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„Irishness vs. Scottishness as Reflected in Éilís Ní
Dhuibhne's *The Dancers Dancing* and James
Kelman's *Kieron Smith, Boy*“

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DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY

I confirm to have conceived and written this Diploma Thesis in English all by myself. Quotations from other authors are all clearly marked and acknowledged in the bibliographical references, either in the footnotes or within the text. Any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors have been truthfully acknowledged and identified in the footnotes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'M. Kienesberger', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Maria Kienesberger

HINWEIS

Diese Diplomarbeit hat nachgewiesen, dass die betreffende Kandidatin befähigt ist, wissenschaftliche Themen selbstständig sowie inhaltlich und methodisch vertretbar zu bearbeiten. Da die Korrekturen der Beurteilenden nicht eingetragen sind und das Gutachten nicht beiliegt, ist daher nicht erkenntlich mit welcher Note diese Arbeit abgeschlossen wurde. Das Spektrum reicht von sehr gut bis genügend. Die Habilitierten des Instituts für Anglistik und Amerikanistik bitten diesen Hinweis bei der Lektüre zu beachten.

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1. Introduction

Why Scotland and Ireland? What is marginal, one might ask, about cultures that have produced writers like Burns, Boswell, Stevenson, and Scott, on the one hand, and Wilde, Shaw, Yeats, and Joyce, on the other? (Reizbaum, 168)

When Ireland and Scotland are discussed in a diploma thesis, the first question which arises for a scholar from central Europe is why the two nations should be dealt with in combination. For Ray Ryan the historical and cultural reasons for an Irish-Scottish relationship are easily listed. First of all, both have the same linguistic tradition as they spoke a Gaelic language and English only later; they share the sectarian conflict between Protestants and Catholics as well as similar political and cultural concerns; on the one hand, both Ireland and Scotland have urbanised centres while, on the other hand, they have the rural countryside; connected to this is the aura of mystery surrounding Irish and Scottish people coming from rural areas.¹ Another important point made by Ray Ryan is that both nations' literatures had been oppressed by the English literary tradition for a long time. Hence, writers such as Pearse and Yeats, MacDiarmid and Scott attempted to retrieve and rebuild the literary and cultural zone that existed in older days by establishing movements such as the Scottish Renaissance and the Irish Literary Revival in the early twentieth century.²

These connections are crucial when looking at Ireland and Scotland. Hence, in order to provide for a theoretical background of the topic and the thesis, the first chapter (chapter 2) aims at establishing Irish and Scottish relationships. First of all, the historical perspective is taken into account. Ireland and Scotland have numerous links with each other in history that are often forgotten or not acknowledged as Irish and Scottish relationships with England had and sometimes still have priority. These Irish-Scottish historical relations are varied. First of all, Ireland and Scotland have the same Celtic origins. They, moreover, share a history of population movement as Irish people migrated to Scotland and vice versa. Furthermore, parallels in Norman-English and Viking invasions in Ireland and Scotland can be observed. Trade and military relations as well as religious and cultural interest in one another were common as

¹ Cf. Ryan, 10.

² Cf. Ryan, 10.

well. From the Reformation onwards, religious and political concerns in Scotland and Ireland went into different directions. The “cultural, religious, linguistic and economic zone” (Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 248) they had developed over the years was disrupted. However, the Irish-Scottish relations, although they were diminished, never came to an end. Most importantly, migratory labour existed up to the twentieth century and Irish immigrants were an important part of the Scottish workforce. The shared experience between Scotland and Ireland continues up to the present day.

Chapter 2 is also concerned with both the present situation and the political developments on the British Isles in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Linda Colley, Tom Nairn and other critics have claimed a break-up of Great Britain and a decline in Britishness. Furthermore, it is argued that Anglocentrism, which has been a problem for the two small nations for a long time, can eventually be overcome. Recent political developments, such as the establishment of the Republic of Ireland and the devolution of the Scottish parliament, made a movement away from England and contact with each other possible again for Ireland and Scotland. Moreover, the establishment of Irish-Scottish Studies as a field of enquiry in academia, the development of the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative and the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen reawakened an interest in the two nations. Today, comparative and interdisciplinary research of the history, culture, languages and literatures of Ireland and Scotland is conducted enthusiastically and common concerns between Ireland and Scotland are established.

Whilst Great Britain is threatened with the prospect of a break up, Robert Crawford predicts a similar process for the academic discipline of English Literature which is traditionally Anglocentric. Chapter 3, therefore, deals with a ‘devolving English Literature’ and the aspiration towards an Irish and Scottish Literature that is neither subdued by an English literary tradition nor absorbed in an English literary canon. Subsequently, a thorough overview of Irish and Scottish literature in general and the Irish and Scottish novel in particular is given.

The thesis at hand is a comparative, imagological analysis. In order to define what an imagological study aims at, chapter 4 is dedicated to imagology. It is not only a

definition of what imagology is and what it does, but also a brief historical survey on imagology and the most important imagologists is provided. The chapter on imagology is succeeded by brief biographies of the authors James Kelman and Éilís Ní Dhuibhne as well as plot summaries of the novels selected for the imagological analysis, which constitutes the second part of this thesis (chapter 5).

Chapter 6 is an extensive discussion and a close reading of Éilís Ní Dhuibhne's *The Dancers Dancing* and James Kelman's *Kieron Smith, Boy*. The main aim is to establish whether Scottish and Irish connections and parallels that are promoted by Irish and Scottish Studies and suggested by history and, thus, images and aspects of Ireland/the Irish and Scotland/the Scottish can be found in literary works of Irish and Scottish authors. As this thesis cannot be a comprehensive study of all the literary works of Scotland and Ireland, the two novels by Éilís Ní Dhuibhne and James Kelman were selected as representative examples. Both novels are analysed closely in order to provide features and images that are particular to Scotland *and* Ireland and to explore the way authors are describing Irish and Scottish life. The main aspects that were found are summarised under the headings 'Language', 'Religion', 'Politics', 'Geography – Dichotomy between the Rural and the Urban', 'Emigration and Immigration', 'Family, Gender Roles and the Male-Breadwinner-Model', 'Aspects of Irish and Scottish Culture: the *Céili/Céilidh*' and 'Professions'. These features are discussed in detail in the respective subchapters.

The conclusion (chapter 7) compares the main outcomes of the imagological study. Furthermore, it refers back to the proposed research questions and answers them by providing a critical reflection on the comparative analysis.

2. Irish-Scottish Relation(ship)s

2.1. Historical Perspective

Scotland and Ireland were involved in a significant amount of historical events which have linked the two nations for a long time. Scotland and Ireland do not only share a common ethnic origin as well as Celtic roots, but both nations have also played a significant part in the diverse history of the British Isles. Generally speaking, Ireland and Scotland created an area where culture, religion, language and economy were shared as contact via the sea was uncomplicated and unchallenging. Tom Devine comments on these connections:

There can be little doubt then that Ireland and Scotland have experienced a range of historic interconnections which have powerfully shaped the development of each country in the modern era. (Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 253)

Furthermore, Tom Devine states that “Scotland and Ireland share much history in common” (“Caledonian Connection”, 248). This shared history is looked at in the following chapters. For a better overview, the first chapter concentrates on the time before the Reformation and the other one focuses on the time after the Reformation.

2.1.1. Pre-Reformation

Due to the close proximity of Scotland and Ireland³, connections between the Irish and the Scots were formed in prehistoric times and the two countries created a “single cultural, religious, linguistic and economic zone” (Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 248). Contact between the two British islands was always there but not always close-knit. In this context it has to be shortly discussed who the Celts were. The Iron Age can be called the age of the Celts. Originally coming from the regions around the

³ The Antrim coast which is part of Ireland’s northeastern county Antrim and Wigtownshire in the South West of Scotland are only 20 miles (about 40 kilometres) apart, and it is possible to see the other coastline on a clear day.

Black Sea, in today's central Europe, they appeared at the source regions of the Rhône, the Rhine and the Danube around the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Although they were never one unified people or kingdom, the different Celts spoke languages that were related to each other and they shared the same structure of society as well as religious rites and rituals, art, music and literature.⁴ The Celts expanded their territory through invasion and migration⁵ but their power was also extended by the export of culture and language.⁶ Western Europe was an important part of the Celtic World. However, there is no evidence that Celts migrated to Britain or Ireland during the big migration period in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.⁷ The Celtic language nevertheless travelled to the British Isles relatively early and was widely spoken by the sixth century. Jürgen Kramer argues that the language of the Celts might have been a sort of *lingua franca* in early Europe – numerous people who had no Celtic origins but responded to the linguistic and cultural influence of the Celts commenced to use it as their native language and were recognised as Celts.⁸ The inhabitants of the two British Isles can thus be called Celts as they adapted the language and culture of the Celts from the Continent. As soon as the linguistic alterations were steady, additional changes followed. In Britain the P-Celtic followed the Q-Celtic which was the earliest form of the Celtic language. Ireland, however, did not participate in this change from Q- to P-Celtic because, as Kramer argues, the contact between the West and the East of the islands was not as strong as before 600 B.C.⁹

People living in Ireland and Scotland not only spoke the same and later similar languages, but they also shared entire communities. The Irish records contain a number of lists on mixed racial backgrounds. The *Cruithin*¹⁰, for example, could be encountered in Ireland and Scotland. The *Dumnonii*, who lived in Scotland near the town of Dumbarton, can be found in Ireland under the Irish name *Domnainn*.¹¹ While

⁴ Cf. Kramer, 10.

⁵ The Celts captured Rome in 390 B.C. and Celtic tribes dominated central, eastern and western Europe from Asia Minor to Ireland by 400 B.C. (Kramer, 10).

⁶ Cf. Kramer, 11.

⁷ Cf. Kramer, 11-12.

⁸ Cf. Kramer, 12.

⁹ Cf. Kramer, 12.

¹⁰ In Scotland, the Latin writers also called them Picti.

¹¹ Cf. Ó Corráin, 5.

the first settlers in Ireland probably crossed the North Channel from Scotland, Scotland itself derived its name from an Irish tribe. According to written tradition by later writers, this tribe was known as the ‘Scoti’. The Scoti conquered the western Highlands and established a Gaelic kingdom in the region which is situated in today’s county Argyll on the western coast of Scotland and named it *Dál Riata*.¹²

The Scoti, however, were neither the only nor the first people in Scotland. It is commonly known that Scotland was formed through the union of five different people. The Caledonians or Picts were the first who inhabited Scotland. They are nowadays considered as the original inhabitants and they were occupying the land which is north of the Pentland or Pictland Hills¹³. The Picts fought back the Romans during their unsuccessful efforts to expand the Roman Empire to the North of the British Island. During Roman Times, the Britons lived in the Lowlands, in the South of Scotland. The Britons were the people who occupied entire England before the Anglo-Saxons came and their Celtic language is considered to be the origin of modern Welsh. The sixth century, however, saw the arrival of the two people who shaped Scotland’s landscape. The South East of Scotland was inhabited by the Angles, who originally were a Teutonic people coming from the Continent. In the eighth century, they expanded their territory across southern Scotland and expelled the Britons from the country.¹⁴

However, before the Angles came to Scotland, the Scots, who were the before-mentioned emigrant people from the North East of Ireland, formed the kingdom of *Dál Riata* after they crossed the North Channel around 500.¹⁵ The reasons for the establishment of *Dál Riata* which was basically an Irish colony in Scotland are unclear. Although Ireland at that time had more and larger colonies in Wales, *Dál Riata* was a long lasting and most successful settlement as well as the starting point for a united kingdom of Scotland.¹⁶ *Dál Riata* was situated at the islands and shores of Argyll and its language was Gaelic, a Celtic language which was, however, very

¹² Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 248.

¹³ This is the north and north east of Scotland.

¹⁴ Cf. Donaldson, 15.

¹⁵ Cf. Donaldson, 15.

