow at Yale Law School's Information Society Project, and a member of the Council for Big Data, Ethics, and Society he should know what he is talking about. He says that we now live in a *Black Box Society* and points out that "Even our political and legal systems, the spaces of our common life that are supposed to be the most open and transparent are being colonized by the logic of secrecy." At the same time, "our own lives are increasingly open books. Everything online is recorded; the only questions left are to whom the data will be available, and for how long", which is why he investigates the "leading firms of Wall Street and Silicon Valley […] because of their unique role in society." "What finance does with money, leading Internet companies do with attention. They direct it towards some ideas, goods, and services, and away from others. They organize the world for us, and we have been quick to welcome this data-driven convenience. But we need to be honest about its costs." And the costs are enormous: the vanishing of the state as we know it as well as the loss of human self-determination. It is not surprising that Pasquale ends with asking us: "What kind of society do we really want?" His choice is clear: a society where both transparency and intelligibility exist, with an educated citizenship adopting its responsibility for this society, "a citizenry, which can perform its job only as well as it understands the stakes."[74]

But can we perform this essential task? One of the most dangerous and destructive elements in this challenging situation is how wilfully or ignorantly most human beings simply accept what the dominant forces and the main media offer them. Even if this acceptance of the predominant conditions has perhaps always been the case in human history, the degree in which this happens today in connection with the new media is shocking. Not only do we allow ourselves to be determined by machines and numbers, algorithms, but we also are not even aware of the fact that we are about to lose the essential human quality, namely to think

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[73] Lobe, "Amerika ist abgebrannt, wir leben jetzt in Google-Land", *FAZ* 9-6-15. For the 2016 prize, see http://www.surveillance-studies.org/2016/01/surveillance-studies-preis-fuer-adrian-lobe/, a research network investigating net control and technology in cooperation with http://www.surveillance-studies.net/. Lobe got the prize for his newspaper articles on Google and Big Data. Barry Diller, "We're All Serfs on the Land of Google", Bloomberg 28-1-16 says the same, and as founder, chairman and senior executive of IAC, a leading media and internet company, he knows the world he is talking about much better than most of us.

[74] Frank Pasquale, *The Black Box Society. The Secret Algorithms that Control Money and Information*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP 2015, 2-6, 216-218. Pasquale lists more specific losses in this society, such as "*a Rule of Scores and Bets*" in finance, where solid value is not the key point; "*It Creates Separate and Unequal Economies*", one for ordinary citizens, another "for high financiers"; "*It Sets Up Wasteful Arms Races and Unfair Competitions*", and many more serious losses. A key conclusion: "We must curb the tendency to reify the tech giants – to assume that their largely automated ways of processing disputes or handling customer inquiries are, inevitably, the way things are and must always be. Until we do, we enforce upon ourselves an unnecessary helplessness, and a self-incurred tutelage." (191-196) Janine R. Wedel, *Shadow Elite: How the World's New Power Brokers Undermine Democracy, Government and the Free Market*, New York: Basic Books 2009 gives many further examples of secrecy.

for ourselves and act independently. Rather unwittingly, we in this way are actually involved in permitting ourselves to become *The Dumbest Generation*.[75]

This complicity is perhaps the first thing we can put an end to. The many Scottish sites I have mentioned that offer a good reflection of intelligent, enlightening, and socially responsible uses of the new media are definitely helpful. One of my greatest hopes is connected with the Common Weal, their ideas and their practical work. Their recent publication on the need to change *Scotland's relationship with consumption* once again addresses a key issue.[76] We do have to change our behaviour, overcome our enormously absurd illusions connected with consumption and the freedom we assume is given us. We must demand government and public policy changes as well as changes in consumer practices. Everything that is important can be brought about only by people's behaviour, their choices, preferences, their knowledge and actions.

The new media and big data have an enormous potential for improving our lives. In connection with these new tools we do not really face new problems. We are in fact confronted with a perennial conflict, namely that between dominant powerful groups on the one hand and the benefit of society as a whole with every individual human being on the other. Bruce Schneier is absolutely right when he says that Google, Facebook etc. can only win "when enough of us give up our privacy. The group can only benefit if enough individuals acquiesce." This is indeed always true and applies to groups like Google as well as to the Common Weal. The "fundamental issue of the information age" is to find a healthy balance between these contending forces and in this way to benefit society and protect people individually, or "to use a term from game theory, how [to] find a 'Nash equilibrium' for data collection". We can solve this huge problem, "but it will require careful thinking about the specific issues and moral analysis of how the different solutions affect our core values." "Transparency" as well as "Oversight and Accountability" are key issues.[77]

This is where we are at the moment, confronting a huge task, facing enormous Goliaths. But we now also know the key elements of the structure of media today, the vast fields of politics, business and finance, and the huge relevance of us, the public. Scottish media have their place in this structure, and the Scottish public is in the wonderful position of not only being at least partly aware of this but also of having the support of enlightened people on the ground, working in their communities and on their websites. They also have the invaluable support of the Common Weal, to which everybody should contribute with ideas and direct action. This article can be seen as such a contribution. Like Common Weal, it tries to make people aware of what our situation is like and what needs to be done for a better society, including better media. Active contributions, all of us taking part in our individual areas, are the only chance I see for improved Scottish media, and it offers thousands of excellent opportunities. I sincerely hope Scotland will succeed in this enormous task of improving the media and people's real lives. International cooperation is clearly vital in this undertaking, as the Goli-

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[75] Mark Bauerlein, *The Dumbest Generation. How the Digital Age Stupefies Young Americans and Jeopardizes Our Future (Or, Don't Trust Anyone Below 30)*, New York: Tarcher 2009. Have you not also often seen people hooked onto their phones, tablets etc., who looked not like autonomous, free human beings but rather like maniacs and Pavlov's dogs?

[76] Iain Black / Deirdre Shaw / Katherine Trebeck, *From 'I' to 'We': Changing the Narrative in Scotland's relationship with consumption*, Common Weal Policy 2015, published by Common Weal in connection with the University of Glasgow, the Adam Smith Business School, and the Heriot Watt University.

[77] Bruce Schneier, *Data and Goliath: The Hidden Battles to Capture Your Data and Control Your World*, New York: Norton 2015, 235-237, also has excellent information on what is happening while we do not do this, namely, e.g., "'Redlining'" and "weblining", i.e. old and new forms of discriminating people; "Price discrimination" (109) is a big issue, and one should not be surprised to find higher prices for products the web (and especially the site where you buy) knows you are interested in. For "Transparency", "Oversight and Accountability", cf. pp.159ff.

aths have been at work without any limits.[78] It is up to us to set them bounds, save our freedom, and preserve our humanity.

New Scottish Poetry

This issue features a recent poem by one of Scotland's most highly respected writers, Douglas Dunn. Dunn's debut collection of poems *Terry Street* (1969) established an early reputation for him and saw him awarded both a Scottish Arts Council Book Award and a Somerset Maugham Award. His most widely celebrated collection *Elegies* was the Whitbread Book of the Year in 1985 and was hailed by Jonathan Raban as "the finest long poem of its kind since 'In Memorium'". Made an OBE for his services to literature in 2003, Dunn has been the recipient of many literary prizes, including the Geoffrey Faber Memorial Prize (for *Love or Nothing* 1974) and the Hawthornden Prize (for *St Kilda's Parliament* in 1981). He was also awarded the Queen's Medal for Poetry in 2013.

The Nothing-But

'He was beginning to live in the region of truth.'
Graham Greene, *The Honorary Consul*

Slowly the truth dawns, the nothing-butness of it,
The fly in the dram, the flea in your ear,
Just-cleaned window now smeared with dove-shit,
Confidence that turns into abject fear,
The niggle, the virtuous irritant,
A taste like garlic, chilli, or mint.

To have kissed the lips of one who was dying
Is to have tasted silence, salt, and wilderness,
And touched the truth, the desert where there is no lying,
Only that kiss and the keeping of its promise.
Who lives there, in that land of the utter truth?
Is it one of the delusions of youth,

Or the delusions of age and adulthood?
Well, I don't know. Only the truth will do,
I suppose, not would, or should, or could,
But what was, and is. Is it the same for you?
As the witty French say, 'reconstruct your virginity',
In search of beginnings and tranquillity.

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[78] This is a huge field with millions of possibilities. I can make just some random suggestions, e.g. cooperations and exchanges of experiences with Richard Gutjahr for developing new forms of journalism (Pit Gottschalk, "From Fifth Avenue to Tahrir Square: How a single reporter shakes the media industry", *International News Media Association* 2-10-14; Richard Stallmann and his Free Software Foundation, well-known for saying Steve Jobs turned the computer into a cool prison by making fools exchange their freedom for nice design, and claiming again on 9-2-16 that 'Privacy is a Precondition of Democracy'; Nick Bostrom's 'Future of Humanity Institute' at Oxford University; cooperations with Open Democracy or the UK branch which probably already exist anyway but need to be expanded and intensified, also with Citizens United, Reclaim Democracy, The Center for Public Integrity etc.

From the Saltire Society publication *Second Wind* (£5). This can be ordered from the SPL online shop.

[With thanks to Douglas Dunn and to Colin Waters of the Scottish Poetry Library]

Poetry in Focus

October 8 was National Poetry Day. See Rachel McCrum, BBC Scotland Poet in Residence, perform her latest work *Light* here and talk about poetry and what it means to her. The BBC is also currently exploring poetry through special seasons on both TV and radio. Andrew Marr has been looking at British history and identity through poems on BBC Radio 4's 'We British'. See also, 'We British: Spoken word sessions' and artist Alison Sampson on her commission to create a 'We British' poster.

(New) Media on Scotland
(compiled by Sherry Ishak Abadeer, Katharina Leible, Olga Mang,
Andrea Schlotthauer, Jana Schmick, Melanie Sommer & Marsida Toska)

Subsections:
- **Union & Independence Issue**
- **(Scottish) Justice**
- **Labour**
- **EU Referendum**
- **Media**
- **Refugee Crisis**
- **Financial Sector**
- **Creative Scotland**
- **Other Topics**
Reports in chronological order (beginning with the most recent articles).

Union & Independence Issue

"SNP attacks Unionist trail of broken promises, post referendum", *Newsnet* 3-1-16: "The SNP has attacked the failure of the UK Government to honour promises made to Scots during the independence referendum, calling it 'a betrayal of trust' and 'damning'."

"Scotland Office branded a 'marketing campaign' for the Union", *Scotsman* 28-12-15: "A war of words has broken out amid claims that millions of pounds in taxpayers cash is still being spent by both sides of the independence debate on spin doctors to 'market' their campaigns."

McKenna, Kevin: "Working class areas that voted Yes hold key to future of Scottish politics", *Herald* 26-12-15: "To observe Nicola Sturgeon for almost the entirety of her 13 months as First Minister of Scotland has been to witness what political alchemy looks like."

"Deadline for devolution deal set after No.10 talks", *Scotsman* 15-12-15: "Nicola Sturgeon and David Cameron have set a deadline of the middle of February to agree a deal on the framework for the devolution of more powers on tax and welfare to Scotland."

"Independent Scotland 'would be entirely bankrupt'", *Scotsman* 15-12-15: "Scotland would be 'entirely bankrupt' and probably 'scuttling' for help had it secured independence, a business minister has claimed."

"Why we shouldn't rely on the SNP to deliver Scottish independence", *CommonSpace* 11-12-15: "CommonSpace columnist James McEnaney says Scotland's pro-independence movement must be wary of placing all hope in one political party".

Jones, Alexandra: "Agenda: Time for Holyrood to give local leaders bigger say on spending in their cities", *Herald* 4-12-15: "Does the Scotland Bill go far enough?"

"New Scottish Libertarian Party set to launch and call for independence", *National* 1-12-15: "A fresh voice from the centre right will be added to the Yes movement when a new pro-independence political party formally launches later this week."

"Bill Jamieson: Lords leave Scotland Bill with long way to go", *Scotsman* 21-11-15: "In the torrent of emails that daily cascade into our mobile phones and laptops, one headed 'NOBODY KNOWS WHAT IS GOING ON' compels attention."

"The 'dodgy dossier' of independence", *Scotsman* 20-11-15: "A respected insider has laid bare the untruths of the White Paper."

Knowles, David: "Britain's English Problem", *HistoryToday* 4-11-15: "In the light of the recent vote on English Votes for English Laws, a consideration of Britain's long-running constitutional question."

"Whatchdog fines pro-independence blogger Wings Over Scotland", *Guardian* 27-10-15: "Electoral Commission orders Scottish referendum yes campaigner Stuart Campbell to pay £750, saying he failed to file complete spending returns."

"Scotland's politics are turning Irish", *Scotsman* 26-10-15: "After IndyRef, what else can the past of Ireland teach us when it comes to shaping our own future, asks Peter Jones."

"English Votes for English Laws (EVEL) passed by Westminster", *Scotsman* 22-10-15: "David Cameron's plans for English Votes for English Laws (Evel) were passed by the House of Commons last night despite opposition politicians warning they will create two classes of MPs."

"Salmond aide: Yes campaign lost on economic case", *Scotsman* 20-10-15: "The campaign for Scottish independence failed to convince voters of the economic case for leaving the UK, one of Alex Salmond's closest aides has admitted."

Carr, David: "Network as if you are in the early days of a better nation", *CommonSpace* 8-10-15: "*CommonSpace* columnist David Carr reflects on the power of communities and why they don't have to wait to devolve power downwards in Scotland."

"Scot Tories 'will ask Yes voters to leave party'", *Scotsman* 24-9-15: "The Scottish Conservatives have confirmed that any member who voices support for Scottish independence will be asked to surrender their party membership."

"On the ScotPound and alternative digital currencies", *Left Scotland -Youtube* 23-9-15: "Duncan McCann of the New Economics Foundation joins me for another episode of Big Ideas, where he discusses the NEF and Common Weal's proposal paper for creating an alternative digital currency called ScotPound."

Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh: "The Tory ostrich approach to Scotland must end", *National* 23-9-15: "One would be forgiven for drawing the conclusion that the relevant parliamentary authorities have given little, if no thought at all, to representatives from Scotland."

"Explainer: The new Scottish rate of income tax", *BBC News* 23-9-15: "From 1 April 2016 the Scottish Parliament will have responsibility for a Scottish Rate of Income Tax. Charlotte Barbour from the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland explains what is set to happen."

"Unity is key for #indyref2 – and that really does mean including everybody", *CommonSpace* 22-9-15: "Writer and Scottish independence supporter Rob McDowall says pro-indy groups should leave squabbling at the door and unite for the sake of Scotland."

Goodwin, Karin: "Why the pro-independence Sunday Herald was turned away from the pro-independence Hope Over Fear rally", *Herald* 20-9-15.

"Independence Referendum one year on: The winners and losers", *Scotsman* 18-9-15: "Who were the real winners and losers of the independence vote last year?"

"Sir Tom Hunter: It's time to move on from referendum", *Herald* 17-9-15: "Sir Tom Hunter, one of Scotland's leading entrepreneurs, has said it is time to 'move on' from the independence debate and concentrate on creating a more prosperous Scotland within the UK."

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"Nicola Sturgeon: Real danger of bombing 'helping Daesh' #DontBombSyria", *CommonSpace* 2-12-15: "First Minister Nicola Sturgeon has said that there is a danger that bombing will help rather than hurt Daesh (Islamic State) in Syria, and that this consideration is a key factor in the SNP's 54 MPs opposing bombing."

"Why a 'war' on terrorism will generate yet more terrorism", *Guardian* 30-11-15: "US academic puts the west's political reaction to attacks by Isis in perspective."

Bateman, Derek: "Bombs Away: Threading through the moral maze as the RAF gets ready", *Newsnet* 2-12-15: "Funny how the Syria bombing saga mirrors events pre-Iraq. Cameron's off-guard 'terrorist sympathisers' remark reminded me of John Reid, as Tony Blair's studio attack dog, saying that opposition to invading Iraq meant supporting Saddam. It's the You're Either With Us Or You're Against Us routine that forces you into an entrenched position and does so from a false prospectus."

Jones, Peter: "Bombing Syria is best of bad options", *Scotsman* 30-11-15: "There is no guarantee IS will be stopped with airstrikes by the RAF, but we cannot do nothing."

"Anti-racism march in Glasgow welcome refugees", *BBC News* 28-11-15: "An anti-racism march in Glasgow has sent out a message that refugees are welcome in Scotland."

"Beyond bombing: 5 things you need to know about the Syrian conflict", *CommonSpace* 25-11-15: "Since 2011 the Syrian civil war has added fuel to the fire of destabilisation and violence in the Middle East. Four years later, Arab and Western states - all with their own interests - have intervened in military action across Syria."

Macwhirter, Iain: "The Paris attacks could be a game changer in Scotland as well as England", *Guardian* 19-11-15: "Nicola Sturgeon's decision to listen to David Cameron over bombing Syria shows she's happy to ditch the SNP's pacifist image."

"Dumfries and Galloway refugee project team established", *BBC News* 16-11-15: "A project team is being set up to help with the resettlement of Syrian refugee families in Dumfries and Galloway."

"Islamic State wants the West to hate Muslims - this must be resisted", *Herald* 15-11-15: "'France is at war,' said Francois Hollande on the morning after the worst attack on French soil since the Second World War. But at war with what?"

"Scotland must rise to refugee challenge", *Scotsman* 1-11-15: "Sceptical Scots must pass test of compassion and broad-mindedness posed by 2,000 new neighbours."

"Migrant crisis: What awaits refugees coming to the UK?", *BBC News* 23-9-15: "The first Syrian refugees to be resettled in the UK since the government announced it was expanding its protection scheme have arrived – but how does their adopted country help them integrate successfully?"

Hosseini, Khaled: "For refugees, education is as essential as shelter: just ask Aqeela Asifi", *Guardian* 21-9-15: "Globally, over 50% of refugees are children. Yet only one in every two refugee children attends primary school. Only one in four refugee adolescents receive secondary school education."

Winder, Robert: "We took Huguenots, Jews, Vietnamese. So why not Syrians?", *Guardian* 18-9-15: "Throughout its history Britain has helped refugees – and in return has benefited from their dynamism."

"New website launched to show Scots how they can help refugees", *Herald* 15-9-15.

"David Cameron: Only military can solve humanitarian crisis", *Morning Star* 10-9-15: "David Cameron claimed yesterday that Britain must use 'hard military force' to solve the escalating humanitarian crisis in the Middle East."

"David Cameron rejects EU call to take refugee share", *Scotsman* 10-9-15: "David Cameron has rejected calls for Britain to take part in European Commission plans to redistribute 160,000 migrants around the continent from Italy, Greece and Hungary."

Liddle, Rod: "The truth? Most people don't want more refugees coming to Britain", *Spectator* 8-9-15.

Sullivan, Cath: "How the #refugeecrisis underlines the power of language", *CommonSpace* 7-9-15: "The refugee crisis shows just how important the words used by politicians and media commentators are, writes Cath Sullivan."

"Nicola Sturgeon 'happy' to give refugees a home", *Scotsman* 6-9-15: "Nicola Sturgeon said she would be 'happy' to have a Syrian refugee stay in her home as she continued to press the UK Government to accept 'significant numbers' of those fleeing from Syria to Europe."

Stout, Jen: "Look beyond the bigots to see a huge movement of practical solidarity", *Bella Caledonia* 4-9-15.

"The Guardian view on the refugee crisis: much more must be done, and not just by the UK", *Guardian* 3-9-15: "There are no perfect solutions, here or in Syria. But compassion is necessary and there are hard decisions to be made about Europe's place in the world."

"The Guardian view on Britain's response to the Syrian refugee crisis: morally bankrupt", *Guardian* 25-8-15: "Fortress Britain is no answer to the political and economic challenge of Syrian refugees, let alone a moral one."

Carr, David: "Pity the poor immigrant – Scotland's past and present relationship with migration", *CommonSpace* 18-8-15: "CommonSpace columnist David Carr reflects on how Scotland has been shaped by both immigration and emigration."

Financial sector

"Swinney delivers classic Tory budget", *Scotsman* 18-12-15: "Swinney feared upsetting the middle classes with a tax rise, leaving councils to pay the price, writes Brian Wilson".

MacIntyre-Kemp, Gordon: "Smart move would be to stop stupid lending", *National* 18-12-15: "There is a fundamental flaw at the heart of our economic system".

"Budget: What it all means for Scots in 2016", *Scotsman* 16-12-15: "John Swinney delivered the first ever draft budget that saw a Scottish Rate of Income Tax (SRIT) set in what was a historical move at Holyrood."

"Fairness vital for new tax system", *Scotsman* 15-12-15: "A replacement for council tax is long overdue, but finding the way forward involves a careful balancing act".

"RBS and Standard Chartered weakest in Bank stress test", *BBC News* 1-12-15: "Royal Bank of Scotland and Standard Chartered were the weakest of Britain's seven largest lenders in a Bank of England stress test."

"Scottish businesses less confident than those elsewhere in the UK", *Herald* 1-12-15: "Scottish businesses are, overall, significantly less confident about the economic prospects facing them than

their peers elsewhere in the UK, and have recorded slower growth in sales volumes and profits, a survey has found."

"The stuff of economic nightmares", *Scotsman* 23-11-15: "The Tories proposed new Scottish tax rules for political ends but their impracticality will test the Union."

"Magnus Gardham: Why the obscure 'fiscal framework' has become the biggest story in Scottish politics", *Herald* 21-11-15: "There can only be a small handful of people who truly understand the intricacies of the financial deal that will underpin the new Scotland Bill."

"Scotland no longer wealthier than the UK, official figures show", *Herald* 5-11-15: "A central plank in Alex Salmond's economic case for independence last year has collapsed after new figures revealed Scotland is no longer wealthier than the rest of the UK."

"Scottish private sector business numbers at record high", *BBC News* 3-11-15: "The number of businesses operating in Scotland has reached a record high."

"Scotland's councils to be given power to lower business rates", *Scotsman* 16-10-15: "Local authorities in Scotland are to be handed the power to cut business rates in their area in two weeks' time."

"Independent Scottish fiscal studies body faces closure as funds dry up", *Guardian* 8-10-15: "Fiscal Affairs Scotland, one of the country's only independent financial monitoring bodies, is close to folding after failing to find donors, raising anxieties about effective scrutiny of public spending."