¹⁶ Cf. Ó Corráin, 6-7.

different to the Celtic language the Britons spoke.¹⁷ Dál Riata became an important kingdom in the North of the British Isles as it unified a large part of the nation under one dynasty. Hence, when the land of the Scoti, or later Scotland, first came into existence, the Irish Gaelic culture was predominant.¹⁸

Accounts of how the different inhabitants of Scotland came together are usually of Irish origin. Around 844 A.D., the Irish Scoti and the Picts were amalgamated and the kingdom of Alba was established. The Irish accounts indicate that the Scoti achieved union due to a victorious conquest over the Picts.¹⁹ However, an Irish victory over the Picts, Angles or Britons seems rather unlikely. It is more probable that over the years a united kingdom was achieved through subjugation, but also intermarriage and inheritance.²⁰ Nevertheless, the Irish were very powerful and influential in this united kingdom of Alba. Although the Pictish culture and a few of their institutions continued to exist up to the eleventh century, the Irish Scoti were those who brought forth the royal dynasty's male line. Moreover, the Irish Gaelic language survived while the Pictish language died out. Some institutions, which were typical for the Irish Church, were also accepted by the people in Alba.²¹

Ireland and Scotland were not only ethnically linked but also their religious connection was especially strong. Numerous Irish missionaries came to Scotland in order to spread Christianity. Saint Columba, also known as Colum Cille, commenced his journey from Ireland to Scotland in the name of religion in 563 A.D. His destination was Iona, an island of the Inner Hebrides, where he founded a monastery which became the spiritual centre of Scotland. Saint Columba and his brethren brought Christianity to the Gaelic West of Scotland and to parts of the rest of the kingdom.²² Iona, moreover, had dependent churches in Scotland as well as Ireland, such as Durrow, Derry and Kells.²³ Columba's legacy which lasted for over 600 years

¹⁷ Cf. Donaldson, 15.

¹⁸ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 248.

¹⁹ Cf. Donaldson, 16.

²⁰ Cf. Donaldson, 17.

²¹ Cf. Donaldson, 17-18.

²² Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 248.

²³ Cf. Ó Corráin, 15.

secured Irish and Scottish relations as a religious as well as ethnic network was established that lasted up to the Middle Ages.²⁴

In the twelfth century, the Celtic predominance and influence in Scotland dwindled. A stream of Englishmen and Normans, who usually were aristocrats and occupied high positions in the church and state, into Scotland finally ended the Irish prevalence and culture.²⁵ Sheriffdoms were introduced and the sheriffs who managed and ran different regions in Scotland were hardly ever from the Celtic race. The church was adapted to the western European system, cathedrals and abbeys were built and most of the bishops and abbots were, just as the sheriffs, from the southern part of the British Isle.²⁶ Gordon Donaldson remarks that the natives of twelfth century Scotland must have perceived their country as being occupied and, thus, the natives often rose in rebellion due to the strained relations with the peoples from the South and the establishment of new institutions and landlords.²⁷ Similar to Scotland, Ireland also experienced the Norman invasion and, as Katherine Simms puts it,

[...] entered a world of shared ideology, custom, law, and culture which gave most of western Europe in the high Middle Ages a sense of community, inaccurately expressed from time to time as the unity of Christendom under the pope, or the alliance of feudal kingdoms led by the Holy Roman Emperor. (Simms, 53)

It can be argued that England's first colony was Ireland. In 1169, an Irish warlord invited Norman knights to Ireland in order to increase and improve his success in regional and local politics. The Normans, i.e. the first English on Irish soil, easily took over political and social authority as the inhabitants of Ireland at that time were a mixture of earlier Celtic and Viking occupations and influx, without neither a collective identity, nor overall political interests. Although the conquerors assimilated easily and quickly, their loyalty to England had sustained.²⁸

²⁴ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 248-249.

²⁵ Cf. Donaldson, 18.

²⁶ Cf. Donaldson, 19.

²⁷ Cf. Donaldson, 20.

²⁸ Cf. Smyth, 2.

Going back to Scotland, it can be observed that despite a Norman-English invasion, the French-speaking, English-speaking and Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of Scotland soon commenced to see themselves as one nation instead of an accumulation of various races.²⁹ A separate state and identity was formed owing to the fact that all newcomers decided on taking on the history, myths and legends of the Irish invader, who finally turned into the “original Scot”, as their own tradition and recollections (Donaldson, 24). A unique state could be formed, although no clear frontier between the North and South of Britain existed, origins and languages of its people were diverse and Lowlands and Highlands were strikingly different.³⁰ J.D. Mackie considers four factors as the main reasons for their unity into one nation:

1. The Celtic people consisting of the Picts, the Scots and the Britons shared a common background: culture, politics and society. Their folklore, the art and even the earliest form of their languages resembled each other. Moreover, they shared a similar political and social system as small tribal kingdoms and kin groups were the foundation of Scots, Picts and Britons.³¹
2. The arrival of Christianity which was brought to the Picts by the British bishop Ninian and in a second wave by Columba, the churchman from Ireland who restored Christianity in Scotland in 563, provided a fresh feeling of unity amongst the peoples.³²
3. Of course, the rise of Pictland and its subsequently predominant position contributed to the fusion of Scotland as every rising nation needs a stable centre.³³
4. Scandinavian attacks as well as the pressure from England (war, battles et cetera) which were constant threats to the inhabitants were significant factors leading to the unification of the Scottish people.³⁴

While the Alban kingdom in Scotland at that time (around the ninth century) was organised and had a centralised settlement, Ireland was not a united people, but

²⁹ Cf. Donaldson, 23.

³⁰ Cf. Donaldson, 24.

³¹ Cf. Mackie, 23.

³² Cf. Mackie, 24.

³³ Cf. Mackie, 27.

³⁴ Cf. Mackie, 28-30.

consisted of different tribes fighting each other.³⁵ Ireland consisted of eighty to hundred small kingdoms and each of them had a king who represented his kingdom, led his people in war and dealt with other kingdoms. However, these kings did not have much to say. Those who had control were the five or six kings of the provinces. Whether there was a king who ruled over entire Ireland is still discussed by historians. However, it is not likely, as this would also imply a unified Ireland at that time.³⁶

Vikings are also part of Ireland's history from the eighth century onwards. The Vikings raided Irish towns but most of the time monasteries were under attack. While in Scotland the Vikings who settled down became farmers and fishermen, in Ireland the Ostmen, as they called themselves, became merchants and seamen. In contrast to Scotland, where the Vikings mingled with the Scottish population, the Irish Vikings built or occupied towns and made them their own. These Ostman cities, with Dublin leading the way, were thriving and very wealthy as the Ostmen established a booming trade and even had their local coinage.³⁷

In the thirteenth century the Gaelic-Irish origins were still very important to the Scots and especially to the Scottish aristocracy who often proudly declared Ireland as their homeland. During King Robert the Bruce's reign³⁸, the Irish-Scottish bond was strong due to the effort that was made to link the two countries' interests against the forcefully growing enemy England. Robert the Bruce saw himself as a member not only of the Scottish but also of the Irish nation as both had to face and cope with the gradually advancing English monarchical power. Tradition has it that Bruce commented on the close relationship of the two nations by saying that "the two nations [are] coming from 'one seed of birth' and sharing a common language and customs" (Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 249). During the First War of Independence in Scotland from 1296 to 1328, Robert Bruce sought for help in Ulster by calling to mind that both Ireland and Scotland had a common Celtic ancestry. The war finally came to Ireland when Robert Bruce's brother, Edward Bruce, and his Scottish army anchored at Larne, Co. Antrim, in May 1315. Edward Bruce took the

³⁵ Cf. Donaldson, 19.

³⁶ Cf. Ó Corráin, 25-27.

³⁷ Cf. Ó Corráin, 38.

³⁸ Robert I was King of Scots from 1306 until 1329 (Barrow, 311).

title ‘King of Ireland’ and together with his brother took control of Ireland in less than a year. Although the Scottish-Irish alliance was successful at the beginning winning numerous battles against England, the North European famine from 1315 to 1317 weakened the army. Eventually, Edward Bruce was beaten in October 1318 and finally killed. It is possible that the impression that the Scottish and Irish were very close and united against the common rival England originated from the two brothers.³⁹

During the next three centuries, economic and cultural interest in one another continued. Moreover, military links were established and advanced. The *buannachan*, which were the men who held the warrior rank in the clans, were recruited as mercenaries by the Irish. Generally, military alliances between the two nations were formed in order to extend territories on both coasts or to fend off English endeavours who wanted to force imperial lordship on the Irish. The Scottish-Irish military relations were definitely a peril to expansionist England and to the, at this time, other unified parts of Scotland.⁴⁰

2.1.2. Post-Reformation

Irish-Scottish concerns went in different directions from the late medieval times to the nineteenth century and their connections diminished. A decisive aspect in this development was the Scottish monarchs’ orientation away from Scotland’s Gaelic West in favour of England and Europe in the late medieval times.⁴¹

In the sixteenth century, the Protestant Reformation took place in Scotland⁴² with John Knox leading the movement. Thus, the Reformation spreading from the island’s South turned Scotland into a Protestant nation and only the western Highlands and Islands and some parts in the North East remained Catholic. Protestantism and

³⁹ Cf. Simms, 83-84.

⁴⁰ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 249.

⁴¹ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 249.

⁴² Scotland officially ended their connections with the papacy in 1560.

Catholicism had different political affiliations. Thus, the relationship which Scotland and Ireland established over the years with England depended fully on the countries' religious denomination and the close interrelation of religion and politics. Around this time England tried, and finally succeeded in, imposing its authority on the Irish people who were predominantly Catholic. While Ireland's Catholic population was subjugated, occupied and colonised by the English, the Protestant Scots kept their freedom during the Wars of Independence. Moreover, in 1603 James VI, the Scottish king, was crowned James I of the United Kingdom when Queen Elizabeth I died without leaving an heir.⁴³

In 1707 a full union of the Scottish and the English parliament was brought about, which was basically seen "as a partnership by agreement between two independent powers" (Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 250). This Anglo-Scottish Union brought numerous advantages to Scotland, such as access to English domestic and colonial markets and education. In return, England could count on Scotland's loyalty and nationalist resistance was no longer an option.⁴⁴ There are different perspectives on this Anglo-Scottish Union and some are even quite negative. R.J. Morris and Liam Kennedy, for example, do not see this partnership between Scotland and England as a voluntary one. They argue that England only 'won' Scotland through negotiation, bribery and corruption as in the seventeenth century Scotland's economy was declining.⁴⁵ In 1791, the Scottish poet Robert Burns wrote the following poem about the Anglo-Scottish Union. Robert Burns, too, claims in the last two lines of his poem that Scotland traded in her independence for economic and financial profit:

Fareweel to a' our Scottish fame,
 Fareweel our ancient glory,
 Fareweel ev'n to the Scottish name,
 Sae fam'd in martial story.
 Now Sark rins o'er the Solway sands,
 And Tweed rins to the ocean,
 To mark where England's province stands -
 Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

What force or guile could not subdue,

⁴³ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 250.

⁴⁴ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 250.

⁴⁵ Cf. Morris and Kennedy, 8.

Thro' many warlike ages,
 Is wrought now by a coward few
 For hireling traitor's wages.
 The English steel we could disdain;
 Secure in valour's station;
 But English gold has been our bane -
 Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

O would, or I had seen the day
 That treason thus could sell us,
 My auld gray head had lien in clay,
 Wi' Bruce and loyal Wallace!
 But pith and power, till my last hour,
 I'll mak' this declaration;
 We're bought and sold for English gold
 Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!⁴⁶

Although Scotland's union with England did not ensue from English conquest, it can be argued that Scotland nevertheless shares a history of occupation and domination by England's powerful military and political power with Ireland. In Ireland this conquest resulted in taking over the government and the land so that the ruling class was very different and thus isolated from the majority of the population. In contrast to Ireland, Scotland's ruling class was a recognised part of Scottish society.⁴⁷

While in 1707 Scotland joined England, Ireland's official union with England took place in 1800 and the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was formed. The union also included an economic union as Ireland commenced a free trade area with Britain. Great Britain's economy, however, was rather weak at that time and Ireland was never granted the eagerly awaited Catholic Emancipation. These and more disadvantages that involved the union, gave rise to the "recurring metaphor [...] of the failed marriage" as well as to the Anglophobia that was felt over the next centuries in Ireland (R. Foster, 184).

Furthermore, both Irish and Scottish thinkers lost interest in one another during the Enlightenment. Scottish Enlightenment intellectuals wanted to move away from tradition, the 'old' cruelty and brutality to a modern identity without any of the

⁴⁶http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/robertburns/works/such_a_parcel_of_rogues_in_a_nation
 19 November 2012.

⁴⁷ Cf. Morris and Kennedy, 7-8.

primitive ‘Irishness’ in Scotland as they wanted to have good relations with the politically and colonially successful England. Irish philosophers, too, were mainly concerned with Anglo-Irish relations, as their country during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries struggled with nationalist conflicts, and the connection to Scotland was no longer as thought-provoking and absorbing as before.⁴⁸

Although Scotland’s and Ireland’s cultural interests began to develop in different directions, the contact between them did not fully cease and the two countries still influenced each other as the two nations were still intertwined through migration. Migratory labour has existed in Irish as well as Scottish rural communities (the north-western part of Ireland and the Highlands in Scotland) at least since the eighteenth century. As Irish seasonal workers came to Scotland and vice versa, R.J. Morris and Liam Kennedy note that cultural, economic and actual borders were crossed constantly and that “[t]he long mutual interaction of the ‘isolated’ rural community and the modern urban was common to both Ireland and Scotland” (7).