"Leaders: Time for honest public debate on taxation", *Scotsman* 2-9-15: "Nicola Sturgeon has provided a welcome insight into the direction she sees Scotland's income tax regime taking under a future SNP government. Tax rises – or cuts – are unlikely in the next few years despite the Scottish Government assuming control over this from April. The lack of flexibility under the forthcoming 'Calman' package means any rises – or cuts – would have to be across the board and appears out of step with the 'progressive' approach favoured by Ms Sturgeon."

Kerevan, George: "The Tories are reshaping the jobs market in pursuit of a Victorian ideal", *National* 31-8-15.

McKenna, Kevin: "Amid its faded granite glamour, Aberdeen feels the sharp chill of tumbling oil prices", *Guardian* 30-8-15: "The North Sea boom was the making of the city – but as economic stormclouds gather, there are clear signs that times are getting tough."

Fraser, Ian: "Pressure grows on RBS as victims of restructuring scandal cry foul at 'conflicted' advisors", *Herald* 30-8-15: "A former Aberdeen oil firm owner who accuses RBS of 'stitching up' his business has criticised the bank for appointing the accountancy firm that handled his firm's administration to review alleged wrongdoing by RBS's global restructuring group (GRG)."

"The Guardian view on the RBS sell-off: the price is not right", *Guardian* 4-8-15: "George Osborne is giving too much priority to his political ambitions and not enough to getting a good deal for the taxpayer."

"Scottish government turning to more private money for public projects", *Guardian* 27-7-15: "Children's hospital among affected projects after spending programme part-funded by private sector runs foul of new EU rules on measuring state spending."

"Green energy summit held in Glasgow", *BBC News* 9-7-15: "A green energy summit has been held in Glasgow to discuss the impact of plans to end onshore wind farm subsidies."

"The Guardian view on the budget: low tax, low welfare, high pay – but also higher poverty", *Guardian* 8-7-15: "A welcome hike in the minimum wage offers the perfect cover for a war on the welfare state. But the grim realities include a new two-child policy for the poor."

"Budget 2015: the verdict from our columnists", *Guardian* 8-7-15: "With its distractions and sleight of hand, this budget will enhance George's reputation as a political strategist, even as it leaves the low-paid and Labour floundering."

"The Guardian view on the benefit cap: a disgraceful policy that's about to get worse", *Guardian* 6-7-15: "It is a scheme cooked up out of slogans, which arbitrarily punishes children for being born into big families. Labour should not roll over in the face of George Osborne's budget move to tighten his cap."

Wightman, Andy: "Scottish land reform is on the agenda. And the rest of the UK should take note", *Guardian* 25-6-15: "For centuries land governance has been in the hands of vested interests. This reform bill, in the wake of the referendum, marks a historic political change."

"Blow to aim of Scotland fiscal autonomy as North Sea oil tax forecast slashed", *Guardian* 11-6-15: "Scottish Labour seizes on OBR figure for expected tax, cut from £37bn to £2bn, as Nicola Sturgeon repeats aim for maximum fiscal independence."

"Growth, what growth? Thatcherism fails to produce the goods", *Guardian* 10-6-15: "Cambridge University analysis casts doubt on free market economics showing GDP and productivity grew faster before 1979."

"'Scottish Syriza' to stand at next Holyrood election", *Herald* 24-5-15: "A new anti-austerity alliance dubbed the 'Scottish Syriza' is to stand candidates at next year's Scottish Parliament elections."

"Scotland's black hole under SNP's fiscal autonomy plan would balloon to almost £10bn by 2020, says IFS", *Herald* 22-4-15: "The so-called 'black hole' in Scotland's finances, should the SNP Government's desire for full fiscal autonomy be realised, would increase by more than £2bn to almost £10bn by 2020, according to new analysis by the Institute for Fiscal Studies."

Creative Scotland

"Creative Scotland vows to protect arts from budget cuts", *Scotsman* 22-12-15: "Arts quango Creative Scotland is to protect venues, organisations and events which receive regular funding from any cuts next year - despite having its own budget slashed by the Scottish Government."

McColm, Euan: "Artists have been betrayed by SNP", *Scotsman* 19-12-15: "The enthusiastic involvement of a number of self-identifying artists and 'creatives' on the Yes side of the Scottish independence referendum campaign last year provided us with much-needed light relief."

"Budget: Scots culture funding cut by £20m", *Scotsman* 16-12-15: "Scotland's national performance companies have all been hit with funding cuts in John Swinney's budget."

Kerr, Hugh: "William McIlvanney: a personal tribute from a fellow academy boy", *Newsnet* 8-12-15.

"William McIlvanney: not just godfather of 'Tartan Noir' but lion of literature", *Guardian* 5-12-2015: "To label Willie, one of the greatest novelists of his era, a crime writer is to underestimate him – his true peers are Gogol and Dostoevsky."

"James McAvoy calls for help to make arts accessible", *Scotsman* 30-11-15: "James McAvoy has called for more support to be given to young people from working class backgrounds who want to forge careers in acting."

"When Tiny Tim met Little Nell: it's the great Dickens TV mash-up", *Guardian* 29-11-15: "Tony Jordan, former chief scriptwriter on EastEnders, explains why he's happy to risk the wrath of Dickens purists in the BBC's 20-part Christmas showpiece."

"Edinburgh City Council reveals year-round culture blueprint", *Scotsman* 24-11-15: "Property owners, developers, private-sector businesses and wealthy philanthropists will be asked to bankroll the arts in Edinburgh in the face of public spending cuts."

"Book Week Scotland aims to foster a reading culture in the workplace", *National* 23-11-15: "Four reading communities are being created in Scotland to foster a love of books."

"Animator King Rollo Films planning first Gaelic series", *BBC News* 16-11-15: "Animation studio King Rollo Films plans to make its first Gaelic language television series."

"Scottish film and TV boosted by UK tax relief, says David Mundell", *Scotsman* 9-11-15: "Financial support for the film and television industry is proving a 'major boost' to the number of productions being shot in Scotland, according to the Scottish secretary."

"Edinburgh's world heritage status in peril as developers move in", *Guardian* 3-11-15: "As inspectors tour the city to reconsider Unesco billing, leading novelist denounces £850m plan."

"Profile: Where Do We Go From Here?", *National* 2-11-15: "A romantic comedy produced on a shoestring budget by an independent Scottish company has scooped the top award at a prestigious Australian film festival."

"The Gruffalo adapted for Scottish dialects", *BBC News* 22-10-15: "One of the top selling children's books in the world has just been published in four Scots regional versions."

"Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art acquires rare Picasso collage", *Guardian* 20-10-15: "Gallery in Edinburgh buys one of the 30 collages made by Picasso that had been in private collection in Sweden for more than 40 years."

"Mixed messages on Scottish independence", *Scotsman* 2-10-15: "Two new exhibitions showcase artists' responses to the Indyref - The Shock of Victory and Document Scotland: The Ties That Bind - but no clear narrative is emerging, writes Duncan Macmillan".

"Butterfly Rammy. The Art of Scotland's Political Awakening", *Common Weal – Youtube* 21-9-15:
"This year, Common Weal led an exciting cultural project for the fringe festival, exploring the politics and the arts of the political awakening of the Scottish independence referendum, with a focus on the upsurge of public engagement."
→ There's a book to accompany the project. It is available here.

"Paul Strand's intimate and rich Hebridean images bought for Scottish gallery", *Guardian* 22-7-15:
"Rare prints made by the American photographer Paul Strand from his photographic essay in the Hebrides in the 1950s have been acquired by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, each 'a triumph of modest composition'."

"Forth Bridge named as Scotland's sixth world heritage site", *Guardian* 5-7-15: "Feat of Victorian engineering has joined St Kilda, Edinburgh and the Great Wall of China on Unesco list, heritage committee announces."

"Scottish Mussel: Pearl poaching inspires new Talulah Riley rom-com", *BBC News* 30-6-15: "A new romantic comedy involves one of Scotland's most notorious forms of wildlife crime – freshwater pearl mussel poaching. Scottish Mussel's writer, director and star Talulah Riley hopes the movie draws greater attention to the plight of one of the world's most endangered molluscs."

"45 Years scoops Edinburgh film festival's top award", *Guardian* 26-6-15: "Drama starring Charlotte Rampling and Tom Courtenay takes best British film prize at Edinburgh, with Diary of a Teenage Girl nabbing best international feature."

"Gaelic boost for Scotland's TV industry", *BBC News* 22-6-15: "Scotland's creative industries are benefiting from a major contribution from Gaelic broadcasting, according to MG Alba the Gaelic media service."

"Scotland tops poll of best cinematic destinations", *Scotsman* 15-6-15: "Scotland came out on top in a poll of USA Today and 10Best readers of film-themed travel destinations, beating the likes of New Zealand and Las Vegas."

"National Theatre of Scotland to create first permanent HQ in former Glasgow cash and carry warehouse", *Herald* 30-3-15: "It is billed as Scotland's national 'theatre without walls' but now it finally has a permanent home."

Other Topics

"The National View: Tory Cabinet papers referring to 'pampered Scots' show history has repeated", *National* 31-12-15: "There was little to be surprised about in the Cabinet documents from Margaret Thatcher's government released yesterday."

"Year of Food and Drink bolsters Scottish tourism industry with both overseas and domestic visitors up seven per cent", *National* 29-12-15: "Scotland's tourism industry 'has finished on a high' as the Year of Food and Drink draws to a close, Tourism Minister Fergus Ewing said yesterday."

"Historic agreement pulls Churches of England and Scotland closer", *Scotsman* 24-12-15: "An historic agreement has been reached between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, committing them to working closely together."

Kerevan, George: "The left must now act in solidarity against the rise of the populist right", *National* 14-12-15: "Across Europe and the United States, a nasty, right-wing populism has gained political ground since the economic crisis of 2007-09."

"'Deafening silence' over Scots super ID database", *Scotsman* 3-12-15: "The SNP Government is being urged to come clean about whether controversial plans for a super ID data base of all Scots have been 'quietly shelved.'"

"Gordon Ross launches appeal over 'right to die' guidance", *BBC News* 1-12-15: "A severely disabled man has launched a fresh bid to get legal guidance issued in Scotland regarding assisted suicide."

"The National View: A strong Scotland needs credible opposition parties", *National* 27-10-15: "Anyone talking about Scotland being a one-party state should be ignored."

"Achieving a truly digital Scotland", *Scotsman* 7-10-15: "Superfast broadband will be available to 95 per cent of Scots by March 2018, writes Gavin Patterson".

"Meet your new Scottish MPs #44: Natalie McGarry, Glasgow East", *National* 25-9-15: "The independence referendum was life-changing for new SNP MP Natalie McGarry in more ways than one, giving her a voice and the confidence to battle her 'debilitating' fear of public speaking."

"Bannockburn named UK's most decisive battle – poll", *Scotsman* 19-9-15: "The Battle of Bannockburn has been named the most decisive battle fought in the British Isles, fighting off competition from conflicts including the Battle of Hastings and the Spanish Armada."

"Orkney and Shetland 'best two places to raise children in Britain'", *BBC News* 1-9-15.

Maurice, Smith: "Exactly where will our righteous wrath take us?", *Herald* 12-8-15: "What is happening to modern-day political discourse? Whether in Scotland, the UK or across the Western world, politicians, parties and the commentariat all grapple with the sea changes in public opinion that appear to challenge conventional thought."

"Scotland to issue formal ban on genetically modified crops", *Guardian* 9-8-15: "Ministers aim to use recent powers to opt out of a regime that is expected to see greater commercial use of GM crops around Europe."

"Younger Scots slowly losing distinctive burr, say linguists", *Guardian* 19-7-15: "Experts say Scottish rolling 'r' is being lost with younger generation due to natural evolution of language."

"Stornoway first in isles to get high-speed broadband", *BBC News* 7-7-15.

"Scotland misses greenhouse emission target", *BBC News* 9-6-15: "Scotland has failed to meet its climate change target for the fourth year in a row, latest figures have revealed."

"The Guardian view on the lessons of the 2015 election: change the voting system or break up the UK", *Guardian* 1-6-15: "First past the post can't reflect the diversity of a multiparty Britain."

"Bruce defends Alistair Carmichael: Politicians tell lies", *BBC News* 26-5-15: "Politicians tell 'brazen lies', senior Lib Dem Sir Malcolm Bruce has claimed as he defended the actions of ex-Scottish Secretary Alistair Carmichael."

"Scotland's literary leaders turn their fire on Tory assault on liberty", *Herald* 17-5-15: "Scottish PEN, part of the worldwide association of writers fighting for freedom of expression and human rights, has written a blistering open letter for the Sunday Herald attacking the new Tory governments planned assault on liberty."

"What happened to the canny Scot?", *Scotsman* 22-4-15: "A friend's dilemma about whether to move country poses searching questions about our national character, says Bill Jamieson."

Gordon, Tom: "Living in Scotland is like living in Communist Czechoslovakia .... Welcome to the weird, weird world of Ukip's David Coburn", *Herald* 12-4-15.

Education Scotland
(compiled by Sherry Ishak Abadeer, Katharina Leible,
Andrea Schlotthauer, Jana Schmick & Melanie Sommer)

At-a-glance university guides 2016, *Guardian*.

"Private schools 'should be covered by FOI laws'", *Scotsman* 25-9-15: "Scotland's information commissioner has said there is a case for extending disclosure laws to cover private schools."

"Give low cost classics to schools, says Nicky Morgan", *BBC News* 24-9-15: "The classics of English literature should be given to England's secondary schools by leading publishers at low cost, the education secretary has said."

Peterkin, Tom: "SNP are cheerleading rather than sorting out education", *Scotsman* 24-9-15: "Those seeking an exercise in smug, self-satisfied complacency could do worse than take a trip to the Holyrood public gallery."

"Sex on campus: how a 'consent quiz' can tackle lad culture", *Guardian* 18-9-15: "New students at the University of Bristol are being quizzed to help them understand the subtleties of sexual consent. It's a positive move that should help tackle issues on campus."

"St Andrews climbs university rankings", *BBC News* 15-9-15: "The University of St Andrews has climbed 20 places in a table ranking campuses across the world."

"Libraries are sanctuary of the mind", *Scotsman* 15-9-15: "We must use them or we will lose them, warns Lori Anderson, with numbers already beginning to fall every year."

"Scottish universities 'unchanged' since the Middle Ages", *Herald* 14-9-15: "Scottish universities are inherently conservative institutions which have 'survived intact' since the Middle Ages, according to a leading sector figure."

"Edinburgh best university city in UK for buy-to-let", *Scotsman* 11-9-15: "Scottish university cities have been ranked as the best places for buy-to-let investors in the UK, with four out of five of the top cities being north of the border."

Blunkett, David / Flinders, Matthew: "Don't let 'the market' dominate the debate on university teaching", *Guardian* 9-9-15: "We applaud the government's plan to bring in a Teaching Excellence Framework, but the language of business devalues it."

"Teaching unions hit out at government's school testing plan", *BBC News* 8-9-15: "Teaching unions have criticised Scottish government plans to introduce a new classroom testing system."

"School tests - when will we learn?" *Scotsman* 4-9-15: "Early intervention, not testing, is the answer to driving up standards, writes Brian Wilson."

Gallogly-Swan, Katie: "Policy Lab report: Innovating our education for all", *CommonSpace* 2-9-15: "This is an initial working paper of a Common Weal Policy Lab on education. It will be developed further based on feedback from those involved in the Lab and others."

McColm, Euan: "Students worse off with free tuition", *Scotsman* 29-8-15: "In a couple of weeks, the corridors and bars of Scotland's universities will throng with freshers, setting out on academic courses that will shape the rest of their lives."

"How to get a good education – from the former headmaster of Eton", *Spectator* 22-8-15: "Reading Tony Little's *An Intelligent Person's Guide to Education* – full of insight, erudition, sympathy and common sense – is a valuable education in itself."

"Sharp rise in Scots seeking university place in England", *Herald* 19-8-15: "Record numbers of Scots have secured a university place in England despite having to pay fees of up to £9000."

"Why Scots face a language barrier", *Scotsman* 8-8-15: "Our children's lack of foreign language skills cry out for a shake-up in education policy, and yet constant upheaval in our schools may be one of the problems, writes Dani Garavelli."

"Plans for Skye's Gaelic primary get green light", *Herald* 4-8-15: "Plans to build what will be Scotland's fourth dedicated Gaelic school have been passed and work should begin soon on the new building in the Skye capital of Portree, despite design concerns."

"Scots universities campaign against UK leaving EU", *Scotsman* 28-7-15: "Scotland's leading universities are part of a major new campaign to persuade British voters to keep the UK in the European Union."

"Philosophy sessions 'boost primary school results'", *BBC News* 10-7-15: "Weekly philosophy sessions in class can boost primary school pupils' ability in maths and literacy, a study says."

"University places for Scots under pressure from EU students", *Herald* 10-7-15: "New figures show the number of EU students applying to Scottish universities has increased by 13 per cent since 2011."

McKenna, Kevin: "Scotland's educational apartheid shames the nation", *Guardian* 7-6-15: "Class discrimination is so endemic that working-class students should be given mentors."

"Students 'want more insight into tuition fees'", *Scotsman* 4-6-15: "A 'whooping' three quarters of students believe universities do not give them enough information about how tuition fees are spent, according to research."

"Apprenticeship system 'failing to help Britain's young'", *BBC News* 24-5-15: "The apprenticeship system in Britain is 'failing' and needs reform to address youth unemployment, a new report says."

"SNP challenged over slashing of student support", *Scotsman* 21-5-15: "Scotland has the 'lowest level' of level of financial support for the poorest students in the UK with grants and bursaries slashed by £40 million during the SNP's eight years in power, Labour claimed at Holyrood's First Minister's questions today."

"Medical student: Why I think Scottish universities are turning their backs on pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds", *Herald* 18-5-15: "A student from one of Scotland's most disadvantaged neighbourhoods has spoken out over the difficulties she faced getting into medical school."

Lewis, Penny: "No marks for Curriculum for Excellence", *Scotsman* 16-5-15: "The Scottish education system was once a source of national pride. Until recently, Scotland sustained an education system driven by the belief that all individuals, regardless of social class, would benefit from a liberal academic education. The exposure of all Scotland's children to 'the best that has been written and thought' was seen as a public and personal good."

"Creationist teaching 'just around the corner' in Scottish Schools", *Herald* 15-5-15: "Scottish pupils are at risk from the teaching of young earth creationism, campaigners have warned."

"Schools told to increase use of Scots language in lessons", *Herald* 24-4-15: "Schools have been urged to increase the use of the Scots language as part of a wider drive to improve literacy."

Scottish Award Winners

Literature

Bloody Scotland Crime Book of the Year Award 2015 is *The Ghosts of Altona* by Craig Russell (Quercus). Shortlisted for this year's award were Matt Bendoris, *DM for Murder* (Saraband): Louise Welsh, *Death is a Welcome Guest* (John Murray); Christopher Brookmyre, *Dead Girl Walking* (Little, Brown); Lin Anderson, *Paths of the Dead* (Panmacmillan); and Ann Cleeves, *Thin Air* (Panmacmillan).

The James Tait Black Prize for Fiction was won by Zia Haider Rahman for *In the Light of What We Know* (Picador). Author, journalist and critic Richard Benson took the prize in the Biography category with *The Valley: A Hundred Years in the Life of a Yorkshire Family* (Bloomsbury). For the Drama winner, see below.

The Wigtown Poetry Competition main prize winner for 2015 was Louise Greig for her poem *How to construct an albatross* (another of Greig's poems also won the Irish-based Caterpillar children's poetry prize for 2015); the Scottish Gaelic section winner was Deborah Moffatt for *Lilidh Sa' Mhachair*; *The Jingle-Stane* was Hamish Scott's winning entry in the Scots category.

The Neil Gunn Writing Competition 2014-15 winners included: Adult Poetry section, first prize: *Beneath woven silences* by James Knox Whittet; Adult Short Story section, first prize: *Our Mum's Special Theory of Relativity* by D. Bruton.

John Spurling was awarded the 2015 Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction for his novel set in imperial China, *The Ten Thousand Things* (Duckworth Overlook).

The 2015 Caledonia Novel Award for not-yet-published novelists was won by Justine Taylor for *The Chill Mark*.

Winner of the Kelpies Prize, awarded annually to the best of new Scottish writing for children, was Mark Smith *Slug Boy Saves the World* (Floris Books – Kelpies).

The 2015 Grampian Children's Book Award for 11-15 year-olds in the Grampian region went to James Dawson for *Say Her Name* (Hot Key Books).

The Dundee International Book Prize 2015 has been won by Martin Cathcart Froden. His debut novel *Devil Take the Hindmost* scooped the prize of £10,000 and a publishing deal with Freight Books. The writer is a Masters graduate of Glasgow University's Creative Writing Programme.

Theatre

The James Tait Black Prize for Drama for 2015 went to Brooklyn-based playwright and bestselling science fiction novelist, Gordon Dahlquist for *Tomorrow Come Today*, a science fiction drama about people who swap bodies to cheat death.

CATS - Critics' Awards for Theatre in Scotland 2014-15 winners included: The Cats Whiskers award for outstanding achievement in pioneering and high-quality work by young people, won by Junction 25; Best Male Performance went to Grant O'Rourke for *The Venetian Twins* (Royal Lyceum, Edinburgh); Best Female Performance winner was Amy Manson in *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, (Royal Lyceum, Edinburgh); Best Ensemble, Best Director (Mark Thomson) and Best Production awards also went to *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*; Best Design

was won by Jamie Vartan, *Bondagers* (Royal Lyceum, Edinburgh); Best New Play was *Squash* by Martin McCormick; Best Production for Children and Young People was *The Voice Thief* (Catherine Wheels Theatre Company).

Creative Scotland
The Creative Place Awards honour the work and creativity of community cultural life in Scotland. This year's event was arranged by Creative Scotland in partnership with EventScotland and Falkirk Community Trust. The top prize of £125,000 was awarded to Stornoway and the islands of Lewis and Harris. The prize is to be used by Stornoway and the surrounding villages for a programme to present and profile a route of artistic and cultural experiences into, throughout and beyond the town, making Stornoway a recognised gateway to the creative community of the Outer Hebrides.
An award of £100,000 was made to the Forres area community, which intends to use the money to support and promote local arts participation in Culture Day 2015, Findhorn Bay Arts Festival 2016, Project ARTS and Culture Café events.
Moniaive/Glencairn parish was awarded £50,000. The money is to be used to connect existing cultural activities in the visual arts, music and literature.

Film Television Media
British Academy Scotland New Talent Awards for 2015 were won by: Actor – Nick Ikunda for "Happy Together"; Actress – Hannah Ord for "Last Night in Edinburgh"; Animation – "Domestic Appliances" (Lewis Firth Bolton, Edinburgh College of Art); Camera/Photography – Steven Cameron Ferguson "Sick"; Composer – Richy Carey, "Lichtspiel: Opus I"; Design – Anthony Devine, "Boat"; Drama – "Patata Tortilla" (Ben Sharrock, Irune Gurtubai, Edinburgh Napier University/Screen Academy Scotland/Caravan Cinema/REC); Editor – Benjamin Cook "The Scribbler"; Game – "Leila and the Little Folk" (Bruce Lamond); Entertainment – "The Wee' Hings" (Iain Henderson, Stuart Jackson, MOG, Shaun Dempsey, Glasgow Clyde College/Creative Loop); Factual – "Marty Goes to Hollywood" (Martyn Robertson, Ian Bustard, Urbancroft Films/Bustard Productions); Sound – Kevin Walls "Identical"; Writer – Ben Sharrock "Patata Tortilla"; New Work – Steven Cameron Ferguson, "Sick".

New Publications April – September 2015
(compiled by Andrea Schlotthauer)

Anderson, Robert G. W., *The Cradle of Chemistry,* Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2015 (hardback £25.00)
From the mid eighteenth century, many medical students from across the world made their way to Edinburgh, drawn by the reputation of the faculty and the quality and nature of its teaching. Chemistry, in particular, had star performers, notably William Cullen and Joseph Black, whose innovative teaching styles excited and inspired their audiences. This book, which is based on conference papers given at the Crawford tercentenary meeting held at the Royal Society of Edinburgh in October 2013, describes the progress of chemistry at the University of Edinburgh from the appointment of the first professor, James Crawford, in 1713 to the career of Thomas Charles Hope, a century or so later. It includes the radical attempt by William Cullen to introduce 'philosophical chemistry' as a counterpart to Newton's natural philosophy, and Joseph Black's eventual acceptance of Lavoisier's oxygen theory. This is a fascinating study of the period when Edinburgh's chemistry literacy was higher than at any other time.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Cradle-of-Chemistry-The.html)

Anderson, Robert / Mark Freeman / Lindsay Paterson, *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £125.00)

The excellence of Scottish education is, as it is commonly understood, 'held to be absolute'. One of the key national 'myths' has emphasised the quality, distinctiveness and accessibility of educational institutions north of the Border. The 'democratic intellect', the 'lad o'pairts' and other aspects of the Scottish educational tradition have been identified as key elements of national identity.

In this book, a range of authors consider the truth behind the 'myth', and between them tell the story of the development of Scottish education over a period lasting almost a millennium. From the medieval origins of the Scottish universities, to the development of parish schooling after the Reformation, to the reforms of the nineteenth century, to the radical extension of educational participation throughout the twentieth century, this book traces the emergence of the complex educational structure of today's Scotland out of all these legacies. (http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748679157)

Bannermann, John W. M., *Kinship, Church and Culture,* Ed. Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor, John Donald – Birlinn 2015 (paperback £25.00)

John Bannerman (1932–2008) saw the history of Scotland from a Gaelic perspective, and his outstanding scholarship made that perspective impossible to ignore. As a historian, his natural home was the era between the Romans and the twelfth century when the Scottish kingdom first began to take shape, but he also wrote extensively on the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while his work on the Beatons, the notable Gaelic medical kindred, reached into the early eighteenth century. Across this long millennium, Bannerman ranged and wrote with authority and insight on what he termed the 'kin-based society', with special emphasis upon its church and culture, and its relationship with Ireland.

This collection opens with Bannerman's ground-breaking and hugely influential edition and discussion of Senchus fer nAlban ('The History of the Men of Scotland'), which featured in his *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (1974), now long out of print. To this have been added all of his published essays, plus an essay-length study of the Lordship of the Isles which first featured as an appendix in *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (1977). The book will be of interest to anyone who wants to know more about the Gaelic dimension to Scotland's past and present. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Kinship-Church-and-Culture.html)

Berry, Christopher J., *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £70.00; paperback £24.99)

The most arresting aspect of the Scottish Enlightenment is its conception of commercial society as a distinct and distinctive social formation. Christopher Berry explains why Enlightenment thinkers considered commercial society to be wealthier and freer than earlier forms, and charts the contemporary debates and tensions between Enlightenment thinkers that this idea raised. (http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9781474404716)

Bircham, Josh / Grant Costello, *We are the 56,* Glasgow: Freight Books 2015 (hardback £11.99)

After the Scottish National Party's historic clean sweep in the 2015 General Election, destroying Scottish Labour and the Liberal Democrats North of the Border, this is a timely and in-depth examination of each one of the 56 individuals, many from outwith the political establishment, who now represent the vast majority of Scotland at the Westminster Parliament.

Who are they? Where have they come from and what has been their journey into politics? What motivates them? Who or what inspires them? What is their vision for Scotland's future? We are the 56 is a timely record of the seismic changes in Scottish politics and a fascinating insight into the compelling human stories behind the political headlines.
(http://www.freightbooks.co.uk/we-are-the-56-by-josh-bircham-and-grant-costello.html)

Black, Ronald, *The Campbells of the Ark, Men of Argyll in 1745,* Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2015 (paperback £30.00)
In the course of his long poem *An Áirce*, 'The Ark', the Jacobite poet Alexander MacDonald shows the Campbells being subjected to trial by water for the part they played in defeating Prince Charles's army in 1745–6. Some will be drowned outright, he says, some just given a good ducking – and some will be honourably treated. He names forty individuals. Ronald Black puts their lives and deeds under the microscope to see how far they deserved their allotted fate. The result is a well-balanced portrait of the leading men of Argyll in the eighteenth century and a refreshingly new perspective on one of the most colourful episodes in Scottish history: the rising of the '45 as seen through the eyes of Highlanders who helped to crush it. *The Campbells of the Ark* includes a detailed study of the sixty-three locally based companies of the Argyllshire Militia of 1745–6, covering every corner of this fascinating county, from Kintyre to Ardnamurchan, from Islay to Genorchy.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Campbells-of-the-Ark-The-Men-of-Argyll-in-1745.html)

Boardman, Steve / Susan Foran (eds.), *Barbour's 'Bruce' and its Cultural Contexts. Politics, Chivalry and Literature in Late Medieval Scotland,* Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer – Boydell Press 2015 (hardback £50.00)
John Barbour's *Bruce*, an account of the deeds of Robert I of Scotland (1306-29) and his companions during the so-called wars of independence between England and Scotland, is an important and complicated text. Composed c. 1375 during the reign of Robert's grandson, Robert II, the first Stewart king of Scotland (1371-90), the poem represents the earliest surviving complete literary work of any length produced in 'Inglis' in late medieval Scotland, and is usually regarded as the starting point for any worthwhile discussion of the language and literature of Early Scots. It has also been used as an essential 'historical' source for the career and character of that iconic monarch Robert I. But its narrative defies easy categorisation, and has been variously interpreted as a romance, a verse history, an epic or a chivalric biography.
This collection re-assesses the form and purpose of Barbour's great poem. It considers the poem from a variety of perspectives, re-examining the literary, historical, cultural and intellectual contexts in which it was produced, and offering important new insights.
(http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=14826)

Cairney, John, *The Tycoon and the Bard. Andrew Carnegie and Robert Burns,* Edinburgh: Luath Press 2015 (paperback £9.99)
In *The Tycoon and the Bard*, well-known Scots actor and Burns expert John Cairney tells the story of how the richest man in the world was inspired by Scotland's greatest poet.
Cairney concentrates on the life of Scottish American industrialist Andrew Carnegie, arguing that the ideas of the romantic Scottish poet Robert Burns formed a strong influence on Carnegie from his early education to the end of his life.
(http://www.luath.co.uk/the-tycoon-and-the-bard.html)

Common Weal, *A Book of Ideas,* Glasgow: Aye Aye Books 2015 (paperback £8.00)
The focus of this book is simple. There's a Scottish election in May 2016 which will elect a five-year government; so what could that government do over those five years using the powers the Scottish Parliament has (or is likely to have) to create an 'all of us first' society?
This book attempts to end the excuse that we can't do things differently in Scotland; that we don't have the power to change things, that 'aye been' is somehow good enough, and that competent management is the extent of our hopes and aspirations.
(http://allofusfirst.bigcartel.com/product/a-book-of-ideas).

Cooke, Anthony, *A History of Drinking. The Scottish Pub since 1700,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £80.00; paperback £19.99)
What did Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Dorothy Wordsworth, James Hogg and Robert Southey have in common? They all toured Scotland and left accounts of their experiences in Scottish inns, ale houses, taverns and hotels. Similarly, poets and writers from Robert Burns and Walter Scott to Ian Rankin and Irvine Welsh have left vivid descriptions of the pleasures and pains of Scottish drinking places. Pubs also provided public spaces for occupational groups to meet, for commercial transactions, for literary and cultural activities and for everyday life and work rituals such as births, marriages and deaths and events linked with the agricultural year.
These and other historical issues such as temperance, together with contemporary issues, like the liberalisation of licensing laws and the changing nature of Scottish pubs, are discussed in this fascinating book. The book is brought up to the present day by a case study of present day licensees, based on interviews with a range of licensees across Scotland, looking at their experience of the trade and how it has changed in their working lives.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9781474407625)

Crofton, Ian, *Scottish History without the Boring Bits: A Chronicle of the Curious, the Eccentric, the Atrocious and the Unlikely,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (hardback £12.99)
As an antidote to more sober accounts of Scotland's history, Ian Crofon offers a colourful chronology of the eccentric, the infamous, the bawdy, the horrific and the hilarious people and events that have spattered across the pages of our nation's story.
From the Royal High School riot to Marocco the Wonder Horse, from the War of the One-Eyed Woman to the MP cleared of stealing his ex-mistress's knickers, *Scottish History without the Boring Bits* includes a host of little-known tales that you won't find in more conventional works of history, including – the chatelaine who struck a general over the head with a leg of mutton; – the cow that gave birth to fourteen puppies; – the clan chief who ripped out the throat of his enemy with his teeth; – the surgeon who was so fast with the saw that he inadvertently took off his patient's testicles as well as his leg; – the mathematician who calculated that the Christian religion would finally disappear in the year 3153.
Ian Crofton's alternative history of Scotland looks at the country's seedy underbelly with a quizzical eye. It is full of the mischievous humour and lightly-worn scholarship so praised by the critics in his *Dictionary of Scottish Phrase and Fable*.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Scottish-History-without-the-Boring-Bits.html)

Dawson, Jane, *John Knox*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2015 (hardback £20.00)
Jane Dawson has written the definitive life of John Knox, a leader of the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Scotland. Based in large part on previously unavailable sources, including the recently discovered papers of Knox's close friend and colleague Christopher Goodman, Dawson's biography challenges the traditionally held stereotype of this founder of the Presbyterian denomination as a strident and misogynist religious reformer whose influence rarely extended beyond Scotland. She maintains instead that John Knox relied heavily on

the support of his "godly sisters" and conferred as well as argued with Mary, Queen of Scots. He was a proud member of the European community of Reformed Churches and deeply involved in the religious Reformations within England, Ireland, France, Switzerland, and the Holy Roman Empire. Casting a surprising new light on the public and private personas of a highly complex, difficult, and hugely compelling individual, Dawson's fascinating study offers a vivid, fully rounded portrait of this renowned Scottish preacher and prophet who had a seismic impact on religion and society.
(http://www.yalebooks.com/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=9780300114737)

Dodgshon, Robert, *No Stone Unturned. A History of Farming, Landscape and Environment in the Scottish Highlands and Islands,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £80.00)
Starting with prehistory, the book examines the way in which the farming community was organised: its institutional basis, its strategies of resource use and how these impacted on landscape, and the way in which it interacted with the challenges of its environment. It carries these themes forward through the medieval and early modern periods, rounding off the discussion with a substantive review of the gradual spread of commercial sheep farming and the emergence of the crofting townships over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Throughout, it draws out what changed and what was carried forward from each period so that we have a better understanding of the region's dynamic history, as opposed to the ahistorical views that inevitably flow from a stress on cultural inertia.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9781474400749)

Dziennik, Matthew P., *The Fatal Land. War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America,* New Haven: Yale University Press 2015 (hardback £40.00)
More than 12,000 soldiers from the Highlands of Scotland were recruited to serve in Great Britain's colonies in the Americas in the middle to the late decades of the eighteenth century. In this compelling history, Matthew P. Dziennik corrects the mythologised image of the Highland soldier as a noble savage, a primitive if courageous relic of clanship, revealing instead how the Gaels used their military service to further their own interests and, in doing so, transformed the most maligned region of the British Isles into an important centre of the British Empire.
(http://www.yalebooks.com/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=9780300196726)

Edwards, Owen Dudley, *Scotland's Waterloo,* Edinburgh: Luath Press 2015 (paperback £9.99)
The Scots triumphed at Waterloo – as painters, subjects for painters, diarists, writers and poets. *How the Scots Conquered Waterloo* showcases the different ways that illustrious Scots documented and responded to the battle. Owen Dudley Edwards starts with the painters and their patrons, before moving on to the fascinating eyewitness accounts of Scottish soldiers. He finally introduces the voices of some more famous Scots who experienced the battle firsthand, including Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Robert Louis Stevenson, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Dr Robert Knox and Arthur Conan Doyle.
(http://www.luath.co.uk/scotland-s-waterloo.html)

Gale, Iain, *Scotland Forever: The Scots Greys at Waterloo,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (paperback £8.99)
One of the most iconic incidents of the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 was the charge of the Scots Greys, a crack cavalry regiment, into the heart of the French army. It was a moment of supreme daring and horse-riding skill, and Sergeant Ewart of the Greys succeeded in snatching one of Napoleon's coveted eagle standards. However it was also a military blunder. The Greys were quickly surrounded by enemy cavalry and cut to pieces. Of the regiment's

442 officers and men almost half, 198, were killed or injured. In the end the battle was won by the British and their allies and the eagle of the French 45th regiment is now on show in Edinburgh Castle. Iain Gale brings the bare outline of this legendary military exploit to life, giving the stories of the men involved and reconstructing the prelude, the aftermath, life in the Greys and the Battle of Waterloo as a whole. It is a uniquely exciting story of courage and military tactics in the heat of war.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Scotland-Forever.html)

Gibson, Corey, *The Voice of the People. Hamish Henderson and Scottish Cultural Politics,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £70.00)
How might the alienation of the artist in modern Scotland be overcome? How do you incite a popular folk revival? Can a poet truly speak with the 'voice of the people'? And what happens to the writer who rejects print culture in favour of becoming Anon? The life and times of polymath, scholar, author and folk-hero, Hamish Henderson (1919-2002), poses, and helps us to answer, these questions. This book examines his life-long commitment to finding a form of artistic expression suitable for post-war Europe. Though Henderson is a major figure in Scottish cultural history, his reputation is largely maintained through anecdotes and radical folk songs. This study explores his ideas in their intellectual, cultural and political contexts. It describes how all of his works – in war poetry, song collection, folklore scholarship, folksong revivalism, literary translation, and vicious public debates – reflect this desire to see the artist fully reintegrated in society.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748696574)

Harris, Bob (ed.), *A Tale of Three Cities: The Life and Times of Lord Daer, 1763-1794,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (hardback £25.00)
Basil William Douglas, Lord Daer, was a remarkable man who left an indelible impression on those who knew him, including the poet Robert Burns and French intellectual and revolutionary the Marquis de Condorcet. Daer was a restless, energetic spirit in an era of youthful revolution. His political radicalism developed from connections made through his progressive education, his immersion in Scottish Enlightenment ideas at the University of Edinburgh under the tutelage of Dugald Stewart, and his experiences in three great cities: Edinburgh, London and Paris. This is a story about the rise of a new kind of British politics in the late 1700s, when it was mixed with a profound cosmopolitan spirit that threatened briefly and gloriously to sink national difference in the cause of universal liberty and humanity. For Daer, this moment held the tantalising possibility of creating a new union between Scotland and England, a union of the people rather than the narrow, unequal union of states created in 1707. Who was the man behind this early unionist radical vision?
This book uses the life of Lord Daer to paint a fresh picture of Scottish and British political culture at the end of the eighteenth century, one which places the Union and its shifting meanings at its heart. As the Scots and the English re-think the nature of union in a very different world to that of the 1790s, Daer's political vision is one that retains its power and relevance.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/A-Tale-of-Three-Cities.html)

Lyall, Scott (ed.), *The International Companion to Lewis Grassic Gibbon,* Glasgow: Scottish Literature International – ASLS* 2015 (paperback £14.95)
Lewis Grassic Gibbon (James Leslie Mitchell), the author of the acclaimed trilogy *A Scots Quair – Sunset Song*, *Cloud Howe* and *Grey Granite* – is one of the most important Scottish writers of the early twentieth century. This *International Companion* provides a thorough overview of Gibbon's writing. Examining his works within the social, political, and literary

developments of his time, this volume demonstrates Gibbon's continuing relevance both in Scotland and internationally. (http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/IC1.html)

MacLachlan, Christopher / Ronald W. Renton (eds.), *Gael and Lowlander in Scottish Literature: Cross-currents in Scottish Writing in the Nineteenth Century,* Glasgow: Scottish Literature International – ASLS* 2015 (paperback £12.50)
The nineteenth century saw the romanticisation of the Highlander, the rise of tartanry and the emergence of the modern Scottish tourist industry. It also witnessed the worst excesses of the Clearances and the beginnings of an exodus from the Highlands to the industrial cities and to the colonies. The languages, peoples and cultures of Highland and Lowland Scotland mixed and mingled as never before, influencing and shaping each other in often unexpected ways.
Gael and Lowlander in Scottish Literature explores the interactions and intersections between Highland and Lowland poetry, prose, drama and song, in English, Scots and Gaelic. Ranging from Sir Walter Scott to the writers and artists of the *fin de siècle* Celtic Revival, these fourteen essays show how the crossing and re-crossing of the Highland Line shaped Scottish literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and how it continues to do so today. (http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/Gael_and_Lowlander.html)

Macniven, Alan, *The Vikings in Islay. The Place of Names in Hebridean Settlement History,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (paperback £25.00)
The Hebridean island of Islay is well-known for its whisky, its wildlife and its association with the MacDonald Lords of the Isles. There would seem to be little reason to dwell on its fate at the hands of marauding Northmen during the Viking Age. Despite a pivotal location on the 'sea road' from Norway to Ireland, there are no convincing records of the Vikings ever having been there. In recent years, historians have been keen to marginalise the island's Viking experience, choosing instead to focus on the enduring stability of native Celtic culture, and tracing the island's modern Gaelic traditions back in an unbroken chain to the dawn of the Christian era.
However, the foundations of this presumption are flawed. With no written accounts to go by, the real story of Islay's Viking Age has to be read from another type of source material – the silent witness of the names of local places. *The Vikings in Islay* presents a systematic review of around 240 of the island's farm and nature names. The conclusions drawn turn traditional assumptions on their head. The romance of Islay's names, it seems, masks a harrowing tale of invasion, apartheid and ethnic cleansing.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Vikings-in-Islay-The.html)

Macwhirter, Iain, *Tsunami: Scotland's Democratic Revolution,* Edinburgh: Cargo Publishing 2015 (e-Book £3.79)
Following on from the critically acclaimed *Disunited Kingdom: How Westminster Won A Referendum But Lost Scotland*, Iain Macwhirter casts his expert eye over the SNP's victory in the 2015 General Election, which saw Scotland swept by an unprecedented wave of SNP yellow. One of the UK's most insightful political writers, Macwhirter examines the factors behind this result including the demise of the Labour party in Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon's SNP vision and leadership, the growing dissatisfaction with Westminster, and the enduring passion for independence. He also examines emerging divisions in the non-aligned independence movement. *Tsunami* ends with Macwhirter looking forward to ultimately consider where Scotland, and the UK, must go next.
(http://www.cargopublishing.com/books/tsunami-scotlands-democratic-revolution-e-book-only/)

Marshall, Rosalind K., *The Edinburgh Merchant Company, 1901-2014,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (hardback £30.00)
This book is the second which records the 330 year history of The Edinburgh Merchant Company. The first, by Alexander Heron, covers the period 1681–1901 and ends where this new book picks up with the sudden death of Master John Macmillan whilst chairing a Members' Dinner in the Merchants' Hall. It charts the Company's endeavour and achievements through the difficult period of two world wars and a time of change for both the Company and its schools. It records stories of Royal patronage, of both success and failures and of the Company's determination to grow and prosper and to leave a rich heritage for future generations. Above all it is a story of 113 years of a Company which has had a huge influence on the civic, cultural and ceremonial life of the city of Edinburgh and the surrounding area.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Edinburgh-Merchant-Company-The.html)

McGladdery, Christine, *James II,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (paperback £25.00)
In this study of the reign of James II of Scotland, the king is viewed in the context of the Stewart monarchy, from his struggles to overcome his early adversity and the legacy of his father's style of kingship, to the serious political crises of his reign. The relations between the king and his subjects, and the complex balance of power in medieval Scotland are examined, particularly the significant crisis precipitated by James II's attack on the Black Douglases, the greatest of all late medieval magnate families. The changing nature of political involvement among the nobility and the role of Parliament in influencing events are explored, as are the efforts of the king to recover and promote royal authority in the final years of his reign. The role of James II in the wider European context is also studied with a view to shedding light on contemporary perceptions of the Stewart monarchy both at home and abroad. The study is based on contemporary chronicle and official sources, and consideration is also given to later, highly coloured views of James II, which have influenced popular views of the king to the present day.
(www.birlinn.co.uk/James-II.html)

McHardy, Stuart, *Scotland's Future History,* Edinburgh: Luath Press 2015 (paperback £7.99)
Stuart McHardy takes a revolutionary approach to interpreting the past. He shows that future generations will understand Scottish history in a fundamentally different light thanks to recent and future developments in archaeology, folklore and oral history.
A whistle-stop tour from prehistoric times to the present day, *Scotland's Future History* unlocks a vision that is free from the kinds of distortion, bias and error that have plagued our understanding for centuries.
What if prehistoric Scotland was not some dark, remote land populated by barbarians, but was actually home to a highly sophisticated civilisation? What if the Scots never came from Ireland? What if Scotland never fought any 'Wars of Independence'? What if Culloden wasn't the end of the Jacobites? What should Scotland's future history be?
(http://www.luath.co.uk/scotland-future-history.html)

McKirdy, Alan, *Set in Stone: The Geology and Landscapes of Scotland,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (paperback £9.99)
The land that was to become Scotland has travelled across the globe over the last 3,000 million years – from close to the South Pole to its current position. During these travels, there were many continental collisions, creating mountain belts as high as the present-day Himalayas. The Highlands of Scotland were formed in this way. Our climate too has changed dramatically over the last 3 billion years from the deep freeze of the Ice Age to scorching heat

of the desert. And within a relatively short time – geologically speaking, we will plunge back into another ice age.