The seventeenth century saw a wave of migration from more than 100 000 Scottish Protestants to the northern Irish province Ulster which influenced the politics, religion and also the history of Ireland profoundly. In 1606, rich Scottish landowners began the plantation of Ulster and in 1609 the official colonisation commenced as James VI of Scotland and I of England annexed the six Ulster counties Tyrconnell, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, Coleraine and Armagh and loyal Scottish as well as English Protestants settled there in order to prevent Irish Catholics from revolting and rioting.⁴⁹ At the end of the seventeenth century, as the harvest failed in Scotland and the nation was threatened by famine during the so called ‘Lean Years’, numerous Scots emigrated to Ireland. Nearly 100 000 Scottish migrants and their descendants lived in Ulster. The migration of the Scots was so significant that Tom Devine even states that “[...] the mass movement of Protestant Scots to Ulster had left an indelible mark on Irish history, politics and religion down to the present day” (“Caledonian Connection”, 252).

⁴⁸ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 250.

⁴⁹ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 252.

Also thousands of Irish migrated to Scotland during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially after the Great Famine from 1845 to 1847. Due to the potato disease, which is commonly known as the potato blight, Irishmen were forced to leave their home country. Thousands came to central Scotland during the potato famine, accepting any labour, any wage and any conditions in order not to starve but survive.⁵⁰ Even after the potato famine the Irish left their homeland. By 1847, almost a quarter of a million Irish had emigrated per year and thus the Irish population was declining rapidly.⁵¹ Emigration continued in the late nineteenth century. Although Gladstone's 1870 Land Act as well as economic, social and political stability promised an Irish "'modern' industrial society modelled upon England", Irish workforce was still demanded overseas and numerous Irish married in a foreign country (Fitzpatrick, 213). Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, approximately half of the Irish population was living abroad and roughly a quarter migrated to the neighbouring island. David Fitzpatrick argues that the decrease of Ireland's population was the result of structural emigration that "removed up to half of each generation from the country" (213).

Until the 1930s, the Irish constituted the highest proportion of immigrants in Scotland. The industrialisation attracted most of the Irish who tried to find employment and the industries commenced to thrive with the help of these Irish labourers. Small Irish communities grew in the industrial counties and booming towns as Irish immigrants tended to concentrate in these areas. Due to the fact that a lot of immigrants came from Ulster, where their ancestors immigrated to in the seventeenth century, there was a significant amount of Irish who were Protestant. Although more Catholic Irish immigrated to Scotland, it was the Protestant Irish who were integrated without much difficulty due to their religious, cultural and racial background.⁵² The Ulster immigrants brought the conflict between 'Orange' and 'Green' supporters with them to the industrial areas of Scotland. In the western Lowlands, the sectarianism can be even felt today.⁵³

⁵⁰ Cf. Donaldson, 219.

⁵¹ Cf. R. Foster, 203.

⁵² Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 252.

⁵³ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 253.

Moreover, trade relations between Scotland and Ireland seemed to have been very important for each nation. A Scottish book of customs from 1602 serves as a confirmation for the trade and businesses that were conducted. Besides France and Scandinavia, a very active business partner was, according to this book, Ireland. The things that were traded were usually raw materials, corn, skins and hides, wood, lead, ore, coal and fish (especially herring and salmon). Also, manufactured goods such as cloth, hose, linen, yarn, salt and leather were exported.⁵⁴ In the early nineteenth century, the Irish and Scottish economies were generally alike as they were first and foremost rural, however, also included some minor textile industries and an increasing urban sector. Over the next hundred to two hundred years the economy developed in different directions. While Scotland's industrialisation and urbanisation proceeded at a fast pace and Scotland became the world's second richest country after England, Ireland's problems of poverty, de-industrialisation and overpopulation after the Napoleonic wars culminated during the Great Famine in the 1840s.⁵⁵

Tom Devine reflects on the state of the Irish-Scottish relationship in the nineteenth century and comes to the following conclusion:

On the face of it, therefore, the two countries, once so close, seemed to have little in common by the Victorian era. Economic, religious and cultural distance had apparently replaced the old warmth of ethnic solidarities. (Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 251)

2.2.Present Perspective

The relationship between Ireland and Scotland has undergone some changes over the past years. Most importantly, political developments that have concerned the British Isles since the establishment of the Republic of Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as a move away from an Anglocentric position to a more devolved viewpoint, have set a new precedent for Irish-Scottish relations. The present changes have not only led to a new perception of politics within the British Isles but

⁵⁴ Cf. Mackie, 196-197.

⁵⁵ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 251.

have also furthered the formation of Irish-Scottish Studies as a new field of enquiry in academia.

2.2.1. Anglocentrism and the Decline of Britishness

Peter Scott wrote in 1990 that “Britain is an invented nation, not so much older than the United States” (168). Great Britain was indeed invented and forged when Scotland formally joined England and Wales in 1707. It can be thus treated as one fairly new nation that, however, consists of three nations which are considerably older. Up to the present time, the relationship between the old and new elements is constantly altering and transforming.⁵⁶

At this point it is relevant to discuss the terms ‘state’ and ‘nation’. John Wilson and Karyn Stapleton give a short but precise explanation of the difference between these two terms:

The state is defined as a sovereign or legal form of state power, while the nation (or the people) refers to a community bound by common heritage language and culture. (Wilson and Stapleton, 1)

In (western) Europe, however, it is common that the ‘state’ is basically identified with the ‘nation’, making it a nation-state. In this nation-state, the government is arranged in order to be advantageous and helpful to the ‘nation’, i.e. the people. Jürgen Habermas adds to this:

Only a national consciousness, crystallised around the notion of a common ancestry, language, and history, only the consciousness of belonging to ‘the same’ people makes subjects into citizens of a single political community – into members who can feel responsible for one another. (Habermas qtd. in Wilson and Stapleton, 1)

This national unity which allows, or even is the basis for the functioning of state power, is the reason why the United Kingdom brings Wales, Scotland and Ireland

⁵⁶ Cf. Colley, 374.

(nowadays only Northern Ireland instead of the whole island), cultures that basically have the potential of being autonomous, into one merged identity which is called 'Britishness'.⁵⁷ Additionally, Linda Colley argues that the Act of Union not only formed an official state, but also an awareness of belonging to a nation which then resulted in the creation of a British national identity. For her, this sense of Britishness and loyalty commenced in response to several contacts with the Other. The Other in this sense was usually hostile forces from outside that let people from the British Isles define themselves as one nation. First of all, the wars with France, which lasted from 1689-1815, made the French, or more generally, the people from the Continent, the first Other. Secondly, the Protestant Britons – as Protestantism unified the people on the British Isles and was central to British identity – had to cope with the predominating Catholic religion. The third Other were the colonial peoples who the British empire defeated and who seemed to be peculiar due to different cultures, religions and skin colours.⁵⁸ Neither politics nor culture but the fact that there was the Other that was a threat to them, unified the English, Welsh and Scottish after 1707 into one powerful nation. This, however, did not mean that each part of the British Isles gave up their own cultural identity. England, Scotland and Wales did not blend Englishness with Scottishness and Welshness to get a British identity. "Instead", writes Linda Colley, "Britishness was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the Other, and above all in response to conflict with the Other" (2).

Today's problem of a declining Britishness can easily be explained with the help of Linda Colley's theory. The downfall of the British Empire, Great Britain joining the EU which makes war with France impossible and the fact that Protestantism is now only a peripheral part of British culture took away the Other that was so essential to the collective British identity.⁵⁹ Linda Colley argues that, as a consequence of this loss of a national British identity through the loss of the Other in the form of Catholicism, Continental Europe or overseas empires, nationalism re-emerged in Wales, Scotland but also in England. This regional nationalism resulted in the reappearance of disunity on the British Isles, a changeable and instable identity

⁵⁷ Cf. Wilson and Stapleton, 1.

⁵⁸ Cf. Colley, 1.

⁵⁹ Cf. Colley, 6.

among the English, Welsh and Scottish population and the unpleasant but possible prospects of a breaking up of Great Britain.⁶⁰ All in all, Linda Colley concludes that

[...] we can understand the nature of the present crisis only if we recognise that the factors that provided for the forging of a British nation in the past have largely ceased to operate. (Colley, 374)

Besides the threat of a decline of Britishness, the British Isles has to deal with another issue: Anglocentrism. When talking about the British Isles, England is commonly regarded as the centre, or the heart of the island around which the other nations are arranged. The terms English and British were used interchangeably for a long time and the two concepts were basically merged into one idea which did not pose any problem until recently.⁶¹ While the economic and demographic centre can be found in England (especially in the South), Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and to some extent also the Republic of Ireland, as they are small in size and have fewer inhabitants, have always been trying hard to maintain their own culture, politics and identity. From the outside they got the name ‘Celtic fringe’, building on their Celtic ancestors. The term even positions them linguistically on the margins and gives them another cultural and ethnic heritage than England. Glenda Norquay and Gerry Smyth have termed this concept “core/periphery model” (2).

In his book *The Break-Up of Britain*, Tom Nairn calls for a redefinition of the term ‘Englishness’ in order to raise awareness of Anglocentrism and the problematic issue of ‘belonging’ which is faced by various ethnic communities as well as regional cultures on the British Isles. As more and more new hyphenated English identities appear – this also includes hyphenated identities in the areas of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland – they leave and will leave significant impressions on the English landscape.⁶² Thus, the use of the term ‘British’ has become more controversial and difficult. Scholars tried and still try to find a new expression to define the geography of the isles. The authors and contributors of the book *Across the Margins*, for example, agreed on the term ‘Atlantic archipelago’.⁶³

⁶⁰ Cf. Colley, 7.

⁶¹ Cf. Norquay and Smyth, 1.

⁶² Cf. Dix, 156.

⁶³ Archipelago means a group of islands. Cf. Norquay and Smyth, 4.

Furthermore, the Anglocentric tendency of British history has been an often-discussed issue over the last decades. In 1974, in his paper ‘British History: A Plea for a New Subject’, the English-born historian J.G.A. Pocock drew attention to the need for a history of the four nations that is united and which highlights the connections between the four nations instead of a history where England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales exist independently. Consequently, J.G.A. Pocock calls for an authentic British history where

[...] the various peoples and nations, ethnic cultures, social structures and locally defined communities, which have from time to time existed in the area known as ‘Great Britain and Ireland’, have not only acted so as to create the conditions of their several existences, but have also interacted so as to modify the conditions of one another’s existence. (qtd. in McIlvanney and Ryan, 11)

Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan describe the emergence of Irish-Scottish Studies⁶⁴ as the partly “fulfilment of Pocock’s vision” (11). They, furthermore, argue that Scotland’s motivation for taking part in the development of Irish-Scottish Studies has to some extent been the wish to overcome the controversial relationship with England. While English culture has been defined by scholars like Eliot, Leavis, Williams and others as a “coherent national tradition developing organically throughout the ages”, Scotland’s cultural history, and thus also Scottish identity, has been seen by writers from the Scottish Renaissance up to the late twentieth century as “debased, deformed, fragmented, dominated by pernicious, inauthentic discourses” (McIlvanney and Ryan, 12). Thus, Scottish identity when compared with the ‘English standard’, has always been regarded as “hopelessly incoherent” as well as “discontinuous and deviant” as it was regionally and religiously divided, split between Scots and English and lacked a common language which is “the prerequisite of an autonomous culture” (McIlvanney and Ryan, 11).