In *Set in Stone*, Alan McKirdy traces Scotland's amazing geological journey, explaining for the non–specialist reader why the landscape looks the way it does todays. He also explores Scots and those working in Scotland have played a seminal role in the development of the science of geology, understanding Earth processes at a local and global scale. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Set-in-Stone-The-Geology-and-Landscapes-of-Scotland.html)

Moffat, Alistair, *Scotland*: *A History from Earliest Times,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2015 (hardback £25.00)
From the Ice Age to the recent Scottish referendum, historian and author Alistair Moffat explores the history of the Scottish nation. As well as focusing on key moments in the nation's history such as the Battle of Bannockburn and the Jacobite Risings, Moffat also features other episodes in history that are perhaps less well documented. From prehistoric timber halls to inventions and literature, Moffat's tale explores the drama of battle, change, loss and invention interspersed with the lives of ordinary Scottish folk, the men and women who defined a nation. (http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Scotland-History-from-Earliest-Times.html)

Nugent, Janay / Elizabeth Ewan (eds.), *Children and Youth in Premodern Scotland,* Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2015 (hardback £60.00)
Children and youth have tended to be under-reported in the historical scholarship. This collection of essays recasts the historical narrative by populating premodern Scottish communities from the thirteenth to the late eighteenth centuries with their lively experiences and voices. By examining medieval and early modern Scottish communities through the lens of age, the collection counters traditional assumptions that young people are peripheral to our understanding of the political, economic, and social contexts of the premodern era.
The topics addressed fall into three main sections: the experience of being a child/adolescent; representations of the young; and the construction of the next generation. The individual essays examine the experience of the young at all levels of society, including princes and princesses, aristocratic and gentry youth, urban young people, rural children, and those who came to Scotland as slaves; they draw on evidence from art, personal correspondence, material culture, song, legal and government records, work and marriage contracts, and literature.
(http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=14823)

Pentland, Gordon / Michael Davis (eds.), *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: England and Scotland, 1688-1815. Essays in Honour of H.T. Dickinson,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £45.00)
Few scholars can claim to have shaped the historical study of the long eighteenth century more profoundly than Professor H. T. Dickinson, who, until his retirement in 2006, held the Sir Richard Lodge Chair of British History at the University of Edinburgh. This volume, based on contributions from Professor Dickinson's students, friends and colleagues from around the world, offers a range of perspectives on eighteenth-century Britain and provides a tribute to a remarkable scholarly career.
Professor Dickinson's work and career provides the ideal lens through which to take a detailed snapshot of current research in a number of areas. The volume includes contributions from scholars working in intellectual history, political and parliamentary history, ecclesiastical and naval history; discussions of major themes such as Jacobitism, the French Revolution, popular radicalism and conservatism; and essays on prominent individuals in English and Scottish history, including Edmund Burke, Thomas Muir, Thomas Paine and Thomas Spence. The result is a uniquely rich and detailed collection with an impressive breadth of coverage.

(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9781474405676)

Pittin-Hedon, Marie-Odile, *The Space of Fiction. Voices from Scotland in a Post-Devolution Age,* Glasgow: Scottish Literature International – ASLS* 2015 (paperback £12.50)
Contemporary Scottish fiction is vigorous, vivid and diverse, eschewing the straitjackets of genre and resisting categorisation as either 'mainstream' or 'literary'. Meanwhile, Scotland itself refuses to conform to external notions of what it is, and what it can become. The literature of this post-devolution nation comes in a multitude of voices.
The Space of Fiction investigates how Scottish writers have responded to, and been affected by, the nation's ongoing political discourse. Examining in detail the works of Des Dillon, Anne Donovan, Michel Faber, Laura Hird, Alison Miller, Ewan Morrison, James Robertson, Suhayl Saadi, Zoë Strachan and their contemporaries, *The Space of Fiction* traces their multifarious approaches to a post-national, cosmopolitan, multicultural and even globalised Scotland, and explores their notions of space, of place, and of the impact of fiction on the nature of identity. (http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/Space_of_Fiction.html)

Riach, Alan (ed.), *The International Companion to Edwin Morgan,* Glasgow: Scottish Literature International – ASLS* 2015 (paperback £14.95)
Edwin Morgan (1920–2010) is one of the giants of modern poetry. Scotland's national poet from 2004 to his death in 2010, in his long life he produced an incredible range of work, from the playful to the profound. This **International Companion** gives a comprehensive overview of Morgan's poetry and drama. A range of expert contributors guide the reader along Morgan's astonishing, multi-faceted trajectory through space and time, and provide students with an essential and accessible general introduction to his life and work.
(http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/IC2.html)

Riddell, Sheila / Elisabet Weedon / Sarah Minty (eds.), *Higher Education in Scotland and the UK: Diverging or Converging Systems?* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £60.00)
This book focuses on the challenges and opportunities faced by Scottish higher education post-referendum 2014. It draws on findings from a project on higher education within the ESRC's Future of the UK and Scotland Programme, making an important and original contribution to the understanding of higher education policy in Scotland and the rest of the UK.
Central themes explored in different chapters include: the influence of marketisation and internationalisation on Scottish and UK higher education systems; university governance, devolution and the rescaling of the European state; the impact of widening access policies on territorial and social justice; young people's views of higher education and the impact of the extended franchise; cross-border student flows and migration; research funding, knowledge economies and constitutional change.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9781474404587)

Sassi, Carla (ed.), *The International Companion to Scottish Poetry,* Glasgow: Scottish Literature International – ASLS* 2015 (paperback £14.95)
A range of leading international scholars provide the reader with a comprehensive and accessible introduction to the extraordinary richness and diversity of Scotland's poetry. Addressing Languages and Chronologies, Poetic Forms, and Topics and Themes, this *International Companion* covers the entire subject from early medieval texts to contemporary writers, and examines English, Gaelic, Latin and Scots verse.
(http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/IC3.html)

Searle, Adrian / Judith Hastie, *So You Think You Know Scotland?* Glasgow: Freight Books 2015 (paperback £7.99)
A lighthearted and genuinely fascinating, fully illustrated guide to remarkable facts about Scotland, the 'best small country in the world'.
Did you know Morris dancing was just as popular in Scotland as it was in England from the 15th to the 17th century until it was banned by the Church of Scotland? Did you know 11 percent of all Nobel prizes have been awarded to Scotsmen? Did you know Scotland has the highest proportion of redheads in the world?
Sometimes those places that seem most familiar to us are actually more alien that we think. Take a journey with us through the weird, wonderful and downright bizarre facts of Scottish life, culture and heritage. With stunning full colour illustrations by award-winning artist Judith Hastie, we guarantee that you will be surprised and maybe even a little shocked by what you learn about those neighbours you thought you knew.
(http://www.freightbooks.co.uk/so-you-think-you-know-scotland-by-adrian-searle-and-judith-hastie.html)

Shepherd, Mike, *Oil Strike North Sea,* Edinburgh: Luath Press 2015 (hardback £25.00)
Becoming the centre of public debate during the 2014 Scottish referendum, the North Sea oil forms a crucial chapter in Scottish history. Written by an industry insider, a combination of lightly technical explanation and anecdotal accounts explore the process of developing new oil fields and oil production. A poignantly human perspective of a lucrative and challenging industry, Shepherd highlights the importance of the reserves to a nation, and the impact of the production surge upon the men and women of the local community in Aberdeen.
(http://www.luath.co.uk/oil-strike-north-sea.html)

Smith, Ken (ed.), *The Herald Diary 2015,* Edinburg: Black & White Publishing 2015 (paperback £9.99)
So what did Scots have to smile about this year? Well there were the politicians charging around the country looking for votes in a nail-biting general election. There was the continuing struggles at Glasgow Rangers which made half the city laugh and the other half weep. And the finest golfers descended on the country for the Open at St Andrews.
All these and more provided readers of *The Herald* with the funniest stories of the year which were published every day in the newspaper's Diary column. And now the very best have been gathered in this book to make you laugh all over again.
(http://blackandwhitepublishing.com/shop/new-releases/herald-diary-2015-staggeringly-good.html)

Stewart, Mairi, *Voices of the Forest: A Social History of Scottish Forestry in the Twentieth Century,* Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2015 (paperback £20.00)
The creation of large new tracts of forest, together with the development of a modern wood processing sector, was the single biggest transformation to occur in the Scottish countryside during the twentieth century. While the environmental and landscape impacts of this change have been much commented upon, its impact on Scottish culture and society has attracted comparatively little attention. This book tells the fascinating story of the human side of forestry, drawing heavily on the thoughts, experiences and reflections of a wide range of individuals from all levels and all sectors of the industry as it has developed in Scotland over the last 100 years. The book also analyses the evolution of forestry policy and the changing roles of both the state-run Forestry Commission and the private sector. However, at its core are the stories of the men, women and children who have lived and worked in the many communities where old and new forests have loomed large – communities where, especially

in the middle decades of the twentieth century, forestry was often the largest source of employment and income, and without which many of these places would have struggled to survive.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Voices-of-the-Forest.html)

Susato, Ryu, *Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £70.00)
The Scottish philosopher and historian David Hume (1711–1776) has often been regarded as a key Enlightenment thinker. However, his image has been long contested between those who consider him a conservative and those who see him as a key liberal thinker.
Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment offers a new interpretation for such diverse images and demonstrates the uniqueness of Hume as an Enlightenment thinker, illustrating how his 'spirit of scepticism' often leads him into seemingly paradoxical positions. This book will be of interest to Hume scholars, intellectual historians of 17th- to 19th-century Europe and those interested in the Enlightenment more widely.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748699803)

Torrance, David, *General Election 2015: A Guide for Voters in Scotland,* Edinburgh: Luath Press 2015 (paperback £5.99)
The 2015 General Election is the most important and unpredictable election since the Second World War.
Who's who in the current landscape of UK party politics? Who most represents your views? What would a country governed by that party look like?
Co-author of *Scotland's Referendum: A Guide for Voters* and author of *100 Days of Hope and Fear*, David Torrance is here to give you all the information you need to make an informed decision and to make your vote count.
This non-partisan guide features chapters on Labour, the Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats, the Green Party, SNP and UKIP, and covers the other parties contesting seats. Torrance gives a prediction of possible outcomes and an overview of the constitutional implications for Scotland.
(www.luath.co.uk/general-election-2015.html)

Torrance, David, *Salmond: Against the Odds,* Edinburgh: Birlinn 2nd revised and updated ed. 2015 (paperback £12.99)
Alex Salmond is well known in Scotland, the UK and beyond as the leader of the Scottish National Party and Scotland's First Minister, but relatively little is understood about Salmond as a human being, what makes him a Nationalist, what shaped his political views, and what sort of country he believes an independent Scotland can be.
In this first biography, with which close colleagues and friends have co-operated, the acclaimed political biographer David Torrance turns his attention to perhaps one of the most capable and interesting politicians Scotland has produced in the last few decades. Utilising a raft of published and unpublished material, Torrance charts the life and career of Alex Salmond from his schooldays, his political activism at St Andrews University, his early career at the Royal Bank of Scotland, his election as the MP for Banff and Buchan and, in greater depth than ever before, his two spells as leader of the SNP and, from 2007, as First Minister of Scotland.
(http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Salmond-Against-the-Odds.html)

Wanner, Len, *Tartan Noir: the Definitive Guide to Scottish Crime Fiction,* Glasgow: Freight Books 2015 (paperback £8.99)
A comprehensive and fascinating guide to the worldwide crime fiction phenomenon known as Tartan Noir covering all its major authors.

(http://freightbooks.co.uk/tartan-noir-the-essential-guide-to-scottish-crime-fiction.html)

Wilson, Scott, *The Native Woodlands of Scotland. Ecology, Conservation and Management,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £90.00, paperback £29.99)
This authoritative textbook provides a convenient single source of up-to-date information about the fascinating native woodland habitats of Scotland, putting these into their wider British, European and global contexts.
It draws upon professional experience of scientific research, survey and management, where the author has studied many important native woodlands in Scotland and beyond. It helps readers understand and value these irreplaceable habitats, at a time when they are required to produce a growing range of services to Scotland's people, while facing threats from climate change, pests and diseases. Following a contextual introduction and history four chapters deal with individual Scottish native woodland types – pinewoods, oak/ birch woodlands, ash woodlands and wet woodlands, along with minor types such as juniper, hazel, aspen and elm. Three chapters deal with actions for native woodland – conservation management, woodland creation and inter-linkages with plantations. A shorter chapter looks to the future, followed by a comprehensive gazetteer of native woodland sites to visit.
Whether a student, a private woodland owner, a professional forester or interested in woodlands as a rambler or amateur naturalist, this attractive book provides the information you need in one convenient volume.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748692842)

Wold, Atle, *Scotland and the French Revolutionary War, 1792-1802,* Edinburgh: EUP 2015 (hardback £55.00)
This book charts the Scottish contribution to, both the war effort of the 1790s, and the British government's struggles to defeat political radicalism at home; lasting from the first outbreak of political disturbances in Scotland in 1792, until the French revolutionary war came to an end in 1802. In this, the Scots made their very distinct mark in terms of recruitment for armed service, demonstrations of loyalty, and prosecutions against political radicals in the law courts but, perhaps less so, in terms of their financial contributions . The government of Scotland was further integrated into the British state in a structural sense over the course of the decade, yet retained many distinctly Scottish features none the less and – on the whole – the 1790s comes across as a time when the Scots found little difficulty in seeing themselves as both British and Scottish.
(http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9781474403313)

Additional entry from June 2014
Tankard, Paul (ed.), *Facts and Inventions. Selections from the Journalism of James Boswell,* New Haven: Yale University Press 2014 (hardback $115.00)
James Boswell (1740–1795), best known as the biographer of Samuel Johnson, was also a lawyer, journalist, diarist, and an insightful chronicler of a pivotal epoch in Western history. This fascinating collection, edited by Paul Tankard, presents a generous and varied selection of Boswell's journalistic writings, most of which have not been published since the eighteenth century. It offers a new angle on the history of journalism, an idiosyncratic view of literature, politics, and public life in late eighteenth-century Britain, and an original perspective on a complex and engaging literary personality.
(http://www.yalebooks.com/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=9780300141269)

* The Association for Scottish Literary Studies

Book Reviews

Silver, Christopher, *Demanding Democracy: The Case for a Scottish Media*, Edinburgh: Word Power Books 2015 (202 pp., £11.99 paperback) (available directly from Word Power Books http://www.word-power.co.uk/books/demanding-democracy-I9780992739287/)
Media have been an important part of Christopher Silver's life, and he has always connected them with his intention to improve human society and democracy.[1] His book comes out at a very appropriate time, and his objectives are extremely laudable and deserve everybody's support. There has been a long, on-going discussion about Scottish media with a number of intriguing texts, intelligent analyses, and invigorating comments.[2] The 2014 referendum revealed how one-sided the media in Scotland are and that changes are absolutely necessary. In his introduction, Silver quotes Alex Salmond pointing out that of the more than 20 newspapers available in Scotland none supported independence. Now there is one, the *National*, but its survival is not at all certain.

The book has an introduction and seven chapters, of which the last one is also called "Conclusion" in the table of contents in my preliminary version of the text, which Silver kindly gave me to read, but this word is missing at the beginning of chapter seven which is simply called "Towards a Scottish Media". And this is not really the final chapter, as the book ends with "25 Ideas to Reboot Scotland's Media". I hope the final version will have abolished shortcomings like this, and I will, therefore, not mention similar cases or misprints. The page numbers used here refer to the version I could use and will definitely be different in the published book.

In the introduction, the enormous rise and public support of the SNP is the starting point for Silver, showing how the new media have helped bypass the negative attitudes of the majority of traditional media, e.g. in the First Minister's use of Twitter and the Glasgow SSE Hydro Arena event of the SNP meeting on 22-11-14. The old media failed to "grasp the broad character of Yes as a social movement" (8), and this movement, "marked out by its distinctly non-establishment character" (9), has resulted in the "desire for continued agency" (8) that is visible everywhere in Scotland, especially in connection with the media, but not yet on all levels of politics. Silver intends to describe the situation of Scotland "stepping out from the old and into a new kind of media space with confidence", to show "starting points" and raise "key questions". He is sure that there will not be single solutions, understands his book "as a provocation" (10), beginning with his "strong personal desire to explore the problems that Scotland's media faces" in depth and with much consideration. One feels the author's passion, which is shared by many, this reviewer included, and one instantly has one reason for the fact

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[1] Cf. his current blog "Democracy or Deferral? The SNP's Reluctant Radicalism" at his homepage http://www.christophersilver.co.uk/, where other texts by him are also available.

[2] Only a few texts can be mentioned here: Dinan, William / David Millar / Philip Schlesinger, *Open Scotland? Journalists, Spin Doctors and Lobbyists*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press 2001 as well as McNair, Brian / Matthew Hibberd / Philip Schlesinger, *Mediated Access: Broadcasting and Democratic Participation in the Age of Mediated Politics*, Luton: University of Luton Press 2003, are good starting points, revealing the extent of the discussion. The same applies to Blain, Neil / David Hutchison (eds.), *The Media in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press 2008. These editors together with Gerry Hassan have produced *Scotland's Referendum and the Media. National and International Perspectives*, which will be published next March. There were also the *Scotsman*'s 'Future of the Media in Scotland' event in April 2013 (report on it at http://edition.pagesuite-professional.co.uk/Launch.aspx?EID=e6a1d288-556f-4353-acd3-8f6e2ad7d44c) and many ideas about "Media under Indy" (such as by Pat Kane http://de.slideshare.net/theplayethic/media-under-indy). Angela Haggerty, the editor of Common Space, says "New Media, New Scotland: Indyref was only the catalyst for a shake-up of Scottish journalism – it's time for the next chapter", *Bella Caledonia* 17-6-15; and Robin McAlpine claims "The time is now for Scotland's new media to flourish". Outside the Scottish context, McChesney, Robert W., *Digital Disconnect: How Capitalism is Turning the Internet Against Democracy*, New York: New Press 2013, also wants to give people more freedom, choice, and the ability to select media they trust, but points out severe dangers, too.

that many things are often repeated and not always rationally or convincingly presented. Silver's starting point, however, is clear: "Scotland lacks the media structures required of a modern nation", and "this chronic marginality" could be used as "a space to innovate." (11)

The "Democratic Deficit" of chapter 1 begins with the surplus of democracy in the referendum campaigns, which is then contrasted with the absolute lack of "democratic structures or constitutional obligations" in the UK press, whose owners think that everything should be left to the market. In Scotland, there is the "secretive DC Thomson stable", the owners of *The National* and *The Herald*, but "no national newspaper […] owned in Scotland." Plurality is "sorely lacking". Richard Walker's motive in having the *Sunday Herald* and the *National* support independence "was not nationalism, but fairness." Silver shares this opinion and says that a plurality of political positions and opinions "is, quite simply, a question of democracy." (12)

He then describes the mass proliferation of media, the problems of journalism and the creation of 'news', the connections with various industries, internet giants, advertisers etc. His intention is again clear: "to make information more accessible and to liberate the interpretation of it from the straightjacket of private, commercial funding models that are crumbling around us." (14) The decline of BBC Radio Scotland, and the narrowing down of public debate to the Scottish Parliament are pointed out. Silver quotes a number of sources supporting his statements, e.g. Chomsky and Herman's views from their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (London 1994), in order to show why "the structures that underpin the media are so important". (20) This significant point is then repeated in his remarks about Peter Oborne leaving the *Daily Telegraph* because of its commercial links to HSBC influencing the contents of its articles.

The public's response to these developments is described, their alienation and distrust, turning them away from such media. Unpaid internships and "restricted opportunities for aspiring journalists" are correctly seen as existing alongside "the increasingly problematic development of a professional caste of public relations experts and media managers, who work to constrain and direct media narratives." (24) Contemporary phenomena like "pre-packaged content", "[d]isparagingly referred to as 'churnalism'", but making up "60% of press articles and 34% of broadcast stories" (24), or "'clickbait' stories" (21, 29), and similarly important characteristics of our media are also dealt with. With Nick Davies' *Flat Earth News* (London 2009), Silver describes "a tendency to 'recycle ignorance'" in news factories, where there is neither the time nor the willingness to seriously "investigate, chase a story, or find genuine scoops". (24f) One gets quite a few important background stories in this way, and Silver appropriately quotes Jon Snow pointing out that the new digital technology has made us "'neglect the human.'"[3]

Chapter 1 ends with hope in public funding as something "divorced from any form of political interference, through explicit commitments to independence, public interest and publishing under open licence." (28) Equal hope is connected with magazines "promoting 'slow journalism'" and offering an "immersive, reflective experience" of high quality in print with both a global perspective and "'intelligent local content'".[4] Quality and variety are everywhere on the decline, "local press in Scotland […] is increasingly drab and devoid of life. Perhaps a revival of Scottish journalism […] could start at a local level." Press funding in Sweden, Norway and Denmark is seen as a good example, and with "titles like the Dundee *Courier* and Aberdeen's *Press and Journal* now outselling the *Scotsman* and the *Herald*, this kind of strategy to support journalism could also be inherently sustainable." (29)

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[3] (28), quoting from Snow, "Nothing Beats the Reporter on the Spot", *Guardian* 21-11-05, and referring to "Watch Jon Snow thank Margaret Thatcher in BAFTA Fellowship speech", *Digital Spy* 11-5-15.

[4] (29), with Alex MacLeod speaking of his magazine project *Grapevine*, to be distributed 12 times a year across the Highlands and Moray, 2 issues have been published, but it is all still under construction (cf. http://grapevine.scot/).