From the 1980s onwards, various scholars, such as David McCrone, Lindsay Paterson, Alice Brown and Cairns Craig, who formed the ‘Edinburgh Group’ at the University of Edinburgh, commenced to question this perception. They argue that due to the comparisons of Scotland with a flawed ideal that promotes a unitary and homogeneous nation, theorists have misapprehended Scotland’s situation, culture and

⁶⁴ See 1.3. Irish and Scottish Studies.

identity. As an alternative to the comparison with ideal nations, Scotland should be measured against smaller European nations and peoples such as Norway, Denmark, Poland and, of course, due to the proximity and shared history, to Ireland. The Edinburgh Group claims that, consequently, Scotland can be understood as an average and typical small European country and not as an abnormal nation.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan argue that it is nowadays widely regarded as true that Ireland, on the other hand, cannot be seen as a “normal small European nation” (13). Irish history shows a lot of similarities with various colonies or colonised peoples around the world. However, scholars like Thomas Bartlett, Kevin Whelan and Luke Gibbon have found out that besides a history of colonialism, the modernisation of Ireland’s economy and state are part of Ireland since the eighteenth century. These characteristics of a fragmented past combined with ambitions for modern markets and a modern nation, have made Ireland, in Luke Gibbon’s words, “a first world country with a third world memory” (qtd. in McIlvanney and Ryan, 13). The combination of colonisation and modernisation provides a rather complicated basis for comparative analyses, as it is difficult to find similar or comparative contexts, although the situation is not uncommon in other countries. Liam McIlvanney, Ray Ryan as well as other authors in *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000* point out that Ireland and Scotland would yield a good ground for comparative surveys, studies and examinations for Irish as well as Scottish culture, society and history. They cite various reasons: Scotland and Ireland are constrained by nearly the same linguistic, religious, political and cultural issues, they are preoccupied with their relationship to England and Great Britain and they share the same Celtic past but also a rather modern economy.⁶⁶ Moreover, Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan emphasise that “relations between Ireland and Scotland have been shaped by and inflected at every turn by the relationship of both to England” (21). Even Irish and Scottish history, politics and culture can be partly defined as Anglocentric. Englishness and Britishness have always been difficult classifications in the past and present of Ireland and Scotland. Besides dealing with the issues they have been having with England for several centuries, Scotland and Ireland are, moreover, involved in the “project Britain”, a project which has been

⁶⁵ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 13.

⁶⁶ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 13.

going on for years and from its beginning its legitimacy has always been questioned and its validity debated (McIlvanney and Ryan, 22). Although the relationship with England has always been difficult, Great Britain without Scotland and Northern Ireland is, however, failing to convince, too.⁶⁷

2.2.2. Political Developments

Ireland was the first nation that pulled away from Great Britain. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in 1921 by Ireland and England. Subsequently, the Irish Free State was established. The ‘new’ Ireland, of which the six Northern Irish counties chose not to be part, hold the self-governing dominion status and the Irish delegation ensured that the southern part of Ireland had several rights concerning Irish defence, taxation, tariffs and policing.⁶⁸ Moreover, the government aimed at preventing the Anglicisation of its people and restoring a Gaelic culture by reintroducing Irish Gaelic in school as a compulsory subject and declaring Irish to be the first official language in the Constitution of 1937. The Republic of Ireland Act finally terminated Ireland’s connections with the monarchy. Ireland was declared a Republic in 1949.⁶⁹

Additionally, Scotland’s links and connections with Great Britain diminished. Since devolution seemed to be a significant event for Scotland, it should therefore be briefly discussed. Devolution can be shortly defined in the following way: Devolution does not imply the establishment of a new state, but provides independence. Although the centre has still all the power – the central Westminster government holds the main control – the various duties are redistributed.⁷⁰ Three main features can be identified when talking about devolution: First of all, the power is transferred to a chosen body. Secondly, the power is transferred to a different geographical position. And lastly, the responsibilities of the present Parliament are transferred to the newly elected body in a new region.⁷¹ Scotland was not pro-devolution from the beginning. In 1979

⁶⁷ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 22.

⁶⁸ Cf. Fitzpatrick, 251.

⁶⁹ Cf. Fitzpatrick, 262.

⁷⁰ Cf. Wilson and Stapleton, 2.

⁷¹ Cf. Wilson and Stapleton, 3.

Scotland and Wales called for referenda which should decide whether the people wanted an autonomous Scotland and Wales or not. Both nations voted 'no'. In May 1997 the Labour Party came into power in Britain once more and after six months decided to let Scottish and Welsh people vote for or against partial home rule again. On this occasion, the people voted differently than 18 years ago and devolution was accepted willingly and enthusiastically in Scotland. Also Wales, even though with only a slight majority, accepted home rule.⁷² Subsequent to the public's vote for devolution, the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales, and the Northern Ireland Assembly were officially instituted in 1999. While the regional bodies have differing areas of responsibilities and the power is distributed differently, taxation, defence and other crucial affairs are dealt with by the central parliament.⁷³ Charlie Jeffrey, who conducted research in the year 2004, argues that devolution has not helped to intensify the support for a unified Britishness but has made the national identities in England, Scotland and Wales stronger. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the island maintain their dual identities of nationality (Scottish, Welsh, English and Northern Irish) and state (British) which, in the same report, leads Charlie Jeffrey to the conclusion that devolution is and will not be a threat to the unity of the United Kingdom.⁷⁴

The previous treatment of Irish and Scottish relations as trivial and peripheral was caused by the long-established Anglocentric predominance.⁷⁵ In spite of the fact that Irish-Scottish Studies plays an important role in academic settings, it can moreover be associated with recent political developments and changes on the two islands. First of all, there is the political reformation of the United Kingdom which originated due to the devolution of the Scottish and Welsh parliaments. Secondly, the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland brought peace and Northern Ireland's relationship to the Republic of Ireland was legally improved. Thirdly, through the Council of the Isles, representatives from the UK, Scottish and Irish parliament as well as Welsh and Northern Irish assemblies are brought together in order to make political relations and correspondence between them possible. Thanks to devolution and the Council of the

⁷² Dix, 3.

⁷³ Cf. Wilson and Stapleton, 3.

⁷⁴ Cf. Jeffrey, 2.

⁷⁵ Cf. Alexander, Murphy and Oakman, 1.

Isles, interaction between the statesmen and stateswomen and politicians from Scotland and Ireland has become feasible and uncomplicated, as they no longer have to go via London in order to communicate.⁷⁶

Numerous politicians or heads of state have given thought to the current state of Irish-Scottish relations. Daniel Mulhall, who is the Irish consul general in Scotland, said the following about the current Irish-Scottish political relationships: “I would guess that there has been more political contact between Dublin and Edinburgh in the past year than in the previous history of the Irish State” (qtd. in McIlvanney and Ryan, 17). He wrote down further thoughts in a supplement of the *Scotsman* that was dedicated to Scotland and Ireland:

It is a fortunate coincidence that Scottish devolution has become a reality at a time of hope and opportunity in the evolution of the peace process. The political changes implied by the devolution process were recognised in the negotiations leading to the Good Friday Agreement which included a decision to establish a British-Irish Council. [...] When the Council is inaugurated, it will bring Scottish and Irish leaders into formal political dialogue for the first time. This means that the East-West dimension to the peace process can no longer be viewed purely as an ‘Anglo-Irish affair’. Scotland and Wales will enrich this dialogue with their own perspectives. (Mulhall, 3)

Scotland and Ireland not only worked out their relationship with one another but also became aware of their links with Europe. These relations were only possible due to the fact that Scotland as well as Ireland were no longer ‘obsessed’ with their English neighbour, but commenced to put a focus on themselves as well as on one another and on international partners and links.⁷⁷

2.3. Irish and Scottish Studies

Nineteenth and twentieth century researchers effectively refused to take notice of the long-standing bonds between the two neighbouring countries. While Anglo-Irish and

⁷⁶ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 17.

⁷⁷ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 16-17.

Anglo-Scottish links have always been of interest to scholars, the relationships between Scotland and Ireland were neglected in academia. The last forty years, however, brought an understanding of the importance of the relationship between Ireland and Scotland and resulted in an excellent knowledge about the two countries. Not only the devolution of the Scottish parliament in 1999 and the changed situation in Northern Ireland towards peace, but also the movement towards the European Union and away from the United Kingdom were further motivations for the development of Irish-Scottish Studies.⁷⁸

The lack of scholarly interest definitely changed in 1976 when a group of Irish and Scottish historians met in Trinity College, Dublin, in order to discuss aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history from 1600 to 1900. This symposium was financed by the United Kingdom Social Science Research Council.⁷⁹ The ‘fathers’ of Irish-Scottish Studies stated the following in the later published book *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900*:

Even on the most superficial examination it was clear that both countries have been profoundly affected by a similar geography, by a Celtic heritage, and by a history of close political and economic links with England. Both countries within the period have exchanged populations in the Scottish movement to Ulster in the seventeenth century and the equally significant movement of Irishmen to Scotland in the nineteenth. In both countries the cattle trade was a leading commercial sector in the seventeenth century and the linen trade was the main manufacture of the eighteenth; both countries attempted a cotton industry, which was much more successful in Scotland in the nineteenth century; both countries are famous for whisky (or for whiskey); both countries had important growth in their foreign trade before the American War of Independence, but Scotland was granted direct access to the colonies and Ireland denied it; both countries were affected by the improving landlords of the eighteenth century and the Highlands like Ireland were obsessed by the movement for tenants’ rights in the nineteenth. In both countries economic development was threatened by recurrent imbalances between food supply and population growth; most of Scotland escaped the trap but Ireland, in 1846, failed to do so. Were these topics that Scottish and Irish historians could fruitfully examine together? (Cullen and Smout, 1)

Through the comparative approach in the following three meetings (and printed papers and discussion), Irish and Scottish history could be looked at from different

⁷⁸ Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/history.shtml>, 19 November 2012.

⁷⁹ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 253.

angles and new points of view were gained, especially as the Anglocentric historiography was not considered.⁸⁰

It was only in 1995 that Irish-Scottish Studies was formally developed and recognised as a new field of enquiry. First of all, the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative (ISAI) was founded. The ISAI is a network of the Scottish universities in Aberdeen, Strathclyde and Edinburgh and Trinity College, Dublin and Queen's University, Belfast in (Northern) Ireland.⁸¹ Whereas research and scholarly interest first focused solely on history,⁸² nowadays Celtic Studies, Irish and Scottish Gaelic as well as Scottish and Irish Literatures in English are included.⁸³ What the ISAI wants to do is diverse. The overall objective of the ISAI is to actively encourage research and scholarship in the fields of Irish and Scottish culture and especially in the area of Irish and Scottish history, Irish literature in English, Scottish literature and Irish and Scots Gaelic language and literature.⁸⁴ Their homepage lists the following distinctive aims of the Initiative:

- A collaborative, interdisciplinary approach, which pools the resources and expertise available in the relevant departments of the four universities: Trinity College, Dublin; Queen's University, Belfast; the University of Aberdeen; the University of Strathclyde, and the University of Edinburgh.
- Academic exchanges, involving members of staff, postgraduate students and undergraduates in all five universities.
- Joint research projects, rendered possible by the critical mass of key researchers delivered by the Initiative.
- Enhanced supervision of research students, who have the opportunity to access the research resources and research cultures of four universities instead of one.
- Undergraduate exchanges, to encourage 'East-West' contacts in the younger

⁸⁰ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 254.

⁸¹ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 254.

⁸² See before-mentioned conference in 1976.

⁸³ Cf. Devine, "Caledonian Connection", 255.

⁸⁴ Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/isai.shtml#aims>, 19 November 2012.

generation.

- Public lectures, seminars, symposia and cultural events to reach out to the wider public in both Ireland and Britain.⁸⁵

Subsequent to the establishment of the ISAI, the University of Aberdeen set up the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies (RIISS) in 1998. The former president of Ireland, Mary McAleese, formally opened the RIISS located at Aberdeen's university campus on St Andrew's Day 1999.⁸⁶ In 2001, the RIISS also included the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies (including their partner institutions, Trinity College, Dublin and Queen's University Belfast) in their home. With the support of an award of £890 000, the first AHRC research centre in Scotland could be established. The humanities in Scotland have apparently never received a larger grant.⁸⁷ Besides the funding in Scotland, also the Trinity College Dublin received £400 000 from the Irish government in order to establish a department for Irish-Scottish Studies. For Willy Maley, these grants for Scotland and Ireland and the dramatic transformations which accompany the developments prove that Irish-Scottish Studies "has officially arrived as a new (inter) discipline" (13).

The institute offers seminars, conferences and symposia as well as Master and Doctoral programmes in Irish and Scottish Studies (see below). The Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies encourages either single-discipline, comparative or interdisciplinary research with regard to history, literary and cultural studies and the languages of Ireland and Scotland. As Britain's and Ireland's constitutions face and have faced important alteration and remodelling, Irish and Scottish Studies basically try to deliver explanations of how culture and history have defined and formed the relationships between Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/isai.shtml#aims>, 19 November 2012.

⁸⁶ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 16.

⁸⁷ Cf. Maley, 13.

⁸⁸ Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/ahrcentre.shtml>, 19 November 2012.

The research projects of the Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies were divided into two phases. The so-called ‘Phase One’, which took place between 2001 and 2005, encompassed research projects in the disciplines of history, language and literature. The completed projects were divided into ‘The Diaspora Programme’ (concerned with migration since medieval times), ‘The Languages of Ireland and Scotland Programme’ and ‘The Literatures of Ireland and Scotland Programme’.⁸⁹ Due to the great success of ‘Phase One’s’ research projects, another award of £1.34 m was provided in order to establish the Centre’s ‘Phase Two’. ‘Phase Two’ has begun in 2006 and mostly involves comparative projects. These may function as the basis for subsequent work dealing with Scotland and Ireland or as models for comparative studies of two or more connected cultures and communities. ‘Phase Two’ includes comparative work such as:

- *A comparative study of twentieth-century Irish and Scottish poetry*, led by Professor Edna Longley and Dr Fran Brearton (Queen’s, Belfast)
- *The development of representations of dialect in the novel in Ireland and Scotland in the nineteenth century*, led by Professor David Hewitt and Dr Barbara Fennell (Aberdeen)
- *Irish and Scottish diasporas from the 1600s to the present*, led by Dr Michael Brown (Aberdeen)⁹⁰

Furthermore, the University Aberdeen’s RIISS offers Master- as well as PhD programmes for students with an interest in Irish and Scottish culture. The MLitt in Irish and Scottish Studies comprises courses that cover Irish and Scottish history and languages from different historical periods. The students have the possibility to focus either on Literature, History or Creative Writing (usually poetry or prose fiction with a link to contemporary Irish and Scottish culture).⁹¹ Additionally, the PhD programme

⁸⁹ The book *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000* (see Bibliography) by Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan was developed in this programme.

Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/ahrcprojects.shtml>, 19 November 2012.

⁹⁰ Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/ahrcprojects.shtml>, 19 November 2012.

⁹¹ Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/mlitt.shtml>, 19 November 2012.

allows students to participate in research across all disciplines and aspects of Irish and Scottish culture with the help of specialists in the field of Irish and Scottish Studies.⁹²

Since its initial phase in the 1970s, Irish-Scottish Studies has become more extensive. The comparative approach to humanities research is and has always been playing an important role. Although it seldom provides final answers, “the method is a fertile source of fresh questions and perspectives particularly in the study of countries which have been dominated by anglocentric approaches” so that new issues and perspectives can be provided (Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 256). The trend now is a non-Anglocentric study of the cultures, histories and languages in order to define Britishness as well as Irishness and Scottishness.⁹³

3. English, Irish and Scottish Literature

While Tom Nairn prophesied a break-up of Britain in his book of the same title, Robert Crawford’s book *Devolving English Literature* essentially looks at a similar occurrence but in the traditional Anglocentric discipline of English literature, which has always assumed an English literary and cultural centre. Subsequent to the discussion of a ‘devolving English Literature’, Irish and Scottish literature in general as well as the Irish and the Scottish novel in particular are addressed. Generally speaking, Irish and Scottish novelists were usually considered as ‘less important’ than either English novelists or Irish and Scottish poets and dramatists. However, this perception has changed over time as is discussed in this chapter.

3.1. ‘Devolving English Literature’

While a lot of thought went into the definition and construction of ‘literature’, until not long ago hardly any attention has been paid to ‘English’. There have usually been courses on Scottish Literature (the same is true of Irish, Caribbean, Canadian,

⁹² Cf. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/study/phd.shtml>, 19 November 2012.

⁹³ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 256.

Australian et cetera Literature) only in its country of origin, i.e. courses on Scottish Literature were held at Scottish Universities, and just a handful of universities outside of Scotland have offered Scottish Literature courses. Generally, they have been included under the larger term ‘English’ Literature and did not enjoy a status of their own. These literatures⁹⁴ are designated ‘minor literatures’ and their interaction with Anglocentric values is more often than not beset by conflicts and problems.⁹⁵ In what Robert Crawford calls “main-line English courses”, these conflicts and problems are simply disregarded and it has often been refused to take notice of the un-Englishness of authors such as Smollett, Carlyle, Eliot, and Joyce who are easily taken into the English canon (2).

Generally, the difference between Scottish/Welsh/(Northern)Irish literature, British Literature and English Literature is not always clear-cut, although writers within the confines of the English language usually aim at specific and often different cultural ends.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, authors who are using the English language, but are not trying to communicate and convey an English identity, are frequently incorporated in the general term of English Literature. Crawford strongly opposes this argument and claims that

[i]f deliberately or not, we totalize all the constituents of English Literature, and if, as both traditional literary history and post-structuralist criticism have done all too often, we ignore matters of local origin, then we perform an act of naïve cultural imperialism, acting as if books grew not out of particular conditions in Nottingham, Dublin, St Lucia, or Salem, Massachusetts, but out of the bland uniformity of airport departure lounges. (Crawford, 7)

When literary theorists write about cultural differences, they usually focus their attention on the most prominent differences, such as the contrast between Oriental and Western culture or Third World and First World culture.⁹⁷ Less noticeable differences in culture, on the other hand, are not regarded as interesting or important or if detected and remarked on have been “confined to academic ghettos” which are usually

⁹⁴ American Literature is excluded from that, probably because of its economic and political power (Crawford, 2).

⁹⁵ Cf. Crawford, 2.

⁹⁶ Cf. Crawford, 6.

⁹⁷ A good example would be Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.

‘inhabited’ by Scottish Literature theorists or those specialised in Anglo-Welsh writing (Crawford, 3).

Noteworthy is, furthermore, Paul de Man, the Belgian literary critic and theorist, who has been concerned with the literature of the minority language Flemish and the demonstration of a Belgian identity in the French language. De Man developed an interest in “ [...] how a literature which could be seen as provincial might preserve a sense of independence while being written in the language of another, dominant culture” (Crawford, 4). De Man’s concept is generally applicable to contemporary literatures written in the English language throughout the world but it is most relevant for the literature of Scotland as the issue of surviving in a more powerful literary environment is predominant when discussing Scottish literature.⁹⁸ However, it would be too easy to just conform to the belief that the control in English writing has to be transferred from its centre to the fringe. Nevertheless, the writers from these margins⁹⁹ often do communicate a desire to withdraw from the traditional and powerful English cultural centre, which can be found in the London-Oxbridge area, and to use the English language and also its varieties, dialects and accents in order to express an individual cultural identity.¹⁰⁰

Robert Crawford has chosen Scottish Literature as the main reference point for his study on a ‘devolving English Literature’ and sooner or later the question arises, why he has decided on Scotland.¹⁰¹ Robert Crawford argues that Scotland has always been one of the countries which have been culturally dominated by England, but have nevertheless created a collection of literature of considerable importance and size over a long period. Thus, due to the long duration of this cultural domination, Scotland’s writing was the paragon for writers from other countries who also wished to break free from England’s cultural control. Moreover, Scottish literature can be easily

⁹⁸ Cf. Crawford, 4.

⁹⁹ The margins in this case do not only include the Celtic fringe (i.e. Scotland, Wales and Ireland) but also countries and continents such as Australia, the Caribbean, Canada and other anglophone cultures who use English to convey their cultural identity in writing.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Crawford, 7.

¹⁰¹ Robert Crawford sees numerous parallels between the Scottish writings discussed in his book and Irish writings and hopes that readers and scholars are stimulated by his book to write about these parallels (Cf. Crawford, 7).

included in the English literary tradition due to the fact that both nations are adjacent to each other and Scotland, although having her own legal, educational and religious institutions since devolution, still is politically dependent on England. Although Scottish and English literary traditions have often been involved with each other, their connection was not exclusive. Nevertheless, it has always been possible that the more influential English tradition absorbs Scottish writing in English.¹⁰²

Today, the majority of literature in English is written and published outside of England. For a long time, the Anglocentric perception of English-language writing has primarily been spread by tertiary education (i.e. at universities) and as a result, Anglophone books have gained a respectful status. Robert Crawford, however, suggests a ‘devolving’ of this still widespread concept of a comprehensive English Literature.¹⁰³ He, furthermore, argues that his book does not want to

[...] simply [...] comply with the view that writing in English has been a narrowly centralized activity, and that power must now be devolved from the centre to the margins. Rather, it aims to suggest that, while for centuries the margins have been challenging, interrogating, and even structuring the supposed ‘centre’, the development of the subject ‘English Literature’ has constantly involved and reinforced an oppressive homage to centralism. As such, English Literature is a force which must be countered continually by devolutionary momentum. (Crawford, 7)

3.2. Irish Literature and the Irish Novel

Irish Literature is the oldest vernacular literature in Western Europe. Its origins can be found in the sixth century manuscript tradition which covers law texts, genealogies, scholarly treatises, devotional tracts, and imaginative literature. The tales deal with various themes, such as battles, feasts, voyages and visions, and scholars have arranged them into four great Cycles: the Mythological, the Ulster, the Fenian and the Historical Cycle.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Cf. Crawford, 8.

¹⁰³ Cf. Crawford, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. O’Rourke Murphy and MacKillop, 3.

According to literary critics¹⁰⁵, the novel as a literary genre has its origins in ancient Greece. The modern novel, however, became prominent in the Western culture only around the late seventeenth century.¹⁰⁶ While Derek Hand sees the emergence of the Irish novel in the seventeenth century, John Foster traces back the Irish novel, as an essential element of Irish society and culture, to the eighteenth century. Generally speaking, the Irish novel originated together with the English novel and became clearly visible during Ireland's social, cultural, commercial and literary relations with Great Britain. Aspects which were characteristic for native Irish narratives, however, deeply affected the Irish novel during its development.¹⁰⁷ According to Derek Hand, identifying the origin of the Irish novel is challenging and he suggests different novels as the starting point but puts a big question mark after each novel. For him it might be either *The English Rogue* (1665) by Richard Head? Or *Virtue Rewarded; or the Irish Princess* (1693) by an anonymous writer? Or *Irish Tales, or Instructive Histories for the Happy Conduct of Life* (1716) by Sarah Butler?¹⁰⁸

From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until the emergence of Irish Studies, British critics did not acknowledge novels and authors, which and who should have been called 'Irish', as such. Even quite a few of the standard histories of the novel did not recognise novelists as Irish, although they were Irish-born. The authors' and novels' Irishness was considered to be of no importance and regional identity was seen as a sign for insignificant and trivial literature.¹⁰⁹ It was only during the Irish Literary Revival that the Irishness of literature was appreciated and emphasised for the first time. William Butler Yeats (and to some degree also other participants of the Literary Revival, like Lady Gregory, Standish James O'Grady or Douglas Hyde) tried to produce an Irish literature that retrieved traditional native Irish sagas, folk tales and poems and persuade expatriate as well as young Irish writers to compile a completely new canon of national literature.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the Irish novel has made great efforts to convey Irish stories and Irish concerns. Irish novelists strived towards the

¹⁰⁵ Cf. most notably: Doody, Margaret Anne. *The True Story of the Novel*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 1996.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Hand, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. J. Foster, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Hand, 9.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. J. Foster, 1.

¹¹⁰ Cf. J. Foster, 2.

development of Irish identities and the production of something genuine and sincere. For Derek Hand, the novel is ideal to accomplish this purpose and its size “allows for the bringing together of difference in terms of native and visitor, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, Catholic and Protestant, aristocrat and peasant” (5). Furthermore, Derek Hand argues that the novel is the perfect literary form for Ireland as the “numerous tensions, divisions and diversity within Irish life and culture over the last four hundred years” can be recorded in it (8). Moreover, the Irish novel looks backward and forward concurrently as novelists are dedicated to tradition but also motivated to try out the unfamiliar and modern. The Irish ambiguity between tradition and modernity is continued in the ubiquitous disagreement between the Gaelic and English culture as well as the Gaelic and English language.¹¹¹

Despite the fact that numerous literary critics consider the novel form as the one most suitable for Irish concerns, Ireland’s literary landscape is first and foremost concentrating on drama and poetry and, thus, the novel only occupies a less important position. This argument is probably resulting from the misconception that there is no such thing like an Irish novel.¹¹² This picture of a flawed or non-existing Irish novel originated in the 1940s and 1950s when literary critics¹¹³ thought that the novel form only meets the requirements of a ‘made’ and ‘developed’ society or culture, thinking of Britain or America. These critics observed that Ireland could express its experiences better in short stories.¹¹⁴ The assumptions that the prose form that suits best to express an Irish reality is the short story is no longer perceived as being true and the novel in Ireland and its position have been re-evaluated recently. Generally, there are various approaches towards and viewpoints of the novel. Not only the Irish, but also every other novel causes a lack of understanding when talking about the novel’s form. Derek Hand states that questions such as “what the novel is and where it might occur are [...] increasingly raised, even concerning what has been viewed as the traditional canon” (4). Thus, Irish writing, on the one hand, contributes to

¹¹¹ Cf. Hand, 8.