Chapter 2, "Ten Days to Save Britain", wants to reveal the scale of the structural problem in Scottish media by showing how the 2014 referendum was covered: "While much of the Yes campaign was organised at a community level, it was overwhelmingly outgunned in terms of prominent establishment organisations who were prepared to use their leverage to develop a pro-union narrative that could be packaged and re-presented by the media." (31) The David Hume Institute, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the Confederation of British Industry are mentioned as such organisations which have been "'very good at organising the British establishment in Scotland'", and most of the newspapers "'are doing much the same thing'".[5] There is a pernicious status quo consensus among the middle-class journalists of the mainstream media. The BBC also failed completely in noticing that the referendum was not "'a competition between politicians'", and they, therefore, "'took a party political view'" of it, which "'wasn't the campaign we were running.'"[6] This is an important additional point in the long list of reasons why the BBC has blatantly been against independence.[7] All supporters of independence were identified with the SNP, political issues became personality problems, peaceful demonstrations were either ignored or "portrayed as an inherently violent activity" etc. (36) Social media can help to reveal and ridicule such undertakings, though, thus offering a sign of hope.

Pierre Bourdieu's 1996 descriptions of media people's fear of being boring and therefore opting "'for confrontations over debates, prefer[ring] polemics over rigorous argument'" and doing "'whatever they can to promote conflict'" are repeated, because all of this was also found in the referendum coverage, and Silver gives many examples. The "eight universal news values", identified by John Galtung and Marie Ruge in 1973, are still relevant and have led to the fact that Scotland hardly ever appears in the news, unless in connection with disasters.[8] This "prevalence of negative stories about Scotland" was and has been the case "before, during, and after the referendum". (41) One more reason is thus provided to explain why "Better Together's now notorious 'Project Fear'" (42) was very influential, and George Gerbner's strong points about "'television-cultivated insecurity'" perfectly explain what happened.[9]

The strong effects of the prediction by the YouGov poll on 7-9-14 that Yes might get 51% of the votes are then described as strengthening the activities of the No supporters and the dominant media, bringing about an "increasingly frenetic coverage". (45) Silver gives many typical examples, but one wonders whether it is really as surprising as he thinks in his conclusion to chapter 2 that there was an enormous "lack of self-awareness among the press pack in Scotland as to how narrow the role of Scottish journalism had become." (47) Silver uses historical perspectives, but here he seems to be unaware of the long tradition of this lack of self-awareness or complete indifference. In Germany, the opinion expressed by Paul Sethe (1901-1967), a journalist who worked for *Spiegel*, *Zeit*, *Welt* etc., is frequently quoted whenever the freedom of the press is discussed: 'the freedom of the press is the freedom of

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[5] (31), quoting "Robin McAlpine, a former journalist and now director of left-wing 'think and do' tank, Common Weal".

[6] (34), quoting Blair Jenkins, the Yes Scotland chief executive.

[7] The BBC's bias is discussed by Jana Schmick in connection with John Robertson's book in this issue of the *Scottish Studies Newsletter*, my editorial on "The Importance of 2014" in *Newsletter* 43 offers further examples. Silver also mentions David Edwards / David Cromwell, "BBC's Iraq coverage – biased or balanced?", *Talk About Newsnight* 19-3-07, who find no balance either. Robin Aitken's answer to his *Can We Trust the BBC?* (London: Continuum 2008) is a clear 'no'.

[8] (40), referring to Galtung / Ruge, "Structuring and Selecting News", in: Stanley Cohen / Jock Young (eds.), *The Manufacture of News: a Reader*, London: Constable 1973. Bourdieu, *On Television*, New York: New Press 1998 (the publication of the 1996 paper, pdf).

[9] (43), quoting Gerbner, "Reclaiming Our Cultural Mythology: Television's Global Marketing Strategy Creates a Damaging and Alienated Window on the World", *Context* 38, 1994.

200 rich people expressing their opinions. They'll always find journalists who share these opinions.'[10]

Silver is very good in his description of the blatant irony connected with the "'banal nationalism'" of the UK media deriding Scots in favour of independence as stupid nationalists, but apparently unaware of, or perhaps even indifferent to, the fact that these media themselves sent out "a blood and soil appeal to British identity" in their efforts to preserve the union. The UK media thus had (and still have) all well-known negative elements of nationalism and absolutely nothing to do with the "civic, reformist nationalism prevalent among the Yes movement". (48) The chapter ends with Silver's hope for "better journalism" and a repetition of Richard Walker's statement that "'Scotland's media should reflect the diversity of opinion within the country […and] not speak with one voice.'" (48f)

Walker's position should have convinced every Scot. His article finishes with these words: "Scots have never been afraid to astonish the world. A small country has made a habit of producing big thinkers. The Sunday Herald says that it is time to think big once again. And to think for ourselves."[11] Five months before the Referendum, Walker in this way repeated the challenge that had already been expressed by Immanuel Kant with just two Latin words, his epistemological imperative: "Sapere aude!", i.e. 'Be audacious enough to know and think for yourself' rather than repeat what others want you to know and think. This, Kant said, is the meaning of the Enlightenment.[12] This we still have not yet achieved, just as the objectives of the French revolution have not yet become reality: freedom, equality, and fraternity (= charity). We still need to fight for improving human lives, and Christopher Silver is strongly involved in this endeavour.

Chapter 3, "Broadcasting Britain", points out how British broadcasting evidently maintains the identity of listeners and spectators and also in this way "'safeguards the entire system itself'".[13] The BBC preserves its strong links with London, Scotland is still a region for them, and there is nothing new, nor any creativity in Scotland itself. (54f) "BBC Scotland simply lacks the clout or resources to function as a national broadcaster" (55), and Scottish voices are often not allowed to be heard. (56f) Many striking examples from 1932 onwards are given in the rest of the chapter, together with statements about the "steady dripping away of resources and staff" at BBC Scotland. (62) The result is a "toxic combination of declining resources, a decreasing emphasis on quality news and current affairs, and a general failure to respond to wider changes in contemporary Scotland." Silver repeats the "need for structural change" (70) and demands "the political will" to bring it about. (72)

Chapter 4 makes "The Cultural Case", mentions the multitude of well-known Scottish artists, but also the fact that there is "a dearth of opportunity" for them in Scotland, again because of both "a lack of funding and political will". (74) Producers usually just accept "'the two staples of Scottish fiction, miserablism and the kailyard'", or simply "'tartanry'".[14] Creative Scotland has a much smaller budget than what is available in Northern Ireland or Wales. (80) Silver emphasises the importance of culture, the "'soft power'", to transform Scotland, but can come up only with "time, patience and money" as solutions (85) as well as

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[10] My translation of Sethe in *Spiegel* 5-5-65, 18. What Sethe describes is a worldwide problem actually getting worse, as this website shows (http://radicalroyalist.blogspot.de/2008_08_01_archive.html), which reduces the number in Australia to just 20 people. For the popularity and truth of Sethe's statement, cf. http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/paul-sethexliii-der-seher-1.417226.

[11] Walker (the editor of the *Sunday Herald*), "The Sunday Herald's view: the prize for Yes is a better country… it is as simple as that", *Sunday Herald* 4-5-14.

[12] Kant, "Was ist Aufklärung?" (1784) (text at http://www.uni-potsdam.de/u/philosophie/texte/kant/aufklaer.htm; or in 'Project Gutenberg').

[13] (52), quoting Tony Ageh, the Controller of BBC Internet (without giving a source).

[14] (76f), first quoting Eleanor Yule / David Manderson, *The Glass Half Full: Moving Beyond Scottish Miserablism*, Edinburgh: Luath 2014, 68f, then Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, London: Verso 1981, 150.

his support of the "'Cultural Affirmation' put forward in May 2015 by Traditional Arts and Culture Scotland". Indeed: "it is time we resolved to make a claim for it". (86)

Chapter 5, "Being Thought Independent", begins with "the high-esteem in which the Scottish press was once held", but which now no longer exists, and it uses the *Scotsman* as an example of this development (87), before describing the history of Scotland's press. Silver's point in speaking about Gutenberg and the first printing press in Scotland in 1508 is to show how printing "extended the reach of political rhetoric and the oral debate to the wider populace". (91) Printing created the "'public sphere'" Habermas defines as "'a sphere in which state authority was publicly monitored through informed and critical discourse by the people.'"[15] This is so important in the history of media and democracy that Silver's reminding us of it here is to be applauded. It is then a pity that Silver does not directly say that this sphere was not only "deliberately restricted by a range of taxes from 1712 onwards" (92) but is seriously threatened today, not only in printing and TV but also in the new media.[16] He prefers to go on in his history, speaking about "what Benedict Anderson terms 'print-capitalism' in the nineteenth century", the "abolition of stamp-duty on newspapers in 1855", and praises the fact "that print culture was relatively autonomous in Scotland" at that time.[17] This then leads him only to repeating an earlier statement, namely that "the production and distribution of a newspaper is […] a daily nation-making process" (96), and the warning that the strong tradition "risks being lost for good." (99) What one would have liked to hear more of by now is how Silver thinks the bad situation today can be improved.

He continues with the facts that "between 1992 and 2011 circulation of all of Scotland's morning dailies declined drastically" and "English based titles in Scotland rose by 47%", that the *Scotsman* "began to attack its own base" when Andrew Neil took over in 1996, abandoning its good traditions, and chasing "'after an audience that was never going to buy the paper'", namely "'a kind of 18-30, female, *Daily Mail* reader'". Neil evidently disregarded completely the *Scotsman*'s traditional readership and the evident fact that the intended audience was "'already very well served, by the *Daily Mail*'".[18] All this is important because Neil now is in charge of the influential BBC programme 'Daily Politics'. The history of decline continues with Johnstone Press buying the *Scotsman* in 2005, things getting worse after the financial crash of 2008, and the internet taking over much of newspaper contents and further reducing revenue as well as staff: "these rapid developments may perversely spell the end of national newspapers in Scotland". (104)

Chapter 6 deals with "Spaces of Autonomy" which Silver finds with Manuel Castells in "'the Internet social networks'".[19] Even though their autonomy is highly questionable in the context of data control, they have indeed offered important spaces for communication and togetherness, a "strong online sub-culture, a network of hope", containing "a whole raft of activity", and above all providing a space for alternatives "to mainstream media narratives". (112f)

Silver makes these totally justified claims and then asks "if this vast ephemera generating machine can actually organise and turn itself into a kind of alternative media service." (114) That is a bit odd. Has he not just said that this is what has happened? And is it not evident that

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[15] (92), quoting Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, New York: Wiley 2015, xi.

[16] Just cf. Jaron Lanier, *Who Owns the Future?*, London: Allen Lane 2013, and Evgeny Morozov's excellent books *The Net Delusion. The Dark Side of the Internet*, New York: Public Affairs 2012, and *To Save Everything, Click Here: Technology, Solutionism, and the Urge to Fix Problems that Don't Exist: How the Pursuit of Transparency, Efficiency, and Connectedness Threatens Our Freedom*, London: Allen Lane 2013.

[17] (93f), quoting Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso 2006, 26.

[18] (100f), quoting Stewart Kirkpatrick, the editor of scotsman.com from 200-7 and Yes Scotland's Head of Digital (unfortunately without a source).

[19] (109), quoting Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2012, 2.

the media are there, but that everything once again simply depends on what human beings make of them? His point then is that political blogging in Scotland was an individual undertaking, such as "*Scot Goes Pop* (James Kelly) *Lallands Peat Worrier* (Andrew Tickell), *Moridura* (Peter Curran) *Thoughtland* (Pat Kane) and Mike Small and Kevin Williamson's *Bella Caledonia*, which first appeared in November 2007. The first attempt at a comprehensive 'news and views' site came with the launch of *Newsnet Scotland* in March 2010. *Better Nation*, setting out to offer a mix of views, launched in September 2010. […] *Wings Over Scotland* was founded in 2011". (114)

I must admit I do not really get Silver's point here and what for him the difference is between sites run by individuals and the others, especially as these are also connected with individuals by him. The controversy he mentions between James Mackenzie, one of the founders of 'Better Nation', and Stuart Campbell, who was blocked from commenting on his own article there, also does not elucidate anything, not even that Campbell founded 'Wings Over Scotland'. Campbell's site is quite successful, ranking at number 3 in a poll, "'after BBC and STV, as the website that respondents visited 'at least once a week specifically for political content'", and in financing itself through crowdfunding.[20]

Silver also mentions 'The Ferret', "a collective of freelance investigative journalists launched in 2015", using crowdfunding, in order to "pursue the aim of 'nosing up the trouser leg of power'."[21] They are not yet on the web, though, whereas 'Common Space', launched by Common Weal, has been very active and can only be highly recommended. 'Newsnet Scotland' and 'Bella Caledonia' are also always worth a visit, and Silver finishes by mentioning *aPolitical*, *Left Scotland*, *Independence Live* with their livestream site https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive, a blog http://blog.independencelive.net/, and on YouTube https://www.youtube.com/user/IndependenceLive), *A Thousand Flowers*, and the "Green oriented *Post* [http://postmag.org/ …] a model of a Creative Commons focused media collective, with several print offerings emerging since it launched in 2013."[22] He could also have mentioned the 'Scottish Left Project'; 'Democratic Left Scotland'; 'Rise – Scotland's Left Alliance', or many other sites trying to offer alternatives to mainstream media. We try to mention all of them in our 'Scottish Studies Weblinks', but need your help to complete this list.

Silver then addresses the highly significant phenomenon of 'citizen journalism': ordinary people becoming witnesses of events which they then describe on Twitter, pass on in photos, videos etc. At first, a good thing, but also often turned into "'cheap labour'" for the benefit of multinationals and the detriment of professional journalists.[23] Silver just passes on the opinions of others on this matter and does not seem to have one of his own. But then he clearly supports the idea that journalism "will become increasingly collaborative" and praises 'Wings Over Scotland' and "the active, discursive community that is drawn to it." (118) He repeats the overall praise of the converging media and its "*participatory culture*", typically expressed by Henry Jenkins and many others in connection with the new media, but he neither refers to this tradition, nor does he convincingly combine it with the criticism that has always been connected with it and that he actually mentions himself, e.g. with Witschge or Raymond Williams.[24] He naively thinks that "consumer needs are [now] met with increasing accuracy via search engines and the capture of online data" and that Williams's analysis is,

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[20] (115), referring to http://wingsoverscotland.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/europepoll.jpg, which, however, is not the correct site.

[21] (115), quoting Mădălina Ciobanu, "How The Ferret Will 'nose up the trousers of power'", *journalism.co.uk* 29-5-15.

[22] (116), unfortunately without the links.

[23] (117), quoting Tamara Witschge, "Street journalists versus 'ailing journalists?", *Open Democracy* 27-3-09.

[24] The quotation is from Jenkins, *Convergence Culture. Where Old and New Media Collide*, New York: NY Univ. Press 2008, 3. Another example among many others is Burgess, Jean / Joshua Green, *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2009.

therefore, "rendered obsolete." (120) This leaves out completely how needs are actually generated, then, perhaps, dubiously satisfied, reveals a very surprising trust in search engines, and appears to suggest that a key sentence by Williams, quoted by Silver himself, is no longer valid, namely that "'[y]ou do not only buy an object: you buy social respect, discrimination, health, beauty, success, power to control your environment.'"[25] This is just another passage where Silver's descriptions are confusing and not sufficiently reflected upon. He then sort of concludes that "the current mix of commercial interests, large multinationals who have largely monopolised online revenue does not seem to offer much in the way of comfort".

This is more or less where he started. He also repeats his high expectations of journalists and the need to pay for their labour. Then a common statement about Scotland as a country that "has been a deferential society of loyal tribes for much of its existence" is expressed. "All of that changed", however, Silver says, through the social media. Can "a fully fledged alternative news service [-] be sustained in Scotland" on this basis? For him, this is the "real challenge". (121)

His final "Conclusion" on the next page then says that "the real challenge that the information age has brought with it is a greater need for journalists – those who sift through vast swathes of information and re-present it to a wider audience […] with skill and professionalism". (122) It is evident that the two challenges are not at all identical, and such weaknesses in thinking, expressing, and combining ideas are a bit too frequent in this book. Silver also repeats opinions expressed by others too often without relating them to the issue discussed and without any critical comments or evaluations by himself. Joshua Meyrowitz's comparison of "'our 'Information Age'"" with "'the most egalitarian'" "'hunting and gathering societies'" is so evidently totally wrong that it's description as "optimistic" is no justification at all for putting the long quote into this text.[26] One could go on and point out that Meyrowitz's claim "No Sense of Place" again makes no sense at all in the Scottish context of the referendum and its aftermath, but that is not really worth doing. The conclusion is actually not the proper place for repeating the wishes and demands with which the book already began, namely to have renewed media "defined by quality *and* diversity", with "genuine dialogue and innovation", "to start thinking of media diversity as a citizenship right, as a basic tenet for democratic participation" and so on. (124) All of Silver's readers will agree with this, have actually heard this before, and would have liked to get some new ideas of how this can be brought about, rather than a restatement of what has already been done and said.

The penultimate chapter 7 (but not numbered in the table of contents, called "Conclusion" there), "Towards a Scottish Media", repeats the singular article 'a' which I do not like, as I want Scottish media to be diversified, a plurality of them, offering and standing for pluralism, which in theory Silver also wants but once more does not express in appropriate terms. He then quotes a 1980s text which already stated what he, too, still desires and what indeed has not yet been achieved, not in Scotland, nor anywhere else. A good text indeed, the Unesco's *Many Voices One World* published in Paris and, as Silver with much justification points out, "slammed by the UK", which indeed, as he continues, in the European context "is an exception in refusing to maintain basic constitutional or democratic oversight over its press in terms of ownership." (126f) Yes, the fight is a very old one, it is in fact perennial, and more vital now than ever before, as too many people today have the illusion of having free media at their disposal, I say, not Silver. But one must agree with him demanding that the creation of new Scottish media has to be done "with as much self-awareness, as much collective memory, as much knowledge and as much insight as we can carry with us." (128) Indeed, 'sapere aude' is still vital.

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[25] (120), quoting from Williams, *Culture and Materialism*, London: Verso 2005, 211.
[26] (123), quoting Meyrowitz, "No Sense of Place", in: Hugh Mackay / Tim O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Media Reader: Continuity and Transformation*, London: Sage 1999, 106.

He then finishes with "25 Ideas to Reboot Scotland's Media" on the last four pages of the book (hopefully also mentioned in its table of contents), ideas which require "a radical reorganisation of political priorities in Scotland to place media and culture at the forefront of Scotland's continuing democratic adventure." (129) Silver begins with: "A Charter of Media Rights is drawn up which will serve […] to state levels of provision and access across all media channels." (129) I assume he means 'is to be drawn up' rather than making reference to the 'European Charter on the Freedom of the Press' written by 49 top journalists and handed over to the European Commission in 2009. Important points are addressed there, and the international relevance of what Silver discusses is made evident again.[27] He then wants the BBC Charter to "adopt a federal structure", and BBC Scotland to begin "an open, decentralised and creatively led commissioning process for original programming in Scotland" that reflects "life all across the country, not just Glasgow and the central belt." (129f) A New Media Trust is to be set up as well as an independent film agency for Scotland and a Scottish film studio. The Scottish Parliament should control broadcasting but devolve this function to an external body. As in Canada, a certain amount of "prime time programming must originate in Scotland" with an "in-built commitment to quality and variety." (130) Silver's ideas are really good, convincing, often adapting things already executed elsewhere, and certainly worth considering in detail. Bringing superfast broadband into remote areas is an international problem as well as setting up graduate places in the media for people leaving universities, offering "community media education", promoting and funding "socially productive" online and local media.

These 25 ideas are not revolutionary but worth considering and of general value, even though some are more wishful thinking than others, such as "Scotland becomes a leading centre for media innovation". (132) They all are good starting points for "a far wider set of conversations" that Silver hopes to enhance with his book. He passes on information to everybody not very familiar with the current media discussions in Scotland. Even though Silver's position becomes visible fairly quickly, the individual chapters often lack a clear focus and a sound logical or simply convincing order. There is much repetition and circularity of argument. The main points are that Scotland urgently needs at least one strong national medium, that the current mainstream media give no voice to the variety of opinions that exist but support the establishment and the status quo, and that the new media offer alternatives to the predominant one-sidedness in Scottish media. The book will, therefore, strongly appeal to readers who also want more quality, diversity, freedom, and support of democracy in our media.

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[27] Cf. http://www.pressfreedom.eu/de/index.php and also the 'Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU' of 2012 as well as Shalailah Medhora, "Peter Greste calls for a European charter of media freedoms", *Guardian* 26-3-15.

Common Weal, *A Book of Ideas. 2016 – 21*, **Glasgow: Common Print 2015 (152 pp., £8 paper and £0.01 Ebook)** (available directly at http://allofusfirst.bigcartel.com/)

"This book is based on Common Weal policy papers which can be found at allofusfirst.org/library (and some yet to be published papers)."[1] That is why there are no authors mentioned in the bibliographical information. The book thus is an excellent example of what Common Weal stands for: good work done for the public by the public. The focus is on the government winning the Scottish election in May 2016 and what it could do "to create an 'all of us first' society?" "Part One of the book asks what we need to achieve to create that better Scotland. Part Two asks what we can do to make sure we achieve it." The book is neither a manifesto nor a programme for government, just "a 'pool' of ideas from which political parties can fish". Readers are invited to disagree and make better suggestions for a better Scotland. Further key objectives are "to end the excuse that we can't do things differently in Scotland; that we don't have the power to change things", and to leave readers "inspired to believe that a different, better Scotland is within our reach."

So what is needed, in order to create a better Scotland? The title of chapter one in part one expresses this directly: "Putting all of us first". This is indeed Common Weal's stance in opposition to the "me-first world" we live in, the world supported by the majority of business, media, and politics. The world that encourages "[p]rofiteering, competition, elitism, greed, anger, blame and mistrust." (1) More and more people all over the world now want something better. And this book expresses what many people have begun to believe, and what I too, have repeatedly stated: "Nowhere has a better chance to build that new society than Scotland does now."[2] The many restrictions the next government will face are not neglected, but much can definitely be done. Especially as "the people who live and work in Scotland really do want a different way of running society." One can only agree with this evaluation: "A lazy, self-interested, sterile politics which spoke the language of me-first has been punished. A new politics which has spoken the language of all of us first has been rewarded. Now it must deliver." (2)

The chapter then goes on to explain the benefits of an economy based on mutuality in contrast to the one that we have, which is interested in short term profits, not long-term investments, produces more and more low-pay jobs, poorer-quality public services etc. (3ff) In contrast to this, the mutual economy is characterised by "strong industrial democracy with widespread trade union membership and collective bargaining" and creates "strong, cohesive communities and high levels of public trust – in each other and in all the layers of government." (6) There are clearly elements of old Labour ideas here, and one might wonder why trade union membership and collective bargaining would still be needed in this new economy. These are critical points that need to be checked for their viability in the new society, and especially also for convincing people who are basically not in support of such ideas, or simply such words. I think common sense terms and descriptions emphasising the mutual benefits of what is intended might be more effective. This is after all an undertaking based indeed on the common weal, on an excellent humanist tradition where a strong change in many people's thinking, speaking, and acting is required. "The will is there", this text says

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[1] The first quotes are from the beginning of the book in which pagination starts only after the introduction, the table of contents, and the "Key Ideas". Most of what is said on these early pages is also on the web.