¹¹² Cf. Hand, 2.

¹¹³ Cf. most notably the literary critics and novelists Frank O’Connor in *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story*, London: Macmillan, 1965 and Sean O’Faolain in ‘Fifty Years of Irish Writing’, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 51:201 (Spring, 1962), 93-105.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Hand, 3.

established movements such as Romanticism or Modernism, however, also introduces local topics and matters, on the other hand, so that, as a result, the form of the novel is constantly challenged. Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* and James Joyce's novels that brought new techniques, introduced new styles and were narratives which commenced a totally new tradition by bending and exceeding the boundaries of what a novel should look are great examples for such "originality and innovation" (Hand, 4). Besides Maria Edgeworth and James Joyce, Ireland has given birth to more great novelists of the world: Laurence Sterne, Elisabeth Bowen, Samuel Beckett and John McGahern, just to name a few.¹¹⁵

Following the foundation of the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland in 1921-22, the two nations not only separated politically and culturally but also their literatures went in different directions. Dark days for the literary scene in the Republic of Ireland came when the Censorship Board and the Censorship of Publications Act of 1929 were introduced.¹¹⁶ While hardly any books were available to the readers, also authors suffered private and public humiliation. The overall aim of those who were pro- censorship was to protect the morality of the public. The standard complaints about books were that they were anti-religious, anti-Irish, silly, insincere, historically inaccurate, immoral, or that they advocated birth control, evolution or divorce.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, Irish writers continued writing novels. While the South had to deal with literary censorship, in Northern Ireland a literary revival took place throughout the Troubles which commenced around 1969 – poetry and drama and lastly the novel gained great popularity in the northern part of the island.¹¹⁸

John Foster states that Ireland's entry into the European Economic Community (which has become the European Union over the years), Ireland's multiculturalism which resulted from a shift in migration (from emigration to immigration) and, as I would argue, also Celtic Tiger Ireland as well as the processing of the Troubles and years of British domination influenced and will influence Irish novels as they "will reflect these changes, while the best of them memorably express singular voices"

¹¹⁵ Cf. Hand, 5.

¹¹⁶ Cf. J. Foster, 16.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Martin, 212.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Foster, 20.

(20). Moreover, the Irish novel nowadays consists of many and various types. Also subgenres and “silent voices”, as John Foster calls them, are read in today’s literary landscape: working class novels, women’s novels, gay fiction and the like (20). John Foster’s future predictions of the Irish novel are very positive as he remarks that “[t]he Irish novel will enter a new phase, no doubt extending an impressive and various canon in ways that are presently unforeseen” (20). Gerry Smyth agrees with John Foster’s expectations and considers the novel as the present and future leading cultural form in Ireland. Nowadays, there is, first of all, a considerable amount of novels on the market. Secondly, owing to the fact that the novel is a literary genre that actually is involved with the world and the novel “evolved to formulate narratives in which social, political and historical change could be accommodated”, Ireland is turning into a “novel-driven discourse” (Smyth, 6).

3.3.Scottish Literature and the Scottish Novel

According to Francis Hart, the Scottish novel emerged later than the English novel. While the novel in England became prominent in the early eighteenth century, the novel appeared in Scotland a century later during the complicated time of the late Enlightenment and socioeconomic changes.¹¹⁹ A mix of different modes of prose indicated the beginning of the Scottish novel: from realistic and antirealistic to fantastic and antiquarian. The first Scottish novels conformed to the eighteenth century Gothic trend in fiction. These early Scottish novels obeyed the conventions and tradition of the English Gothic novel, however, altered them in order to meet the requirements of a Scottish audience.¹²⁰ While in the Gothic tradition the English model predominated, a transformation of the realism in English fiction occurred as Scottish writers of social realist novels remodelled the “Augustan notion of ‘manners’” into a “historical and regional mode” which was then taken over by English novelists (Hart, 13).¹²¹ In the novel of Scotland numerous typical and sometimes even self-contradictory themes could be found that Francis Hart sums up

¹¹⁹ Cf. Hart, 9.

¹²⁰ Cf. Hart, 13.

¹²¹ Both “trends” can be observed in various novels by Tobias Smollett and Walter Scott (Hart, 13).

under the hypernyms of history, community and character.¹²² Noteworthy are, furthermore, the characters of the mother and the father in Scottish novels. While the mother was usually portrayed as being more powerful, sensible and realistic when approaching a situation than her partner, the father was often depicted as excessive, idealistic and impractical.¹²³

The 1707 Union of Scotland and England introduced a cultural and literary awareness in Scotland. However, Scottish literature focused mainly on poetry, bringing out skilled and famous poets such as Robert Burns or Robert Fergusson, and basically ignored other literary forms, among other things, the novel.¹²⁴ While by the middle of the eighteenth century the novel was seen as the most important literary form in England with Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding being the leading writers in the field, the Scottish novel was less successful. Henry Mackenzie, a Scottish writer from the 1770s, apparently commented on the lack of Scottish novelists with the words that the novel was “a sort of composition which [...] the Scottish genius is remarkably deficient in” (Hart, 3).¹²⁵ Thus, the novel has not been seen as a very attractive form of writing for the Scottish. Hugh MacDiarmid, who is probably Scotland’s most influential and most famous modern poet, even denounced the novelistic form as “an inferior kind of literary expression” and declared that “prose is non-creative” (Hart, vii). While some of MacDiarmid’s colleagues share his opinion on novel writing¹²⁶, it has to be added that contemporary literary theorists are, nevertheless, enthusiastic about the Scottish novelistic tradition.¹²⁷ Furthermore, Edwin Muir has expressed his concerns about Scottish novel writing. He noted that “the prerequisite of an autonomous literature is a homogeneous language” (qtd. in C. Craig, 15). The replacement of Scots by English after the 1707 Union had a negative impact on the Scottish writers as the “Scotsmen [felt] in one language and [thought]

¹²² Cf. Hart, 400.

¹²³ Cf. Hart, 403.

¹²⁴ Cf. Hart, 4.

¹²⁵ Henry Mackenzie, furthermore, stated that Tobias Smollett and “an unnamed female author” were excluded from this statement (Hart, 3).

¹²⁶ Francis Hart cites Edwin Morgan and David Craig who are supposed to have said that the novel is “the most backward literary form in Scotland” (Edwin Morgan) and that there are “very few pieces of lasting value” in Scottish prose fiction (David Craig) (Hart, vii).

¹²⁷ Cf. Hart, vii-viii.

in another” (qtd. in C. Craig, 15). All in all, Scotland did not succeed in creating a homogeneous Gaelic, Scots or English language and is thus not able to have an independent literature. A further explanation that might justify the selective disinterest of Scottish authors in writing fiction might be the fact that, before the establishment of Scottish studies, in academic studies on the British novel, Scottish groups and movements have been classified as mere “provincial offshoots of the English traditions” (Hart, viii). Sometimes, even Scottish writers covered up their linguistic or cultural nationality or their readership labelled them as provincial right from the beginning.¹²⁸

When considering more recent literature in Scotland, Gavin Wallace stated in 1993 that in the last twenty years the Scottish literary scene and its publishing industry had been enjoying a resurgence of popularity after a long time of silence, probably since the Scottish Renaissance.¹²⁹ The Scottish Renaissance in the 1920s and 1930s was primarily a literary movement and significant for the revival of poetry in Scotland. Based on this renaissance, Gavin Wallace calls the contemporary literary culture the “new renaissance” (Wallace, 2). Nevertheless, novelists in the past decades have written completely differently than the Scottish Renaissance authors who were primarily preoccupied with myths, archaism and historicism. The ‘new renaissance’ authors questioned the ‘old’ inspirations with “cynical and deterministic urban realism” and made use of modern linguistic word plays such as ironic juxtaposition of standard English and Scots, explorations of phonetics and linguistic subversion (Wallace, 3). Noteworthy in this respect are works by Tom Leonard, Liz Lochhead and Edwin Morgan. Furthermore, the emergence of a new flourishing branch of literature, namely fiction, can be observed in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Scotland. The leading authors of this movement were James Kelman and Alasdair Gray. The fiction of the two Glasgow-born writers can be attributed to the field of postmodernism or metafiction and it concentrates on working-class urban realism, a genre which had already been created before Kelman and Gray began to write.¹³⁰ Kelman and Gray had several successors who – besides the older group of authors, such as Naomi Mitchison, George Mackay Brown, Iain Crichton Smith and Robin

¹²⁸ Cf. Hart, viii.

¹²⁹ Cf. Wallace, 1.

¹³⁰ Cf. Wallace, 3.

Jenkins who continued producing a significant amount of works – worked on new stylistic and thematic concerns. Gavin Wallace observes that

[t]he Scottish novel has several new contours of achievement to chart as a tradition which continues to reconcile, synthesise and juxtapose new visions with old dreams; old visions with new nightmares. (Wallace, 4)

Generally speaking, Scottish literature is as complex and complicated as the continually discussed concepts of Scottishness and nationality. Wallace explains that

[...] by its very political and cultural nature, Scotland has produced and continues to produce a complex literature which accords with conflicting conceptions of what precisely constitutes ‘Scottishness’, let alone nationality. (Wallace, 6)

Contemporary British authors are coming from different ethnic backgrounds and the topics they address are diverse. Due to this great variety and multiculturalism, Philip Tew observes an overall change in the British literary scene that was, moreover, affected by the presence and influence of Scottish working class literature.

Since the 1970s not only has [British] fiction become more ‘multicultural’ or ethnically diverse in authors and subject matter [...] but when considered with the emergence of a strongly working class oriented literature in Scotland after the 1980s because of devolution and the strengths of local publishing opportunities, overall a shift in the focus of British literariness can be traced. (Tew, 14)

Also Harry Ritchie has noted that numerous of the most significant contemporary Scottish authors, as well as the novels’ characters, the topics dealt with and even the language are far from being posh. This lower- and working-class context of contemporary Scottish Literature, the increase in Scottish writing and also in art in general might be the result of the “political Zeitgeist” and a response to the failure of devolution in 1979, including all its political consequences (Ritchie, 3). According to Harry Ritchie, one literary success promotes another. While poetry has been thriving since the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s, fiction has only recently become more successful with Alasdair Grays’ novels pioneering the field.¹³¹

¹³¹ Cf. Ritchie, 3.

4. Imagology

National, ethnic, regional, racial and cultural images do not only appear in ‘real life’ but are also part of literature as literature “always reflects, directly and/or indirectly, the culture out of which it springs” (Firchow, 135). These images in literature are usually literary representations of national characters and should not be regarded as metaphors or literary images but as perceptions. The “study of [those] national/ethnic/racial/cultural images or stereotypes as they appear in literary contexts” is called imagology (Firchow, 135). Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen define imagology as the “critical analysis of national stereotypes¹³² in literature (and in other forms of cultural representation)” (xiii). For them, the term ‘imagology’ is a technical neologism and “applies to research in the field of our mental images of the Other and of ourselves” (xiii). An understanding of the social and political circumstances of the society dealt with in a literary text is crucial or even a precondition for an imagological analysis. Imagology, thus, “fully accepts the consequences of assuming that literature reflects, though by no means in a naïve or uncomplicated fashion, the active forces in the society that produces it” (Firchow, 141).

Through research conducted into the sources of national stereotypes of the ‘other’, the importance of stereotypes during the formation of images of national identities has been emphasised. The formation of a positive identification with a group and a closeness to a group are especially significant for the ‘specting¹³³ group’. However, this might often cause harm or neglect of the identity of the ‘spected group’. When talking in imagological terms, this can be called the self-serving dynamic, or the in-group/out-group paradigm.¹³⁴ Also Joep Leerssen argues that imagological work confirms the fact that national stereotypes are created, preserved and spread in

¹³² The study of images has always included the concept of ‘national character’. This notion of national character, however, was later substituted by the constructivist expression ‘national stereotype’ (Chew, “National Stereotype”, 179). Yet, the literature I consulted uses the terms ‘national character(s)’ and ‘national stereotype(s)’ interchangeably and in the same context. That is the reason why this diploma thesis does not make a distinction and uses these two terms as synonyms.

¹³³ See below for use of ‘spected’ and ‘specting’ groups.

¹³⁴ Cf. Chew, “National Stereotype”, 183.

imaginary and poetical literature. Furthermore, he observes that in the literary record it can be found that national characters rely on clichés and rumours and are not based on observation, experience or unprejudiced facts.¹³⁵ Thus, what has to be taken into account is that national characterisations in literary works may sometimes be clichés and not necessarily evidence-based examinations or facts. As subjectivity, symbolism and rhetoric can be regarded as sources for literary representations, they should be considered during the analysis.¹³⁶

Literary – or to be more specific, comparatist – imagology investigates the beginnings and purpose of the attributes and qualities of countries and peoples in texts, such as various works of literature, plays, poems, travel books, essays et cetera.¹³⁷ According to William Chew, imagology is the scholarly field which has always been closely connected to social matters or problems of the time. Consequently, William Chew proposes the following manifesto for imagology:

We are all imagologists, even if we do not realise the fact, and we cannot function socially and politically, in a humane and reasoned fashion, as individuals or groups, without studying the (national) stereotypes so current in our collective memory. For these stereotypes colour, to a large extent, not only our self-perception (our ‘auto-image’) via the image of the other (our ‘hetero-image’), but determine for better and, regrettably, more often, for worse our behavior toward the other. Indeed historically, this behavior has taken forms as relatively harmless as bad ethnic jokes and as noxious as ethnic cleansing and the Holocaust. (Chew, “Historical-imagological Approach”, 3-4)

The study of imagology is not a fairly recent occurrence. The “proto-imagological” studies, as Joep Leerssen calls them, commenced in the first half of the twentieth century in France, Germany, the United States and in other places (20). The Belgian comparatist Hugo Dyserinck published essays concerning imagology in literature in the 1960s and 1970s and the introduction of the term into literary study might be ascribed to him.¹³⁸ Before that, in the 1950s, the American comparatist René Wellek criticised the study of imagology as he considered it a result of the authors’

¹³⁵ Cf. Leerssen, 26.

¹³⁶ Cf. Beller and Leerssen, xiii.

¹³⁷ Cf. Beller, 7.

¹³⁸ Cf. Firchow, 135.

national/cultural/ethnic bigotry and thus unrelated to literature.¹³⁹ Peter Firchow argues in his paper that Wellek's critique should not be ignored due to the fact that the majority of imagological compositions are encouraged by political factors which causes the work to be of no use for literary criticism.¹⁴⁰ In spite of the fact that imagology has a continuous and long-lasting past with varying degrees of influence and prominence, the study has changed considerably over the years. Peter Firchow states that today's imagology cannot be seen as a "continuation or modernized version of the so-called 'Bild' or 'image' studies of the past" (138). Such studies usually categorised or catalogued different groups in literature and the 'proto-imagologists' recorded the depiction of a specific nation in literary works, such as Germans in English literature or black people in American literature. The *Stoffgeschichte*-approach was particularly important for these early imagologists as they tried to outline and chart different literary concerns and themes in various texts from subsequent years or generations. Topics addressed were diverse (ranging from incest to the Noble Savage to lovers' parting at dawn) and the portrayal of specific national types has often been selected as a (not unimportant) topic as well. Through the *Stoffgeschichte*-approach, fashion, poetics, literary attitudes, cultural values and national stereotypes across the centuries were transmitted but the usefulness of these older studies for current researchers is doubtful.¹⁴¹ Although these inventories may be used in contemporary imagological work, the recent study of imagology does not simply classify the groups but concentrates on the images of the others that support the definition of the author's group/national identity and his audience.¹⁴² Yet, this formation of a group/national identity through differentiation from other group identities is not a new invention but has been one of the main purposes of literature ever since literacy was developed.¹⁴³ Also Joep Leerssen observes that the fact that particular qualities and attributes are assigned to societies, races or nations is an old and universal tradition. Just like people, nations tend to have distinct essential characteristics, so that what differs from the familiar is seen as 'Other', "as an oddity, and anomaly, a singularity" (Leerssen, 17). This attribution of certain qualities to nations and societies and the 'othering' due to dissimilarities goes back to the

¹³⁹ Cf. Firchow, 136.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Firchow, 137.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Leerssen, 20-21.

¹⁴² Cf. Firchow, 138.

¹⁴³ Cf. Firchow, 140.

beginning of writings. A well-known example from Roman Times would be Tacitus' ethnographical record 'Germania' where he wrote about the Germanic people, or other accounts by Roman authors writing mainly about the barbarians, i.e. the Celts.¹⁴⁴ Thus, in works by classical authors like Herodotus, Tacitus or Caesar stereotypical representations of ethnic groups or kingdoms can already be located, which basically makes "[t]he traditional notion of 'national character' [...] as old as Western civilisation" (Chew, "National Stereotype", 180). It was only in the seventeenth century when 'national types' were grouped for literature and drama and in the eighteenth century when national characters were associated with politics that a structure and organisation as well as analysis of national stereotypes occurred. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the continuation and solidification of the essentialist stance of national character which says that peoples and nations have a clearly visible set of characteristics. This, however, also included Social Darwinist ideas which resulted in the severe 'othering' of people due to differences.¹⁴⁵

According to Joep Leerssen, it was possible for imagology to actually emerge "as a critical study of national characterisation" after the Second World War due to the fact that scholars only then commenced to "[abandon] a belief in the 'realness' of national characters as explanatory models" (21). Imagology became a discipline as national stereotypes were studied in a constructivist rather than a positivist-essentialist way. As a result of the insights gained by the imagologists Jean-Marie Carré and Marius-François Guyard, in 1977 Hugo Dyserinck was able to state that imagology,

fragt in der Tat nicht: Welches ist das 'Wesen' oder die nationale 'Eigenart' der deutschen, französischen, englischen Literatur? Sondern sie fragt, welche Eigenschaften von außen der deutschen, französischen und englischen Literatur zugeschrieben werden. (Dyserinck, 131)

Dyserinck argues that imagology does not ask which character or national peculiarity German, French and English literature has. However, imagology asks which characteristics are attributed to German, French and English Literature from the outside.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Firchow 135.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Chew, "National Stereotype", 180-181.

In the late twentieth century, the long-established tradition of imagology spread from Comparative Literature into other disciplines and the topics of national stereotyping and identity construction was dealt with in various disciplines and approaches.¹⁴⁶ Despite the fact that the field's origins lie in comparative literature, over the years it has exceeded the limits of the humanities and certainly has become interdisciplinary with historians and social scientists adding new methodologies to the field.¹⁴⁷ A big part of the human and social scientists are interested in the imagological analyses carried out and the results found by imagologists in order to use them for further analyses.¹⁴⁸ Although the social sciences contribute a lot to image studies, literary analysis and historical criticism are the most important methods in imagology. They, moreover, tend to complete each other as texts with national characters are analysed.¹⁴⁹

When talking about the method of imagology, it has to be stated that imagologists work first and foremost with representations in literature. Joep Leerssen found various “methodological assumptions” that have continually been expanded and lists those in his essay (27). These assumptions can be summarised as follows:

1. Overall, imagology studies the *representamen*, which basically are the “representations as textual strategies and as discourse” (Leerssen, 27). The main concern is to contribute to a theory of cultural and national stereotypes and not to a theory of cultural and national identity. Referentiality is more important than reality. Although imagologists communicate facts such as nation X has the characteristics Y, they are not supposed to actually support or contradict the claim.¹⁵⁰
2. Imagology's objective is to comprehend the representation of a society and not the actual society. Also, the images' cultural context is not based on a shared, public perspective but has its origins in a discursive praxis.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Leerssen, 24.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Chew, “National Stereotype”, 179.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Beller and Leerssen, xv.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Chew, “National Stereotype”, 185.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Leerssen, 27.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Leerssen, 27.

3. Images, moreover, do not display identities. However, potential identifications are set up.¹⁵² The nationality depicted in literary texts is called the *spected*. The *spected* is outlined in the “perspectival context of the representing text or discourse” which is called the *spectant* (Beller and Leerssen, xiv). The *spected* and the *spectant* are classified nationally or ethnically. However, both categories do not directly reflect real national groups or social realities.¹⁵³ William Chew, on the other hand, uses the terms ‘*spector*’ and ‘*spected*’. Imagologists usually tend to differentiate between the *spector* (or also called the culture regardante) and the *spected* (the culture regardée). National stereotypes are basically formed as *spectors* identify and attribute certain characteristics which they perceive as being typical for people from the same country or region to the *spected*.¹⁵⁴ Imagologists are also concerned with the relationship between *hetero-images* which are the literary images that present the others or other groups and *self- or auto-images* which are the images that present one’s personal identity or one’s own group.¹⁵⁵ Peter Firchow, moreover, argues that *hetero-images* do not occur without *auto-images* and vice versa.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, for imagologists it is important to recognise the differences within the *spected* group by noticing regional, religious and gender distinctions. Usually, the *auto-image* is the *spector’s* reference point and, consequently, the imagologists’ research uncovers more about the *spector* than the *spected*.¹⁵⁷
4. Imaginated discourse, moreover, communicates or proposes reasons for social or national characteristics as well as cultural differences.¹⁵⁸ According to Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, imagology deals with “the typology of characterizations and attributes, with their currency and with their rhetorical deployment” (xiv). The characterisations and attributes are called *imaginated*. What an imagined discourse usually does is to define one nation as being recognisably distinct from the others and propose reasons for the nation’s

¹⁵² Cf. Leerssen, 27.

¹⁵³ Cf. Beller and Leerssen, xiv.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Chew, “National Stereotype”, 182.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Beller and Leerssen, xiv.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Firchow, 135.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Chew, “National Stereotype”, 183.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Leerssen, 27-28.

social and national characteristics and qualities. To be more specific, an imagined discourse provides “characterological explanations of cultural differences” (Beller and Leerssen, xiv).

5. Besides considering literary conventions, narrative techniques and textual interpretations, for an imagologist it is also important to historically contextualise. Historical factors, class politics and regional differences, just to name a few, have to be considered. Moreover, the target audience of the text and the relation to the audience should be taken into account.¹⁵⁹
6. In the study of imagology, the comparative component plays a significant role as the focus is more on cross-national relationships than on national identities. Furthermore, national characteristics can be stressed when they are studied in connection with phenomena that transcend national boundaries.¹⁶⁰

Additionally, imagologists have created three models consisting of oppositions in order to aid the clarification of national stereotypes and characters. First of all, there is the basic North-South model which basically says that northern peoples, who have a calmer and more composed temperament, are “more cerebral, individualist, more rugged, less pleasing but more trustworthy and responsible [...] and imbued with a spirit of business enterprise, a lack of imagination and a more introspective, stolid attitude”, whereas southern peoples, who have a warmer temperament, are “more sensual, collective, more polished, more pleasing but less trustworthy or responsible” (Chew, “National Stereotype”, 184). The opposition model, though, may not only be used internationally but also between two or more regions, thus intra-nationally.¹⁶¹ Secondly, there is the centre-periphery model that gives different characteristics to nations and regions contingent on their perception as central or peripheral. Centrality or peripherality can either be attributed literally (thus, geographically) or metaphorically. The central nations or regions are usually dynamic, progressive and modern, whereas the peripheral nations or regions are static, traditionalist and old-fashioned. Thirdly, there is the weak state – strong state model. It concentrates on the shifting historical stereotypes and the relations between *spector* and *spected* at these times. Basically, this opposition shows that when a state’s power is peaking, negative

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Leerssen, 28.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Leerssen, 29.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Chew, “National Stereotype”, 184.

stereotypes are attributed to it and its people as they are a possible threat to other states. As a quid pro quo, when the power decreases, the same states are considered as kinder and more harmless stereotypes are assigned.¹⁶²

5. Novels Selected for Analysis

5.1. Authors

5.1.1. James Kelman

James Kelman was born in Glasgow in 1946. He did not choose to be a writer from the very beginning of his professional life. He left school at the age of fifteen and commenced an apprenticeship as a compositor (typesetter). After immigrating with his family to California for a short time in 1963-1964, he worked as a bus driver in Glasgow, as a farm worker on the Channel Islands, as an asbestos-sheet mixer in Manchester and as a building labourer in London. When James Kelman lived in London at the age of twenty-two, he started to write. At that time he also met and later married his wife Marie Connors, who originally comes from Swansea. James Kelman's writing career 'officially' started when they went back to Glasgow in 1970. He took part in creative writing classes from 1971-1972. In 1973 his first story collection, which is called *An Old Pub Near Angel*, was published. Hence, James Kelman's writing was published before he even began studying for his English and Philosophy degree at Strathclyde University. James Kelman shortly held the Chair of Creative Writing at the University of Glasgow with Tom Leonard and Alasdair Gray and has worked as a creative writing tutor in the UK as well as the US. James Kelman, moreover, writes drama for stage, film and radio. Currently, he and his wife live in Glasgow. Their two daughters and two grandchildren live nearby.¹⁶³

James Kelman was shortlisted for and won several awards. He won the Cheltenham Prize for Literature (1987), James Tait Black Memorial Prize (1989), Booker Prize

¹⁶² Cf. Chew, "National Stereotype", 185.