[2] (2). Cf. Müller, 'Scotland's Cultural Identity and Standing' – A Perennial Topic with an Enormous Scope and Numerous Significant Contexts", in: Klaus Peter Müller / Bernhard Reitz / Sigrid Rieuwerts (eds.), *Scotland's Cultural Standing and Identity*, Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag 2013, 1-11; "Scotland 2014 and Beyond – Key Contexts of Innocence and Maturity: Scotland, the UK, the EU, the Global & Digital Worlds", in: Müller (ed.), *Scotland 2014 and Beyond – Coming of Age and Loss of Innocence?*, Frankfurt: Lang 2015, 11-42; or my evaluation of the referendum result "What an Achievement! Now Change is Due – Fast and Essential Change, or: Let's Support a Common Weal Scotland", *Scottish Studies Newsletter* 44, October 2014, 26-34.

(6), but one certainly also needs to convince as many as possible of those not yet ready to move in this direction.

The ideas proposed in this book are not abstract or wishful thinking, they can be put into practice by a devolved Scottish government, and "everything is based on successful models which have worked in other places." (6) The infrastructure must be provided, where basic elements are a "National Investment Bank and a reliable local municipal banking sector". "Scotland's shocking centralisation" must be changed "by putting in place powerful community politics and by giving citizens much more direct say in how democracy works." This is an excellent idea, and the book later also says how exactly this can be done. There must indeed be "much more direct control over areas of essential national wellbeing such as transport, food, energy, banking, and housing." (7)

Many good ideas about equality and fighting against poverty are put forward here. There are also traditional objectives concerning housing, town planning, and so on, but always with the special focus on involving people "in shaping their own communities" and in localising economies. Unfortunately, the book does not offer any "detailed implementation plans" (9), which is a pity, as good ideas have been proposed too often in human history and never become reality. If two or three of such plans had been included, these excellent ideas would be much more convincing. This must be seen in a much larger context: the emphasis on communities, local economies etc. is very important and must be expanded. It is, therefore, politically essential to find support for these ideas on a large scale and convince all those people who have learned very different ways of organising business, societies, and politics.

That these people dominate in England was revealed in the last general election and is exhibited every week at Prime Minister's Question Time (PMQ). Ed Miliband always cut a deplorably poor figure there, and Jeremy Corbyn is unfortunately not any more convincing. One can acknowledge that he is honest and means well, but what is totally missing are thrillingly new ideas and concrete plans how to put them into practice without running into debt again and without repeating old Labour concepts. Corbyn's understanding of Scotland is evidently very poor, but he will eventually see that a strong cooperation with the SNP is the only chance Labour has.

In precisely this context, the Common Weal should, with the help of the many intelligent people involved, develop detailed strategies of not only making their ideas known but also and more importantly showing in great detail and with many examples how they can be put into practice. These ideas, plans, and strategies must convince common people but above all the dominant parties. Without parties, the ideas will not become reality. They require both MSPs and MPs. Which is why I hope the Common Weal will work on and have more people develop political and business strategies that can be adopted by parties in opposition to the conservative government. Otherwise we will continue to have SNP MPs addressing mainly local problems in PMQs, and Labour MPs who are ridiculously easily made to look like yesterday's people or who continue to be silenced by Cameron simply enumerating business figures. This must be stopped, or there will be no change. It must be stopped not because of PMQs, which most people do not watch anyway, but because only in this way, by politicians and everybody else adopting these ideas together with concrete plans and strategies, people's thinking and behaviour can be changed sufficiently for changing and improving the lives of everybody.

"12 tasks which lie ahead" are presented in chapter 2, beginning with "a design-driven future", i.e. a future carefully planned rather than the result of "uncoordinated actions by wealthy individuals". (11) The other tasks are economic and social equality, social security, common control and control of the commons, building a common economy and a common infrastructure, prioritising strength and stability, promoting good health, design for life, and finally recognising common decency. These tasks are all linked to the Common Weal's basic ideas that the "Society is the boss, not the economy" (14) and that we all "must take common

control over our society and redesign it not for someone else's profit but for the quality of our own lives." (16)

"[T]en sets of tools" with which to tackle these tasks are then discussed: "democracy tools [...] to enable citizens to shape the common decisions which are made on their behalf by all layers of government and their agencies." (16) Makes sense, but it then becomes clear that what is meant here is far from reality, even though "[w]e now have all the tools we need to change that." (17) The same applies to the other sets: "decision-making tools", "thinking tools", "investment tools", "capacity tools", "education tools", "information tools", "community building tools", "equality tools", "measurement tools". (16-21) So we have the tools, what is now needed "is a programme of ideas for what actions will best get those tasks done. That is what the remainder of this book aims to do." (22)

"Defining the Commons", chap. 3, reminds people of what the commons has meant in theory and practice. As the space where individual interests "give way to community, the public, and the collective", "the commons has grown and shrunk" since 1945. (24) It includes the governments, the laws made for everybody as well as ideas and knowledge, big data, where "we should make sure that when Scotland legislates on 'digital rights', data management, and how it acts over intellectual property it creates virtuous, shared commons and not an exploitative, private realm in which only corporations benefit from data which should belong to us all." (27) This is just one point among many others where a vital problem is addressed in this book, a problem whose enormous dimensions become instantly evident in connection with the current TTIP negotiations. Simply the fact that not even all members of parliaments in Europe have been granted access to the details of these negotiations instantly reveals their dubiousness, and I can only agree with Common Weal again: "we have a complete right to know." We do not know in this and in thousands of other cases. Transparency does not yet exist, especially not in connection with vital questions (such as nuclear power, the media etc., see below). "The secret state remains very large and almost unmonitored". (27) Common Weal wants people to understand that "the commons is a space that is supposed to put 'all of us first', and "that we – citizens – own and govern that commons." It's about time we put this into practice.

Chapter 4, "To build more we must share more", again expresses one of Common Weal's key beliefs and is connected with a relevant section of society, the economy, understood as "a system of social provisioning." (33) Productivity must be improved, the right goals and approaches must be determined, not by governments, however, but by the people concerned, i.e. "enterprises, workers, researchers, educators, and others working together to devise the best possible plan". No economic sector should be left behind, and the interconnectedness of all businesses must be acknowledged. (39) A "'let them do as they please' approach will not only fail to achieve this, it will continue to push us in the opposite direction as smaller domestic supply chain companies are pushed out of business by global corporate competitors". (40) The key to such enterprises are the workers and mutual governance. Mutual governance "also plays a part in changing the ethos of the economy. Britain is plagued by 'entrepreneur porn' with television and the media fetishizing get-rich-quick schemes and flashy marketing approaches to building business." (40) Harsh, but totally justified language. Everybody who still watches British TV can only agree with this. That the BBC is in line with this trashy development should invite serious criticism of its officials, who evidently try to secure the BBC licence by adopting the policy of shallow entertainment and superficial, often one-sided information.

This chapter ends by pointing out that "[u]nfortunately, Scotland does not have anything like the powers it needs to achieve this [new economy] fully. Seeking to achieve this economy will have to take place against the use of macroeconomic, monetary, regulatory, pay, welfare, and industrial democracy powers which look certain to be driven in the opposite direction by

the UK Government." Much can be done nevertheless, though, and essentially connected to the vision described by Common Weal is "an industrial policy". (43)

Chapter 5, "Design for life", forces people to answer "one big question: How much of this [their lives] did you choose and how much of this 'just happened'?" Alternatives are mentioned, and then the book's and probably reality's answer is given: "How did you get here? How did we get here? In truth we didn't get here, we were brought here." (44) Brought here by a design for profit. The recent plans to develop George Square in Glasgow are just one example of many others, designed "not so people can enjoy it during their lunch hour, but so big commercial promotions can have maximum access and space". (45) The conclusion is this: "If we were designing for life we'd use our own minds to decide what was beautiful, what was worthwhile, what would make us happy, what would leave a legacy of dignity and respect. There is no wealth but life." (50)

In this way part one ends, and part two begins with the question "What Should We Do?". (51) There are six chapters in this part, the first one, chapter 6 in the entire book, is about "Building the commons" and covers "Tax", "Borrow to Invest", "National Mutual Companies", "Improving the public sector", "Digital Currency", "National Policy Academies", and "Indicate to Educate". Capitalisation (spelling, not finance) is not coherently done, but what is said here makes very much sense in all of these sub-chapters. The statements on tax should be appreciated even by those who generally do not like tax, as one basic idea is that "tax should be comprehensible and understood to be fair" (53), and tax is necessary, in order to "pay for common services and infrastructure", to "redistribute wealth across society", and to help "influence behaviour through creating both positive and negative incentives." (52) This is what tax has always been used for, but the necessary shift from a me-first to an all-of-us-first society will redirect focuses. The wider economic context is taken account of, which does not give Scotland any power "to tackle corporation tax avoidance, or to introduce new taxes" and so on. (54) Redistributing wealth through tax "in itself is a sign of failure." It is in fact unnecessary once there is better income distribution, i.e. "a high-wage, more equal economy", which would also "automatically increase Scottish tax revenue by £4 billion". (55)

But the problems abound, and many of them are mentioned that go beyond the dependence on Westminster and concern the lack of power in the Scottish communities, their tax dependence on Edinburgh etc. One aspect Scotland can deal with, however, which has, therefore, been widely discussed in Scottish media, and is also dealt with by Andrea Schlotthauer in this *Newsletter* is land, its possession and usage. Much of Scotland's land "is held as a speculative asset", and Common Weal wants "to encourage the value of land to be rebalanced closer to its economic value". (56) Their proposed tax package includes raising the top rate from 45p back to 50p again, and a substantial decentralisation of tax powers so that regional councils, which now raise less than 15 per cent of their income, will within five years be able "to raise about 50 percent of the money they spend". (57)

All of these and many other suggestions made are very sound, economically solid, and cannot be further discussed here. "Borrow to invest" is not the kind of borrowing Cameron always blames Labour with, as it is not meant to pay for debts, but indeed to invest in long-term projects. A "Scottish National Investment Bank (SNIB)" could be created as a reliable source of borrowing and "would need to be established as an independent company and possibly as a National Mutual Company". It would thus be independent of the government, bring together "a wide range of public and voluntary financial institutions", and act "as a national coordinating body as well as a direct investor." (61)

"National Mutual Companies" "would be private sector companies and so could borrow without limit. But they would be collectively owned and governed democratically", e.g. by every Scottish citizen holding "one non-tradeable share" so that the people of Scotland collectively have the legal ownership and the right to make decisions. Ideally, this "could be a

radical step in democratising the economy." (64) There are, of course, problems connected with this idea, which are described and discussed, and examples from other countries, such as Sweden and New Zealand, are given. The ideas are thus strongly rooted in reality.

Whether the "Digital Currency" as a "compliment to the national currency, limited in its design to Scotland, pegged to sterling and with a payment system – ScotPay – without transaction costs" (69) would really work with people using their mobile phones is, of course, not yet certain, but might be worth a try in this digital age.

Common Weal is right again in finding that academia "has not engaged in creating new ideas for public policy". What has been produced by universities in the western world quite generally in recent decades has not led to any advance in improving society. They have been too busy in adopting the mostly disastrous ideas and regulations put forward by politicians turning universities into factories, I say and many others, but not Common Weal. Common Weal puts forward the idea of "National Policy Academies" for "creating new public policy thinking." (70) These would be open, public institutions, partly staffed by the civil service, and their "work would be free for everyone to see and to engage with." The idea is to "greatly enrich Scotland's democracy and its 'collective intellect'" in this way. (71) Basically, this would indeed be helpful in enhancing widespread thinking about and discussing public policy as well as involving the public. But does one really need new institutions for this rather than challenge university departments to deal with these issues, and in this way to become better and make useful contributions to society? The departments failing to be involved in this process would quickly run the risk of making themselves redundant. I would thus favour improving existing institutions rather than setting up new ones. At the same time, I can only agree with the statement that "the set of measures proposed above [i.e. in this chapter] would be an ambitious and powerful rebuilding of the commons in Scotland." (73)

Chapter 7 again has a title that directly states what it is about: "Nothing about us without us is for us". And there is a problem we all are aware of: making a cross on a piece of paper every four or five years is not at all a truly participatory democracy. The public lacks both information and means of participation in decision making. This situation is even worse in Scotland because "probably nowhere in the developed world is as centralised and centrally-controlled as Scotland." (75) Connected with this problem is the other one "that it is almost impossible to hold them [local authorities] to account for individual decisions." As Scotland practically has only regional councils below Holyrood, a new "layer of genuinely local council" must be created. Councillors should get only their expenses repaid, and council meetings should take place in the evening so that everybody can take part. (76)

"Creating participatory democracy" is not easy, but Scotland already has the "'mini-public' (literally a group of people selected to represent a smaller cross section of the population as a whole", and the same process "can be used for almost any decision-making process." (80) Participatory budgeting is another form already in practice which "public sector organisations should be required to use", in order to determine budgetary priorities. (81) 'Tings' were a form "common in Scotland a millennium ago", and they could be reinvented. "They would evolve as we all re-learn citizenship". (82) Another excellent idea, as we all need to develop a much better understanding of what citizenship is. This will take time, but it is essential in Scotland, in Britain, in the EU, and everywhere else. It is a key element in improving democracy, and tings could take place anywhere, in existing town halls or on the web. They are "not just talking shops but ideas factories" whose ideas must reach governments "in an effective and meaningful way". Tings also need to be well networked with each other, thus "harnessing the creativity and ideas of citizens to help build a better Scotland." (83) In order to show that these are not naïve, abstract ideas, the book mentions such meetings taking place in Iceland and Brazil, and could also have referred to the direct

democracy practiced in Switzerland.[3] These meetings could then also provide a much better alternative to private sector consultancy firms, which very often have vested interests, as was again embarrassingly shown by "the company that advised the Westminster government on the price of the privatisation of the Royal Mail, at the same time as advising its investment clients to buy the shares because they were undervalued."[4]

The strong points in this book continue and are worth a detailed look by everybody who wants our current democratic system to improve. They include basic things most people of the general public want, but which invested interest groups as well as many governments and political parties try to avoid, such as "Freedom of Information" (87), improvements in "our education system" (88), or people's work and living places.

Statements on the media occur infrequently and are very general. The idea that "government help fund journalism" will find widespread approval by everybody not satisfied with private TV and newspapers, but "focussing on online and citizen journalism" is a bit vague, even with the addition "that this is done in a fair and even-handed way" (88). This simply sounds too much like what private news companies have adopted, namely cheap journalism produced by accidental witnesses of events who have neither the skills nor the training needed for high quality journalism (described, e.g., by Christopher Silver in his book reviewed in this *Newsletter*). Good journalists need solid training, time to investigate, to check and counter-check, and the skills to express their findings in intelligent and profound ways. Online and citizen journalism will exist anyway, but Common Weal should be aware of the fact that we indeed have been brought to it and need to think of using it so that it really improves our lives, does not make trained journalists unemployed, and also not just help big companies save money, leaving the majority without good quality journalism and news as well as all other articles, i.e. stories, put together by algorithms. What is it we actually want to read? Whom and what do we trust in providing us with relevant information? Evidently no longer politicians or people in power. But is there any reason why we should trust arbitrary authors or even machines more?[5]

Indeed, as this book says, "system-wide change" is needed (88), which is extremely difficult to bring about, as it means changing people's perceptions, thinking, and behaviour. But if we really want to improve our society, this needs to be done, and the *Book of Ideas* gives excellent advice on how this could be achieved. It is a wonderful collection of facts, sound information, and healthy, humane ideas everybody should be aware of, adopt, and help put into practice.

Chapter 8, "Providing for the Common Weal", is about the need to "rebalance the economy: […] away from extremes in pay between top and bottom to greater pay equality; […] away from profit-extraction to long-term investment", and many other such changes necessary for the "mutual model which has made the Nordic and German economies so effective." (90) Housing and energy are chosen as industry sectors of great importance "which can be directly stimulated by making a self-contained business case." A national mutual housing company would be the most effective model for this, and the chapter describes how it

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[3] Cf. http://www.democracy-building.info/switzerlands-political-system.html; http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/swiss-political-system/29288762; or http://swiss-government-politics.all-about-switzerland.info/.

[4] The names of these advisors are clearly mentioned in the *Guardian* 10-10-14, in parliament.uk 11-7-14, politics.co.uk 11-7-14 as well as in the *Financial Times* 30-4-14, thus far across the political spectrum. Common Weal clearly wants to avoid legal difficulties by not naming names.

[5] Just cf. these very different texts on algorithms: "Helping robots put it all together", MIT News Office; "Can Big Data Algorithms Tell Better Stories Than Humans?", *Forbes* 12-7-15; "Edgerank: A Guide to the Facebook News Feed Algorithm", sproutsocial 26-1-15; "Facebook News Feed", Marketing Land; "Here's How Facebook's News Feed Actually Works", *Time* 9-7-15. Continue with Apple News (e.g. *Tech Insider* 18-9-15; *MacStories* 17-9-15; (even http://www.apple.com/news/), Google News etc. Arbitrariness is there in abundance, but also a very subtle, invisible policing of the news.

could work, provide houses and jobs, and how this could be financed, e.g. by the company borrowing "against rents over a 30 year period." (91) The current energy model "is an economic disaster for Scotland" and should be replaced in a similar way by a National Energy Company. (93) However, this "business model faces some substantial problems and uncertainties, mostly deriving from the UK Government's attacks on the funding models for renewable energy – which hit Scotland hardest." (94) Indeed, and the UK Government has just signed a deal with a Chinese company for another nuclear energy provider, where nobody but the Tories think (or say) that this is a safe and sound arrangement.[6] When will Tory voters at last notice what this party has been doing to their country? Support for small and medium-sized companies, for the consumption of local products, for "pursuing a strategy of 'smart specialisation'" (99), high-skill and high-quality employment is expressed on these intriguing pages.

Chapter 9, "In our hands, by our hands", deals again with energy, housing, local banking, food, transport and then Scotland in a global context, but this time with a greater focus on local, municipal aspects. International alternatives are also mentioned as well as the need for "disarmament and new forms of global conflict resolution". (116)

Chapter 10, "Putting All Of Us First", also sounds like a repetition, but isn't, as it has a particular focus on tackling a low pay economy, ending gender segregation in labour, confronting discrimination and providing protection from poverty. (117-132) In all of these areas, "Scotland's scope for action is severely limited by its lack of powers" (122), but several suggestions are made nonetheless, such as support of Scottish human rights legislation and opposition to "proposals for a British Bill of Rights". (123)

Education is rightly highlighted as an essential element in changing people's thinking and behaviour (124ff), and the suggestions made for fighting against poverty (126ff) are again useful and intelligent, especially as Scotland simply lacks the powers to deal with this enormous problem comprehensively. What this book does not say but what instantly came to my mind when reading about "the young unemployed" that should be taken care of, as they have only dark prospects for their futures (129), were the Paris terrorists. Criminals, of course, despicable people who with utter arrogance and cruelty thought they could kill other human beings completely randomly. Yes, these killers need to be punished as severely as possible. As they do not acknowledge humanity, they do not deserve a place in a humane society. But to think that they can best be fought against by throwing bombs on them in Syria totally disregards who these murderers were: young people, mostly below thirty, Europeans having grown up in Belgium and France.[7] Why did they, and why do other young people from England and Germany, too, choose IS as their best prospect in life? What about the possibility that our society, in great parts so well described by Common Weal, does not offer them better prospects and completely fails to integrate them? What about tackling this problem in our own society rather than in Syria, Afghanistan, or anywhere else? What about dealing with it

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[6] Just cf. these comments: the BBC (http://www.bbc.com/news/business-34585219); the *Independent*; theweek.co.uk; where even the *Financial Times* said that "China should not be the answer to Britain's nuclear problems" and demanded that "There should be public disclosure of the full offer to Chinese on Hinkley Point power station"; and the *Guardian*'s Polly Toynbee was most outspoken again: "This nuclear power deal with China is one of the maddest ever struck", all on 21-10-15.

[7] Cf. these descriptions of them in papers of diverse political positions: http://globalnews.ca/news/2355477/who-were-the-paris-attackers-many-had-links-to-syria-crossed-officials-radars/; http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512; http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2015/11/21/who-were-the-paris-attackers-what-we-know-so-far.html; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11996120/Paris-attack-what-we-know-about-the-suspects.html; http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/15/world/europe/manhunt-for-paris-attackers.html?_r=0; http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/11/16/us-france-shooting-identities-factbox-idUSKCN0T51IU20151116#0UfxdOo9Qt8DDGrg.97; http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/paris-terror-attacks/paris-attacks-who-was-killed-paris-attacks-whos-still-run-n465681, and many more could be mentioned, all saying the same, as their sources are the same, too.

not with violence but with precisely what Common Weal is offering in this intelligent book? People who are involved with Common Weal and their objectives will definitely not kill other human beings. So this book is extremely helpful even in this respect, and the young generation is vital for the creation of a better society.

Chapter 11, "A Good Life", begins with the importance of health in a good life and mentions the conditions needed for a healthy good life, namely everything already addressed, basically people's living and working conditions. A "more aggressive approach to planning permission" is required (134), as well as "room for life: parks, open spaces, shops, and cafes. Most modern developments lack all of these things; they have pavements but nowhere to go on them." (135) Scotland should also "set out a national strategy for deconsumerisation", which is a wonderful idea, supported by people who also know that the possession of things does not really create a good and happy life, it only fills the pockets of already rich and powerful people.[8] Common Weal mentions many alternatives to consumerism, in particular "[h]obbies, sport, the arts, social life, entertainment, learning" (140), quite generally creativity or "the production of art." (144)

Is there too much emphasis on planning in this book, which might make some people think of 5-year plans in communist countries or other such failures? Not in my opinion, and certainly not in connection with what the book is opposed to, the go as you please mentality of the me-first culture, which actually does not allow people to go and do as they please, but which often very subtly coerces them to do what powerful business and politics want them to do. People must be made aware of this, and a well thought through strategy is absolutely necessary for success, as the powers Common Weal is attacking are enormous.

Is this book too naïve? Not at all. It is full of intelligence, conscious of relevant contexts, and of the opposition these ideas will encounter. The dangers connected with this powerful, destructive, and also vicious opposition could have been highlighted more than they are, but that was evidently not the objective, and that is perfectly ok. Everybody must be aware of these dangers, though.

Is the book too optimistic? No. Optimism is essential. Without it, this huge undertaking will not succeed. And we all must be very optimistic, full of hope as well as much energy. This book should be given to everybody interested in life. Everybody should read it. Hollande, Cameron, Obama, and all people in power should read it, and they would then act in much more mature ways, less violently, more intelligently, and with a strong long-term perspective. They will not read this book. Which is why you must do so, if you really want to improve life. Read it, adopt its ideas, and put them into practice. Only in this way will you help improve our society. This is urgently necessary, and the *Book of Ideas* is a great help in this process.

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[8] Cf. Klein, Naomi, *No Logo. 10th Anniversary Edition*, New York: Picador 2010; Crary, Jonathan, *24/7. Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, London: Verso 2014; Slater, Don, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press 1997; and the vast field of consumption in the new media, intelligently and succinctly addressed by Barber, Benjamin R., "Which Technology and Which Democracy?", in: Thorburn, David / Henry Jenkins (eds.), *Democracy and New Media*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT 2003, 40: "new media are then likely to acquire all of the political defects of a pictorially based, image-mongering, feeling-engendering, sentiment-arousing, one-on-one (one-screen-per-person) civic culture. A succession of fast-moving images is not conducive to thinking, but it does accommodate advertising, manipulation, and propaganda, and these are hallmarks of modern consumer culture and its privatizing political ideology that displaces governments with markets."

Blakeway, Amy, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, **Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer 2015 (xiii+290 pp., £60 hardback)**

For anyone familiar with sixteenth-century Scottish history, the fact that this is the "first sustained study" (1) of the individuals appointed to govern on behalf of youthful monarchs may come as something of a revelation. For the first half of the sixteenth century, every Stewart king or queen succeeded to the throne as a child. In the period focused upon by Amy Blakeway, James V became king at the age of seventeen months, Mary, Queen of Scots, was six days old, and her son, James VI, was crowned at the age of thirteen months. As such, one might expect the regents – "endowed with the monarchical prerogative" (1) – to have been subjected to close academic scrutiny, but while, as Blakeway notes, there are book-length studies of individual regents as well as numerous articles on the subject, what has hitherto been lacking is "a broader sense of perspective on their behaviour and office" (11). It is this lacuna that her book seeks to fill.

Her sensible, thematically-structured approach examines the governance of the eight regents appointed during the minorities of James V, Mary, and James VI: Margaret Tudor (*r.*1513-14); John Stewart, duke of Albany (*r.*1515-1524); James Hamilton, duke of Châtelherault and earl of Arran (*r.*1543-54); Marie de Guise (*r.*1554-60); James Stewart, earl of Moray (*r.*1567-70); Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox (*r.*1570-1); John Erskine, earl of Mar (*r.*1571-2); and James Douglas, earl of Morton (*r.*1572-8). She assesses the rule of each regent by looking at their behaviour and actions in particular contexts: chapters range from the theoretical to the practical, covering concepts of regency, finances, regency households and courts, and diplomacy. The comparative approach allows her to draw convincing conclusions about the effectiveness (or not) of individual regents, whose periods of governance are often overlooked in favour of the "glamorous personal rules" (11) of the Stewart monarchs. The female regents, Margaret Tudor and Marie de Guise, are studied alongside their male counterparts: while gender had "an impact on how women ruled [...] the specific challenges facing female regents are best understood as one of, and integrated amongst, the many factors that affected any period in office" (13). Nonetheless, it is clear that the significance of these "specific challenges" cannot be ignored; Blakeway notes that despite being the only sixteenth-century regent with a "widely accepted statement of monarchical delegation" (24) to back up her rule, Margaret Tudor consistently faced threats to her position, even before her remarriage. One telling example comes with the repeated attempts to persuade the duke of Albany to come to Scotland, authorised in November 1513. Blakeway speculates that "it is worth emphasising Margaret's pregnancy and the attendant possibility that she might die during childbirth" (27), positing that Albany's presence would have been useful in such a circumstance, providing effective leadership. The dangers of childbirth, even for royal mothers, and the concomitant political ramifications of a pregnant regent are effectively indicated here, while later, Blakeway goes on to emphasise the fact that queen mothers "represented an attractive choice" (28) as regents because of their affection towards their children and – paradoxically – their relative weakness: their "lack of a kin group" (28) ensured their reliance upon their children.

Chapter 1 is a nuanced theoretical overview of regency. It examines developing sixteenth-century understandings of the office, initially based on heredity, but moving towards election. Chapter 2 follows thematically from this, providing a convincing analysis of the "practicalities of rule" for regents. Blakeway's fascinating introductory paragraph (54) unpacks the revealing presentation of the sederunt lists of privy council meetings. The close attention paid to seemingly insignificant detail here, the careful analysis, and the persuasive conclusion, are features of a characteristic forensic approach to archival research that is one of the book's key strengths.

Chapter 3, "Regency Finances", re-evaluates the received wisdom that regents were guilty either of actively embezzling crown finances, or – at best – financial incompetence or indifference. She notes the economic challenges facing regents, who often had to provide fi-

nancial support for the crown from their personal reserves, with Moray "pawning his own plate and securing private loans" (90). Albany and Arran, both regents accused of extravagance, are exonerated to an extent with the recognition that each had their "revenues [...] curtailed" (94) by a queen dowager. Indeed, Blakeway is particularly persuasive when outlining the challenges faced by regents, unable to raise income in ways open to monarchs. During the minorities of James V and Mary, they were deprived of valuable royal lands controlled by Margaret Tudor and Marie de Guise, and it is perhaps unsurprising that Mar requested "that he be allowed to demit the regency should its burdens prove too great" (65).

Chapter 4 begins with a discussion of the marriage of Barbara Hamilton to the master of Huntly, and here, Blakeway presents a considered assessment of the political importance of the event, noting the wedding's opulence. Barbara wore a "rob ryall" (127); a play was commissioned from the court writer William Lauder; guests were presented with gold rings as souvenirs of the marriage. The extent to which certain regents enjoyed a "quasi-monarchical lifestyle" (131), participating in ceremonies such as "entries", dispensing patronage, commissioning literary and artistic works, and including their personal motifs on coins, is compellingly demonstrated. Once more, the chronological and comparative approach allows Blakeway to identify developing processes: the courts of James VI's regents were more reserved and economical than those of their predecessors, partly, she suggests, the result of political expediency and a reaction to the supposed extravagance of Mary's court. Less constrained, James VI's own court "was far grander than anything his regents enjoyed" (157).

The final two chapters deal respectively with "Justice" and "Diplomacy". The former asserts that regents were cognizant of the importance of meting out justice, which was not simply an obligation, but, enacted, underscored the necessity of obedience. A close study of the peripatetic justice ayres shows the practical side of this understanding, noting that the "frequency with which regents [...] rode to local courtrooms" (173) was one indicator of their preparedness to behave like ideal rulers. Blakeway concludes that ayres "represent one of the few substantial points of difference between minority and majority administration" (192), with regents holding fewer ayres than monarchs, but nonetheless attending more of them. The study of regency diplomacy shows characteristically meticulous archival research, and is particularly interesting in its study of James VI's regents, and their efforts to deploy diplomatic protocol to reinforce both their own positions, and the kingship of James.

Blakeway's lively and informed book is convincing in its assertion that the concept of regency changed over time, and particularly persuasive is her argument that the absence of a "clear statute" (234) that identified who should be regent allowed for positive overlaps of multiple understandings of regency, understandings that were combined "to suit a range of political circumstances" (234). Similarly, her measured contention that the distinctions between minority and majority rule are not as pronounced as has been suggested in the past is credibly presented, and amply backed up by the wealth of archival material she provides. The meticulously detailed archival study is a major strength of this impressive, energetically-argued book, which is a valuable addition to the field of sixteenth-century Scots studies.
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http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/en/persons/kate-a-mcclune(0d7abc9a-ff90-435e-8b8b-c10ec1c8bd11).html

Wanner, Len, *Tartan Noir: The Definitive Guide to Scottish Crime Fiction*, Glasgow: Freight Books 2015 (318 pp., £9.99 paperback).
Scottish crime fiction is no doubt one of the biggest and most visible literary exports from Scotland. The bestseller lists are full of crime fiction written by Scottish authors, so full that Scottish crime fiction has received its own label: 'Tartan Noir'. But what exactly is Tartan Noir? A short search for the term on the internet yields a plethora of lists boasting names such

as William McIllvanney, Ian Rankin, Val McDermid and many others as the genres' figure-heads, but it also yields hints of a controversy surrounding the term. One thing that is not to be found, though, is a definition of what sort of novels the genre consists of, other than that they are written by Scottish authors. Does that mean that all Scottish authors of crime fiction write the same kind of fiction? That hardly seems believable. But why, then, is all of this fiction collected under one label? Len Wanner, in his book *Tartan Noir: The definitive Guide to Scottish Crime Fiction*, sets out to answer these questions.

On the very first page of his book, Wanner poses the vexed question: "What is Tartan Noir?" and gives a first short answer: "a Scottish literature which began to make a name for itself under a variety of genre labels in the second half of the 20th century and which, at the beginning of the 21st century, has acquired an international reputation larger than any of its contemporary Scottish literatures […] despite a lot of confusion about what exactly the term means and what type of writing it describes." (3) He goes on to argue that most of what is labelled as Tartan Noir by the publishing industry might be "'quite dark fiction'" (6), but that it is not actually noir in the traditional sense of the term. The real noir fiction written in Scotland, he argues, is "obscured when […] Tartan Noir is used as a mystifying marketing label and applied rather vaguely to all dark contemporary Scottish crime fiction". (3) The two-fold aim of his book is therefore to showcase the variety of writing that is hidden beneath the misleading label of Tartan Noir as well as to highlight the work of actual Scottish noirists and show how their writing differs from that of authors like Ian Rankin, Val McDermid, etc.

The main part of the book is made up of four chapters that correspond to the four main subgenres that, according to Wanner, are subsumed under the label Tartan Noir: the detective novel, the police novel, the serial killer novel, and the noir novel. Each of these chapters contains a brief introduction to a subgenre, giving its stereotypical elements as well as discussing its historical development and its most influential authors. Each is made up of ten short analyses of Scottish crime novels, a summary of the similarities and differences apparent in these novels and an in-depth analysis of two of the most representative novels of the subgenre. The main focus of the book rests on the insightful analyses of more than forty novels.

Chapter 1, "The Detective Novel", draws a line from the prototypes of the fictional detective – Edgar Allan Poe's Auguste Dupin and Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes – and the American hard-boiled detectives Sam Spade (Dashiell Hammett) and Philip Marlowe (Raymond Chandler) to the protagonists of contemporary Scottish crime fiction. Although Wanner argues that Scottish authors draw on both the European and the American (hard-boiled) traditions, the hard-boiled detective is cited more often as a forebear and his influence is more clearly visible in the detectives he discusses. Wanner points to the diversity of voices in contemporary Scottish crime fiction, yet he also identifies a common core theme in the novels discussed: the family. Thus, he argues, "their stories are still best read as family dramas in which a lone, hard-boiled investigator seeks to rebuild the world – one case and community at a time." (68) Wanner further points out that none of the novels offer as nationalist or anti-English an agenda as, he says, wide-spread prejudice would have us expect.

Chapter 2, "The Police Novel", likewise focuses on the figure of the protagonist or central group of protagonists as well as on the core conflicts of the novels. The introductory paragraphs to the short analyses discuss how perceptions of the source material can be skewed by TV and movie adaptations. While aspects and influences of adaptation might have provided a common thread for the chapter, the subject is discussed in only the first two analyses, leaving the chapter rather lacking in any clear focus. Wanner again emphasizes the diversity and the absence of nationalist agendas in the novels discussed. Furthermore, the majority of protagonists are characterised as team players, even though they achieve the best results when operating outside of the official police structures, a trait which puts emphasis on their individualism.

Chapter 3, "The Serial Killer Novel", focusses on the figure of the serial killer instead of the figure of the detective / police officer. Wanner argues that serial killers in crime fiction are "predominantly treated as case studies of mental illness" (152), thus a big part of his analyses also focuses on this aspect. Again the introductory paragraphs of the short analyses introduce a topic – historic Scottish serial killers – that is not discussed in the following analyses, but leads Wanner later to the conclusion that Scottish serial killer novels are not built on these historical templates. Why the historical precedents were included at all, if they have no apparent influence on contemporary crime fiction, remains unclear. Wanner concludes the chapter by identifying an American and a Scottish type of serial killer novel. The American type he sees as more often characterized by sexually motivated crimes; it tends to look more closely at how the presence of a serial killer affects the individuals with whom he comes into contact and concludes with a catharsis brought about by the death of the serial killer. The Scottish type, in contrast, is less concerned with sexually motivated crimes and more with the effects of a serial killer on society as a whole; it often ends without catharsis and the serial killer still on the loose. Wanner then asserts that not all Scottish writers write serial killer novels of what he calls the Scottish type, but that some writers, for instance Val McDermid, write serial killer novels of the American type. This once again emphasizes the great variety present in contemporary Scottish crime fiction.

In chapter 4, "The Noir Novel", Wanner expands on how the label 'Tartan Noir' was coined jokingly by Ian Rankin and then took on a life of its own in the publishing industry. In contrast to the novels discussed so far, Wanner defines noir novels as being character- not plot-driven, with the protagonist usually being characterised by the "5 As" (235): "alone, afraid, angry, amoral, and alienating" (235). He further elaborates on five main differences between Tartan Noir and traditional noir novels: 1) noir is not usually about policemen and the legal, political and social systems are not seen as worth defending, as they are in Tartan Noir, where, although a detective might sometimes act outside the system, he clearly does so in order to protect the system and out of the belief that at its core the system is good and worth protecting; 2) the social and psychological realism of Tartan Noir is partly sanitized while the protagonists of real noir are beyond the reach of social and emotional support systems; 3) the heroes of Tartan Noir escape their adventures almost unscathed while in noir novels there are no heroes to begin with, just protagonists, and they have to deal with the full range of consequences of their actions; 4) unlike Tartan Noir criminals, noir criminals mostly get away with their crimes; 5) Tartan Noir focuses on clues and containment strategies, while the focus of real noir is on the animal instincts of humans (293-297).

The book's major weakness is the categorization of the novels Wanner analyses. Ian Rankin's Inspector Rebus series appears in both the chapter on the detective novel and the chapter on the police novel, despite the fact that Wanner repeatedly refers to the detective novel as a PI novel. In chapter two, Rebus is characterized as "wary of the establishment" (127) he embodies and it is argued that he "could pass for [a] private detective[…]" (127), which might serve to explain his inclusion in chapter one, but this explanation could have been given more profitably in chapter one instead of chapter two. A similar confusion is created by the boundary drawn between the police novel and the serial killer novel. On page 209, more than forty pages into his discussion of the serial killer novel, Wanner remarks: "I might as well point out that the vast majority of these serial killer narratives are put in the form of the police novel." (209) This remark, placed at the beginning of the chapter and discussed more fully, could have saved a lot of confusion.

Although it might be argued that Wanner said all he needed to say in the introduction to his book, when he characterized Tartan Noir as a "mystifying marketing label" (3), his analyses of more than forty novels in four subgenres of crime fiction, including both well-known and lesser-known titles, do offer interesting perspectives on character construction and development in Scottish crime fiction as well as on the core conflicts dealt with in the novels. In

looking beyond the weaknesses of the label 'Tartan Noir' to the quality and diversity of the writing it embraces, Wanner opens up the discussion for a more in-depth look at contemporary Scottish crime fiction and shows, through his analyses, that such an in-depth study will be richly rewarded by the material on offer.

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Conference Reports

Empires and Revolutions: R. B. Cunninghame Graham and other Scottish Writers on Globalisation and Democracy, c. 1850–1950
Association for Scottish Literary Studies (ASLS), Stirling, 3–5 July 2015

After the successful launch of the triennial World Congress of Scottish Literatures in 2014, with the full support of the ASLS, the Association resolved to complement the Congresses by further strengthening the international profile of its annual conferences in the years between the World Congresses, for instance through international calls for papers. This policy was inaugurated by the 2015 annual conference, and was also reflected in the strong international resonances of the conference theme: R. B. Cunninghame Graham and other Scottish writers on empires, revolutions, globalisation and democracy.

The enormous long-distance demographic, economic and cultural exchanges which were set in motion by the European empires in the nineteenth and early twentieth century enforced a process of globalisation that continues to the present day. However, the expansion of authoritarian empires and capitalist systems across the world is also inextricably linked with the birth and diffusion of revolutionary discourses (in terms of race, nation or social class): the quest for emancipation, political independence, democracy and economic equality.

R. B. Cunninghame Graham (1852–1936), in both his life and his oeuvre, most effectively represents the complex interaction between imperial and revolutionary discourses in this dramatic period. Writer, journalist, international traveller, adventurer, champion of democratic liberties, left-wing radical and Scottish nationalist (successively president of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish National Party), Cunninghame Graham was a key literary and political figure during this eventful period in Scottish and global history. His cosmopolitan biography aligns him with contemporary interest in migration, transculturalism and the rise of global citizenship. Of mixed Scottish and Spanish family background, he was bilingual in English and Spanish, lived in Britain, Belgium and Argentina, and travelled in South and North America, Spain and North Africa. His travels and migrations correspond with current interest in Scottish involvements with European imperialisms. At the same time, Cunninghame Graham's involvement in the Scottish Home Rule movement and the nationalist parties can be seen as part of an 'anticolonial' initiative which sets these Scottish political trends in relation to international anticolonial movements in Ireland, India and Africa. His combination of nationalist and socialist sympathies also set an interesting precedent for present-day Scottish politics, where nationalist and left-wing agendas (of varying degrees of radicalism) are likewise often intertwined. As a writer, he is not only interesting for his own work (which includes short stories, travel writing, histories and biographies), but also for his dynamic relationship with (and influence on) other key authors, such as Hugh MacDiarmid, Bernard Shaw or Joseph Conrad.

In view of Cunninghame Graham's importance for the literary and political scene of his time, it is surprising that he is still under-researched in many ways. This is all the more surprising because he engaged with so many themes which are also of particular importance today, such as transcultural orientations in literature, the critique of global imperialism, the position of Scotland in the UK, and the complex relationship between national emancipation and

left-wing struggles for social justice. Hence, this is an especially pertinent moment for ASLS to support the further development of Cunninghame Graham studies. This field is also greatly advanced by the [Cunninghame Graham Society](#) which was founded in 2013. The two associations have closely cooperated in organising this conference. Cunninghame Graham is also an ideal focal point for exploring the work of other Scottish writers of his time who engaged with similar themes.

As one of the co-convenors (together with Carla Sassi from the University of Verona), I was especially pleased that the conference managed to attract both an impressive array of very eminent specialists and various exciting contributions from a younger generation of scholars, including several PhD students. I was also very happy about the interdisciplinary character of the event, which included specialists in history, anglophone and hispanophone literary and cultural studies, writers, and representatives of the media.

The conference opened with a keynote by one of the foremost empire historians of our time, John M. MacKenzie (University of Lancaster). Entitled "The local and the global: Understanding the multiple contexts of Cunninghame Graham," this lecture provided a fitting introduction by sketching the wider socio-cultural canvas against which Cunninghame Graham's life and work – and that of his contemporaries – must be read.

This was followed by a panel which offered close readings of the portrayal of imperialism in Cunninghame Graham's works: Lachlan Munro (University of Glasgow) focused on "The Empire in Cunninghame Graham's parliamentary speeches and early writings 1886–1898"; and John McIntyre (University of Strathclyde), co-editor of the recent edition of Cunninghame Graham's *Collected Stories and Sketches* (Edinburgh: Kennedy & Boyd, 5 vols., 2011–2012), explored the portrayal of European colonisers as 'white-skinned barbarians' in selected tales. The first evening concluded with a screening of Les Wilson's film *The Adventures of Don Roberto*, a TV documentary about Cunninghame Graham that was produced in 2008.

The next day began with two keynote lectures by Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, authors of what is still the most important academic biography of 'Don Roberto', the magisterial *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography* (1969). Prof. Davies (University of Glasgow) explored the role of religious and political millenarianism in anti-imperialist and other social resistance movements, as well as Cunninghame Graham's writings about such movements. Prof. Watts (University of Sussex) charted a range of paradoxes in Cunninghame Graham's life and oeuvre which made him appear as a "Janiform genius." The lecture also argued that many of those paradoxes can be resolved by the common denominator of Cunninghame Graham's persistent sympathy with underdogs.

The subsequent panel featured two papers about Cunninghame Graham's relationship with Argentinean culture: Jennifer Hayward (College of Wooster) focused on the custom of ritually displaying the bodies of dead children as *angelitos* ('little angels'), on the way this custom was usually described by Anglo-American Protestant travellers, and on Cunninghame Graham's more complex take on the subject. Richard Niland (University of Strathclyde) discussed Cunninghame Graham's engagement with nineteenth-century Argentine literature.

The next two panels placed our discussions of 'Don Roberto' into a wider context by offering important discussions of other Scottish writers: Joseph Farrell (University of Strathclyde) analysed Cunninghame Graham's and Robert Louis Stevenson's perspectives on "civilisation and its discontents." Jessica Homberg-Schramm (University of Cologne) focused on representations of North America and Japan in *My Circular Notes* by world traveller John Francis Campbell, who is perhaps better known today for his collections of Scottish West Highland Folktales. Key themes in this analysis of *My Circular Notes* were Campbell's relationship to Darwinism and Victorian race theory, and his critique of emergent mass tourism. Pilar Somacarrera (Autonomous University of Madrid) reassessed John Buchan's contribution to Canadian discourses on multiculturalism, in the light of his contradictory statements on

race relations and ethnicity. Jochen Petzold (University of Regensburg) analysed the role of paternalistic anti-slavery discourse in three adventure stories by R. M. Ballantyne; and Lindy Moore (independent scholar, Holywell) investigated the critique of imperialism, racism, religious intolerance and militarism in the work of Isabella Fyvie Mayo.

The last panel of the day opened with a theory-oriented paper by Nadja Ben Khelifa (Free University of Berlin) on Cunninghame Graham's role in establishing a global image of Scotland as a site or "chiffre" for emancipatory social causes. Dorothy Lawrenson (Texas State University) discussed a later Scottish writer of social change who emerged in the mid-twentieth century: Hamish Henderson, who likewise combined Scottish patriotism with an internationalist perspective. Focal texts for this paper were Henderson's *Ballads of World War Two* and *Elegies for the Dead at Cyrenaica*.

The next morning began with a paper by Arianna Introna (University of Stirling) about "Capital flows and exchanges in Scotland and beyond: Violet Jacob's critique of the financial imagination." Since Jacob's complex stance on multiple frameworks of oppression and resistance exceeded both nationalist and feminist frameworks, the paper argued for alternative analytical approaches, such as autonomous Marxism. Subsequently, a wide-ranging talk by Michael Morris (Liverpool John Moores University) discussed Scotland's involvement in colonialism and slavery in the Caribbean, the long tradition of public historical amnesia which sought to obscure this involvement, as well as twentieth- and twenty-first-century attempts to restore this history to public consciousness, with important implications for the nation's present and future.

The conference closed with the roundtable "Re-reading R. B. Cunninghame Graham," featuring literary historian Jenni Calder, broadcaster and Scots language activist Billy Kay, as well as filmmaker Les Wilson. These re-readings were further enhanced by the fact that all three panellists are also writers themselves. Important themes of the discussion included frontiers and border-crossing, Cunninghame Graham's relevance to the late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century campaigns for devolution and independence, as well as his legacy for the radical and internationalist elements in Scottish nationalism today.

Further information about the conference can be found on its website and Facebook page. We are currently preparing a collection of essays based on the conference theme, which will be published under the same title in ASLS's 'Occasional Papers' series later this year. This conference also left us greatly looking forward to any future developments in the further study of Cunninghame Graham – and of other (anti)imperial and international dimensions of Scottish literature. The Cunninghame Graham Society and the Smith Art Gallery and Museum in Stirling are currently collaborating in the establishment of a Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham Library which will be located at Smith's and is to be opened on 24 February 2016. It will be the largest collection on Cunninghame Graham world-wide.

The next annual ASLS conference will take place at the University of Glasgow from 1–3 July 2016. Its title will be "Literature and Religion in Scotland", and it will be convened by Gerard Carruthers and Scott Spurlock. The next World Congress of Scottish Literatures will take place in Vancouver from 21 to 25 June 2017. Its topic will be "Dialogues and Diasporas". Silke Stroh (University of Münster) (silke.stroh@uni-muenster.de)

Empires and Revolutions – R. B. Cunninghame Graham and other Scottish Writers on Globalisation and Democracy (c. 1850-1950)
Association for Scottish Literary Studies (ASLS), Stirling, 3-5 July, 2015

The CfP encouraged papers on such diverse concepts as "revolutionary discourses" ("the quest for emancipation; political independence; economic equality"), "colonialism and postcolonialism", "democracy", "social justice", "empire" and other developments of "globalisation", each of which could easily constitute a conference topic in its own right.

Fortunately, these themes were narrowed down by the author Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852-1936) – who "most effectively represents the complex interaction between imperial and revolutionary discourses".

Accordingly, the conference was avowedly interdisciplinary in nature, this being largely due to the persona of R.B.C.G. himself, a chameleonic figure in modern Britain: he was a writer who became a literary figure himself, due to his incredible vita that inspired colleagues of his like George Bernard Shaw and Joseph Conrad. 'Plotlines' of his biography sound like political satire: who has ever heard of anyone being both an MP for, and a founding member and/or president of, three major British or Scottish political parties (Labour, Liberals, SNP) of competing ideologies?

Just as versatile as the range of socio-political and historical phenomena, aspects and approaches that were influential during Graham's life-time, were the presenters' approaches to the chief subject matter of the conference. When it comes to this writer, politician, adventurer, rancher, aristocrat and journalist, the question 'which R.B. Cunninghame Graham are you referring to?' is actually a sensible one. To further complicate things, Graham was a living paradox, as Cedric Watts pointed out in his talk on the *Janiform Genius*:

> […] a romantic and a cynic, an idealist and sceptic, a Don Quixote and a Hamlet, a nationalist and an internationalist, a socialist and a conservative, a revolutionary and a gradualist, a nobleman and a cowboy, a South American cattle rancher and horse trader, who was also the uncrowned king of Scotland, a dandy and a convict, […] an anti-racist and an anti-semite, an atheist and a defender of Jesuits. He opposed the Great War, but then worked for the war office. He opposed cruelty to animals, but his horses suffered and died on battlefields. He was a Scottish landowner and aristocrat who advocated the nationalisation of the land, an anarchist who proudly descends from King Robert II, a Marxist according to Engels, yet he hoped to see Lenin hanged.

Graham's literary achievements were just as diverse: journalistic writing, literary sketches, short stories, travel writing, to name but a few. Lachlan Munro focussed on another genre, the parliamentary speeches by the politician Graham, looking for traces of the Empire in his writings.

Watts and other illustrious men, namely John M. MacKenzie (*The local and the global - understanding the multiple contexts of Cunninghame Graham*) and Laurence Davies (*'Remote and quite unfriended': Graham and Millenarianism*), delivered the key notes. All of them are experts on Cunninghame Graham and have published extensively on the author, especially Davies and Watts, who contributed the seminal biography to date. They were invited by the convenors Silke Stroh (Universities of Muenster and Mainz / Germersheim, Germany) and Carla Sassi (University of Verona, Italy) – both renowned scholars in the field of Scottish Studies – as well as the organising committee, among them Ian Brown.

One of the focal points of the conference was the imperial - anti-imperial divide that was embodied in the persona of R.B.C.G. a meld of aristocratic social status affirmative of the Empire and revolutionary convictions typical of the period. Graham's biography, his literary work, Scottish history and British Empire, it seems, are inseparable. Is it possible to make sense of this divide by examining R.B.C.G.'s works? John McIntyre's reading of Graham's tale *Buta* (1900/1910), revealed in his insightful talk on *White-skinned barbarians in three tales by R.B. Cunninghame Graham*, sees Graham as rejecting the European understanding of civilisation in his stories. This puts 19th-century ethnographic colonial ideas of modernity and pre-modernity into perspective, since the concepts of civilisation and barbarism lose their binary distinction. This observed shift of meanings in Graham's writings encountered another twist when Watts remarked that the author never bought into the myth of the noble savage, thus anticipating and preventing the possibility of presenting Graham as a colonial sentimentalist. Munro agreed that Graham sees the unfairness in the treatment of the colonized, without attempting to present his narrative from their point of view.

Michael Morris contributed another panel to this tapestry by focussing on Graham's oppositional attitudes towards the British and Scottish colonial and imperial expeditions to the Caribbean. This was examined in the context of the Scottish Renaissance movement's general tendency to falsely manufacture a Scottish anti-slavery myth, a point demonstrated through the example of the absence of colonial imagery on a 160-panel tapestry depicting Scottish (trade) history.

In a both informative and entertaining performance-talk, Dorothy Lawrenson talked about one of Graham's contemporaries and took the idea of 'singing the nation' quite literally when she assessed the Scottish nationalist vs internationalist qualities of Hamish Hendersons's *Ballads of World War Two* and *Elegies for the Dead in Cyrenaica.*

Like Lawrenson, Jochen Petzold, Jessica Homberg-Schramm, Pilar Somacarrera, Joseph Farrell and Lindy Moore focused on Graham's contemporaries: R. M. Ballantyne, John Francis Campbell, John Buchan, and Robert Louis Stevenson.

Richard Niland examined Graham's, or rather 'Don Roberto's' – a nickname he acquired during his stay in Argentina as a cattle rancher – contribution to 19th-century Argentinian literature and attempted a contextualisation of his works within this tradition**.** Jennifer Hayward's instructive study of the Argentinian 'angelito' dealt with Graham's reception of this cultural phenomenon in "El Angelito" from his collection *The Ipané*: Graham copied common travel writing conventions, but his account of the ritual of joyfully mourning the death of a young child, was largely different from that of most contemporary European travel writers who scandalized it as inhumane, Hayward showed. Graham at least attempts to "trace the indigenous beliefs beneath the catholic ritual" and "uses the vigour of the dead child not to inspire disgust", "but as a site of meaning that embodies larger cultural transitions", said Hayward, who worked with Edward Said's study on *Orientalism.*

The problem with the *persona* of R.B.C.G. is that his biography seems far too extravagant to have happened to one person in one life-time. However, as Farrell remarked, mythologizing Graham is not a satisfactory way of looking at him either. And so there it is, the topic that was subcutaneously present – the fascination with the phenomenon of R.B.C.G., who's "greatest creation was his own life forgery", as John MacKenzie said, and who accommodated modern paradox in his persona. Or so one could think, until Watts reminded the audience that: "The paradox is partly resolvable. One way of reconciling the apparently opposed aspects of Cunninghame Graham, is simply to expand the time-scale"; "[another] way to reconciliation is by a common factor and that was his perennial sympathy with the underdog. That sympathy reconciled his aristocratic noblesse oblige and chivalry with his forward looking left-wing idealism. […] His underdogs were manifold", e.g. "downtrodden nations" like "Scotland and Poland", and "historical figures" like "William Wallace". He had a soft spot for "doomed projects", like the "8-hour-working-day", "social justice for women" and "an effective Scottish National Party". But, since (almost) all of those have come to pass, eventually, Watts chose a different example, quoting Graham's optimistic belief that, "a lost cause is in itself a lost cause", and "Scottish independence" counts as one. This cause, according to Watts, is resolving the Grahamian paradox of nationalism vs internationalism as follows: "Scottish nationalism heralded internationalism", and so, the quest for Scottish independence was the "first step to internationalism which should be everybody's goal" (as Graham put it). Once the right categories are applied, Watts argued, Graham is not quite so paradoxical after all.

It becomes apparent from Watts' explications that Graham's work is being conflated with his politics or rather his *function for Scottish* politics. Therefore, R.B.C.G., who has been a Scottish figurehead for both Scottish internationalism and nationalism, must be beloved by everyone who believes in the possibility of the existence of a leftist nationalism. Arianna Introna emphatically does not believe in such a nationalism. She focussed on the economic effects of globalization and demonstrated how relations of oppression are represented in Violet Jacob's works, informed by the Marxist proposition that "the national imagination justifies

differences between people that are based on capitalist distinctions". Jacob's writing negotiates the common early 20th-century nationalist and capitalist stance, focussing on human relationships of oppression.

Nadja Ben Khelifa criticised the emphasis on Graham's exceptional life and politics in some companions to Scottish literature at the expense of a more thorough appreciation of Graham's contribution to literary traditions. Similarly, in the final round table session, which featured Scottish media personalities, the writer and literary historian Jenny Calder, discussed the issue of Graham's literature, separating political contexts from the aesthetics of his literary work:

> There seem to me to be two issues: the issue of politics and the issue of literature or of reading him seem to be increasingly separate. […] I can't really speak for the first, but the issue of reading him of making him popular, making people want to read Cunninghame Graham, I think, is a much much bigger problem […].

Calder read "the storyteller" R.B.C.G. – whose prose to her mind is marked by the integrity he displayed in narrating "human nature" no matter what he is writing about politically – in the context of Scottish immigration to South America. She highlighted his universal treatment of the themes of journeys, frontiers, loss, and death in stories that were set in places as diverse as South America, Scotland (*Beattock for Moffat*), and North Africa (*The Gold Fish*), all of them places that Graham travelled himself. Her fellow discussants at the round table were Les Wilson, whose documentary on Graham was screened on the first evening of the conference, and Billy Kay, a writer, broadcaster and language activist, who broached the topic of the politics involved in the subject-matter of Graham with an anecdote on a first-hand experience: his recent proposal for a programme on Graham, representative of "ethnic Scottishness", was rejected by the BBC due to a "narrow idea of Britishness".

His failure to produce a novel – the supreme genre – was probably the reason why Graham has been denied the fame in the literary world he so much deserves, the assembled experts agreed. Perhaps if there were finally a much needed Cunninghame Graham archive in Scotland, it would mark the beginning of the end of an oversight of the literary legacy of R.B.C.G. The re-publishing of his works, announced during the conference, will surely contribute to such a beginning.

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Conference Announcements

29th Annual Conference of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society
31 March-3 April 2016, Pittsburgh, USA at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies – Conference website

Call for Papers
ECSSS celebrates three decades as an affiliate society of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies by holding its annual conference with ASECS in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. On this occasion, ECSSS will sponsor its own panels throughout the ASECS meeting. Papers are invited on any aspect of eighteenth-century Scottish history, thought, and culture. Panels and papers on a wide variety of topics are encouraged.

The ECSSS program will feature a plenary talk by noted Boswell scholar Gordon Turnbull, General Editor of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.
The deadline for submissions to this conference has now passed.

ESSE Scottish Studies Seminars 2016
22-26 August 2016 – ESSE website

Call for Papers for the following seminars:
Regional and World Literatures: National Roots and Transnational Routes in Scottish Literature and Culture from the Eighteenth Century to Our Age

Co-convenors:
- Gioia Angeletti, University of Parma, Italy: gioia.angeletti@unipr.it
- Bashabi Fraser, Edinburgh Napier University, UK: b.fraser@napier.ac.uk

The panel intends to explore the multifaceted ways in which Scottish literature and culture from the eighteenth century onwards have become vehicles and interpreters of an increasingly plural, transcultural, diasporic and liquid world. While preserving regional specificities, through the centuries Scottish literature and culture have looked beyond national boundaries, both impacting on and absorbing elements of English, European or world literatures through migration processes and mutual exchanges. We welcome papers on a broad range of topics.

The Politics of Language in Contemporary Scottish and Irish Drama
Co-convenors:
- Ian Brown, University of Kingston, UK: ijmbrown@hotmail.com
- Daniele Berton-Charrière, Université Blaise Pascal, France: Daniele.Berton@univ-bpclermont.fr

In 1980, Brian Friel's *Translations* had its first production, its themes highlighting the importance of language politics in an imperialist setting. In both Scottish and Irish contemporary drama since then, language forms and usage have been a prime issue, either in forms of theatrical dialogue as in Enda Walsh's *Disco Pigs* (1996) or in the varieties of language used in recent Scottish theatre. Papers are invited which explore aspects of the politics of language in contemporary Irish or Scottish drama.

The Inner Seas connecting and dividing Scotland and Ireland
Co-convenors:
- Jean Berton, Université de Toulouse-Jean Jaurès, France: jean.berton@univ-tlse2.fr
- Donna Heddle, University of the Highlands and Islands, UK: Donna.Heddle@uhi.ac.uk

From the Minch to the North Channel the marine area has been a most active zone for adventurers, traders, marine scientists, pilgrims and hermits, fishermen, painters, migrants, pirates, missionaries, sailors, bird watchers, spies, etc. whether Irish, Roman, Scottish, Viking, English, American, Russian, German, French and Spanish. This seminar invites papers on fiction in all its aspects from historical to crime fiction dealing with all sorts of activities in this area from fighting to romance and extending to hinterlands on both sides.

'I hear it in the deep heart's core': political emotions in Irish and Scottish poetry
Co-convenors:
- Stephen Regan, Durham University, UK: stephen.regan@durham.ac.uk
- Carla Sassi, Università di Verona, Italy: carla.sassi@univr.it

Nations can be the object of intense emotions, and while some are notoriously blinding and destructive, others van be for the common good. Poetry can play a powerful and positive role in articulating the thoughts and feelings of a nation. It can direct hearts and minds towards principles of equality, justice and democracy, so that the nation becomes the catalyst for global change. We invite contributions that consider poetry as vehicle and shaper of political emotions.

Twenty-first century Scottish literature
Co-convenors:
- Marie-Odile Pittin-Hédon, Aix-Marseille Université, France: marie-odile.hedon@univ-amu.fr
- Scott Hames, University of Stirling, UK: scott.hames@stir.ac.uk
- Camille Manfredi, Université de Bretagne Occidentale, France: camille.manfredi@univ-brest.fr

This seminar aims to examine cultural diversity in twenty-first century Scotland. We welcome papers that focus on the interrogation of borders and of the national sentiment in twenty-first-century Scottish literature, and on the various ways that writers "reconfigure the possible" in a key period of their political and cultural history. Questions might be raised as to the dynamic of contemporary Scottish cultural politics and the way literary nationalism is being overtaken by the mass-movement politics of independence; both taking it over in the sense of determining the political/social frames in which literary criticism operated, thus rendering key paradigms redundant, and overtaking in the sense of surpassing and leaving behind, thus marking the end of the age of nationalist politics and the beginning of what Tom Nairn terms the age of "nationality-politics".

Celtic Fictions – Scottish and Irish Speculative Fiction
Co-convenors:
- Jessica Aliaga Lavrijsen, Centro Universitario de la Defensa Zaragoza, Spain: jeskeal@unizar.es
- Colin Clark, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic: scoczech@gmail.com

The thesis of much modern Speculative Fiction in Ireland and Scotland is the generation of a creative space in which, imaginatively, solutions are sought and simulated for real political, social and metaphysical problems. Often the result of impasses and failed channels for expression in society, speculative writing may be ludic, genre-hopping and heteroglossic offering refreshing and innovative discursive space. This panel seeks to expose and explore deliberately transgressive texts and engage with authors concerned with negotiating topoi neglected by conventional, institutionalised institutions and to bring together practitioners from various literatures and genres to discuss the potentialities of the speculative mode.

Proposals from a Scottish Studies perspective are also welcome for the following seminars:

Religion and Literatures in English
Co-convenors:
- Pilar Somacarrera, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain: pilar.somacarrera@uam.es
- Alison Jack, University of Edinburgh, UK: a.jack@ed.ac.uk

Religion has been an endless source of motifs and inspiration for literatures in the English language. The Bible has always had a central place in English literature, although its influence

was heightened after the publication of the King James Bible of 1611. Since then, it has provided subjects for literature to writers like D.H. Lawrence and James Joyce. This seminar welcomes contributions dealing with any aspect of the relationship between religion and the literatures in English: papers about the relation between religion, Bible intertextuality and gender are particularly welcome.

The Fast and the Furious: The Amazing Textual Adventures of Miniscripts
Co-convenors:
- Francesca Saggini Boyle, University of Tuscia/University of Glasgow: fsaggini@unitus.it
- Anna Enrichetta Soccio, University of Chieti, Italy: esoccio@unich.it

From the standpoint of complementary linguistic, literary and cultural studies, this panel will examine all forms of micro-textuality. The diversity of past and present-day microtextuality includes textual sermons, graffiti, flash fictions, media texts (hashtags, blogs, twitter size fictions), literary ephemera (greeting cards, postcards and trade cards), extreme bowdlerisations, essential compendia to be read in one sitting, one-act plays, aphorism, epigrams, funerary inscriptions, captions. This panel argues for a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the concepts of 'mini-text', 'mini-narratives' and 'textual snapshots', the metaphorical 'small print' that has traditionally been relegated to peripheral or spectralised narratives.
The submission deadline for papers for all seminars is 28 February 2016.

In Memory of Ian Bell

There is no doubt that with the passing of Ian Bell in Coldingham on December 10 last year, Scotland lost one of its finest and most fearless journalists. A writer of passion and integrity, he left us at a time in Scotland and Scottish politics when his judgement and honesty will be very sorely missed.

Born in Edinburgh in 1956, Bell studied English and Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, then worked as a journalist for *The Scotsman* and afterwards for the *Glasgow Herald*. He also wrote for the *Daily Record* and *The Times Literary Supplement* and was an editor of *The Observer*. Bell was twice distinguished as the Scottish journalist of the year, and in 1997 he won the Orwell Prize for political writing. He also received acclaim for his biographies of Bob Dylan and Robert Louis Stevenson, the latter winning the Best First Book award in 1994. He was a great-great-nephew of Irish nationalist leader James Connolly, executed for his role in the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin.

Mourning the close proximity of Bell's death to that of his great friend William McIlvanney (on December 5), Nicola Sturgeon managed to succinctly sum up the feelings of many when she remarked: "We have lost Willie McIlvanney and Ian Bell in just one week. Too much."

Here are links to some of his articles and comments on him:

"One of Scotland's finest: read 12 of Ian Bell's best columns", *Herald* 14-12-15: "As a tribute, we have compiled a list of some of Ian's best columns for The Herald and Sunday Herald."

"The voice that was a guide to our nation: Ian Bell in his own words", *Herald* 14-12-15: "Ian Bell, the award-winning Herald and Sunday Herald writer and columnist, died last week aged 59. Here are excerpts from 10 of his finest pieces of writing."

Bell, Sean: "Goodbye, Dad ... A Tribute to Ian Bell by his son", *Herald* 13-12-15: "'Anything further, father?'"

Hannan, Martin: "Nicola Sturgeon leads tributes to 'one of Scotland's finest writers' following sudden death of Ian Bell", *The National* 12-12-15.

Flockhart, Susan: "'A great writer and thinker who railed against greedy bankers and gormless politicians'", *Herald* 13-12-15: "You didn't really edit Ian Bell: you facilitated his journalistic excellence."

Wilson, Andrew: "Reflect on our angry nation", *Scotsman* 12-12-15: "This week my youngest child took the coveted role of 'shiny star' in the wonder of her school nativity. I adore nativity plays. Sheer optimism and innocence on the stage watched by parents most of whom get a moment of blissful release from the daily battles we all face in life."

Smith, Maurice: "Ian Bell: Remembering an outstanding Scottish voice, silenced too soon", *Newsnet* 12-12-15: "The death of Ian Bell has been accompanied by an outpouring of tributes from across the media in Scotland."

"'Scotland has lost its finest journalist': Tributes pour in for Ian Bell", *CommonSpace* 11-12-15: "Columnist, author and award winning journalist Ian Bell has died."

"Ian Bell: A man propelled by principle", *Herald* 11-12-15: "He shuffled into a life as a writer, shoulders hunched, eyes low, as if he was protecting himself against the brilliance that was in front of him."