¹⁶³ Cf. Hames, viii.

and Writers' Guild Award for Best Fiction (1994), Scotland on Sunday/Glenfiddich Spirit of Scotland Award and Stakis Prize for Scottish Writer of the Year (1998), Scottish Arts Council/SMIT Book of the Year Award, Aye Write Prize and Saltire Award (2009). Furthermore, James Kelman was shortlisted for the Booker Prize in 1989 and the Man Booker International Prize in 2009.¹⁶⁴

James Kelman is a very controversial author on the British Isles. When he received the Booker Prize in 1994 for his novel *How Late It Was How Late*, neither did the jury decide his nomination fully in agreement, nor was the presentation of the award warm-hearted. The novel's most fervent opponent was Julia Neuberger who, according to *The Times*, believed that "[...] the choice was 'a disgrace' and the book 'completely inaccessible for most people'" (Julia Llewellyn Smith qtd. in Harris, 68). Also, Simon Jenkins, a writer for *The Times*, stated that

[t]he award of the Booker Prize to Mr Kelman is literary vandalism. Professor Bayley must have known in his heart that a dozen authors this year were more merit-worthy [...] none of whom even made the shortlist. (Simon Jenkins qtd. in Harris, 69)

The controversy probably has its origin in the fact that James Kelman is thought to be "a kind of cultural stenographer who records, copies and transcribes from direct experience" so that his novels are just fragments of conversation that he overheard (Hames, 86). This opinion suggests that James Kelman's work is merely mimesis (imitation). Scott Hames and other critics, however, see James Kelman as a language artist who is aware of the methods and techniques he uses in his fiction. His work is thus the result of poesis (making, shaping).¹⁶⁵ Scott Hames even calls James Kelman "[...] probably the most important Scottish writer now living; certainly he is the most influential and acclaimed" (1). James Kelman's writing has had a great impact on younger writers, such as Irvine Welsh, Janice Galloway, Alan Warner or A.L. Kennedy.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Hames, ix.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Hames, 87.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Hames, 2.

For James Kelman, his Scottish origin is an important part of his personal life as well as his literary work. In the introductory comments to the collection of writings by Alex Hamilton, Tom Leonard and James Kelman called *Three Glasgow Writers*, Kelman highlights his ancestry and the language that he uses as well as the lack of correspondence between the written and spoken language in Scotland. Paul Shank states that “[t]aken as a whole, the introduction shows Kelman staking out the territory – linguistic, geographical and political – in which his best-known work operates” (12). James Kelman writes the following:

I was born and bred in Glasgow
 I have lived most of my life in Glasgow
 It is the place I know best
 My language is English
 I write
 In my writings the accent is in Glasgow
 I am always from Glasgow and I speak English always
 Always with this Glasgow accent

This is right enough
 (Kelman qtd. in Shanks, 11)

Generally, it can be said that in his writing, James Kelman brings the speech of Glaswegian working class on paper. Moreover, as voice plays a significant role in his work, he frequently and successfully experiments with language, narrative point of view and the portrayal of subjectivity.¹⁶⁷ While reading Dostoevsky, Gogol, Camus and Kafka and being inspired by American writers such as Sherwood Anderson and Damon Runyon, James Kelman realised the value of his own culture and his “own ‘right to create art’” (Shanks, 9). In his publication *And the Judges Said* Kelman describes this feeling in the following way:

I could sit down with my pen and paper and start doing stories of my own, from myself, the everyday trials and tribulations; my family, my boss, the boy and girl next door; the old guy telling yarns at the factory; whatever. (Kelman, *Judges Said*, 39-40)

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Shanks, 9.

5.1.2. Éilís Ní Dhuibhne

Éilís Ní Dhuibhne was born in Dublin in 1954. She finished the University College in Dublin with a B.A. in English literature, an M.Phil. in Medieval Studies and a Ph.D. in folklore. Currently, she lives in Bray, which is in County Dublin, Ireland. Éilís Ní Dhuibhne has worked as a curator at the National Library in Dublin and as a folklore lecturer at People's College.¹⁶⁸ She started writing fiction in the 1990s and also writes drama, literary criticism and for children.¹⁶⁹ Éilís Ní Dhuibhne only started writing after having completed her Ph.D. In an interview she said that her Ph.D. absorbed most of her time and the creative writing had to wait until her thesis was finished.¹⁷⁰

Éilís Ní Dhuibhne has been shortlisted for the Orange Prize in 2000 for her book *The Dancers Dancing*. According to Jennifer Harris, *The Dancers Dancing* was the first Irish novel to be shortlisted for the Orange Prize for Fiction. Éilís Ní Dhuibhne, moreover, won the Listowel Poetry Award in 1985, the Art Council Bursary in 1986, the Bisto Merit Award in 1994 and the Bisto Book of the Year in 1995. Furthermore, she was the Readers' Association of Ireland Overall Winner in 1995.¹⁷¹

At the beginning of this century (2003), Caitriona Moloney and Helen Thompson stated that “Éilís Ní Dhuibhne is beginning to be recognized as one of Ireland's most talented writers” (101). Her fiction contains modernity as well as antiquity due to her deep concern with myth and history. The use of history and myth in her fiction demonstrate the “multiple palimpsests underneath contemporary reality” (Moloney and Thompson, 101). In her writing, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne also uses different perspectives.¹⁷² Due to her Gaelic background, this usage of multiple angles is simple for her as “[...] ambiguity and dualism and bifurcation of identity started for [her] very early” (Moloney and Thompson, 103). This state of duality and dubiety even is reflected in her name. She uses her Gaelic name Ní Dhuibhne, as she had been called

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Harris, paragraph 1.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Moloney and Thompson, 101.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Moloney and Thompson, 107.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Harris, paragraphe 1.

¹⁷² Cf. Moloney and Thompson, 102.

at school, although her family had used the anglicised name Deeny at home.¹⁷³ Éilís Ní Dhuibhne also uses a third name. Elizabeth O'Hara is the pen-name under which she writes and publishes very successfully literature for children.¹⁷⁴

Éilís Ní Dhuibhne looks at general, common and global topics in her work but she uses the details of Irish life and culture in order to portray universal themes. Women and the effects and influences of the issues mentioned above on women play a significant role in Éilís Ní Dhuibhne's writings. It can be observed that in just about every story the female protagonists have to deal with their wishes and yearnings that have been subdued due to societal pressure so that life becomes worth living again. The politics of Ireland and the construction of gender, sex and class are often addressed and critically observed in Éilís Ní Dhuibhne's oeuvre as she thinks these issues cannot be treated separately. Generally, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne is as wholeheartedly dedicated to Irish culture as to feminist politics.¹⁷⁵

5.2. Plot Summaries

5.2.1. *Kieron Smith, Boy* (2008)

Kieron Smith, Boy is a novel set in the middle of the twentieth century¹⁷⁶. It is an inner monologue of a young boy named Kieron Smith, or Smiddy as his friends call him. Kieron is roughly six years old when the narrative begins, and twelve years by the end of the book. The book consists of a number of events that occur in Kieron's young life which are told in Kieron's youthful voice. Kieron grows up as a Protestant in a poor part of Glasgow's inner city. He has an elder brother, Matt, who is intelligent and successful at school and thus favoured by their parents. While Kieron has to deal with being repudiated by his brother and ignored by his parents, he often flees into his grandparent's flat in order to get some affection. His grandfather tells countless stories, however, he eventually dies and Kieron misses him a lot. Kieron

¹⁷³ Cf. Moloney and Thompson, 103.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Harris, paragraph 1.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Harris, paragraph 2-3.

¹⁷⁶ For a precise date see 5. Features of Irishness and Scottishness.

and his family move to a new housing scheme at Glasgow's outskirts. Despite that, Kieron's life does not change very much as he basically does the same things as when living in the inner city: he is climbing everything that is climbable (from trees to drainpipes to school roof tops), he is playing truant from school whenever possible, fights and argues with his friends, older boys from the neighbourhood or his brother, he is reading, going to the swimming pool, playing football or watching it at the Glasgow Rangers' stadium. *Kieron Smith, Boy* is basically narrating everyday life situations of a young, sometimes annoying but lovable boy who is treated as an outsider, a position he brought on by his own fault due to his actions and behaviour. By the end of the novel, Kieron is a teenager and begins to be interested in girls. He finally has a job after school that he has desired for so long: he makes deliveries in order to earn a little bit of money.

5.2.2. *The Dancers Dancing* (1999)

The Dancers Dancing is a novel set in July 1972. It narrates the summer of a group of Irish teenagers who are spending a month in Tubber in Ireland's west. Tubber, which is located in Ireland's Gaeltacht where Irish is still spoken, offers an Irish language and culture camp. Girls and boys from Dublin, Derry and Belfast are sent there in order to be taught the Irish language and culture by teachers. The children are staying with local families during their visit who have to provide them with lodging and meals. During their time in Tubber, Orla and Aisling, who are in the middle of the action, and their friends are attending classes in the morning, doing outdoor activities like swimming, playing rounders and other games in the afternoon and attending a céilí, a dance organised by the school, in the evening. Moreover, the reader learns a lot about Aisling, but mainly Orla's background is narrated. Orla's father Tom is originally from Tubber but moved to Dublin and works as a bricklayer. Orla's mother Elizabeth runs the house and keeps lodgers in order to make some extra money. Orla is ashamed of her family and her aunt who is still living in Tubber and whom she avoids visiting. Aisling, on the other hand, grew up in a perfect family and in a nice neighbourhood. Orla and Aisling are both from Dublin whereas the two other girls staying at their host's, the Doherty's, house are from Derry. The girls often engage in

rather serious, however, childlike conversations about Irish history, religion, politics and the Northern Ireland Conflict. The girls not only explore Tubber but also the opposite sex and first contacts with boys are made. Finally, the Irish language and culture school is over and the children return to their Dublin, Belfast and Derry homes where their mothers eagerly await them.

6. Features of Irishness and Scottishness

Tom Devine claims that due to an earlier disregard of Irish-Scottish connections, scholars nowadays have the possibility to research and investigate numerous relevant topics in the field.¹⁷⁷ For him, the histories and cultures of Ireland and Scotland are the “ideal ‘laboratories’ for the systematic examination of issues of basic importance to the humanities”, such as nationalism, identities, rural transformation, emigration as well as linguistic configurations and diversities, to name just a few of his examples (256). Needless to say, the comparative study of the two nations had existed before the ‘official’ establishment of Irish-Scottish Studies as Scotland and Ireland share numerous historical links as well as experiences. However, only through the institutionalisation of Irish-Scottish Studies over the past years and its formal status as an academic subject has the comparative study of Scottish and Irish culture and history been accepted as an officially approved field of study in academia.¹⁷⁸

When we think of the Irish and the Scottish, certain mental images and certain characteristics that distinguish these nations from others come to mind. A number of these images can be found in the two novels *The Dancers Dancing* and *Kieron Smith, Boy*. In order to carry out the imagological study, firstly, various aspects of Irishness have been established by analysing auto-images in *The Dancers Dancing*. Previously published sociological studies support the arguments that are made¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Devine, “Caledonian Connection”, 256.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. McIlvanney and Ryan, 15-16.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Contemporary Ireland: A Sociological Map*. Ed. Sara O’Sullivan; *Everything Irish: The History, Literature, Art, Music, People and Places of Ireland from A-Z*. Ed. Lelia Ruckenstein and James O’Malley; McCrone, David. *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*; Muir, Edwin. *The Scots and their Country*.

After establishing the features of Irishness, it shall be determined whether the same aspects can be found in the Scottish novel *Kieron Smith, Boy* or if more and/or different features of Scottishness can be identified. The findings from both novels are finally compared. All in all, the comparative, imagological study which is conducted is based on a literary close reading of two novels and tries to answer the following research questions:

Which features of Scottishness and Irishness can be found in *The Dancers Dancing* and *Kieron Smith, Boy*? Are there issues that are particular to Scotland and Ireland as Irish-Scottish Studies suggests? Are the representations of the Scots/Scotland and the Irish/Ireland in literary works similar? Or do *The Dancers Dancing* and *Kieron Smith, Boy* promote completely different images of Scotland and Ireland? Can the aspects of Irishness that were identified in an Irish novel be transferred to a Scottish literary work? Or does *Kieron Smith, Boy* focus on other aspects? Thus, can the connections and links between Scotland and Ireland that are promoted by Scottish and Irish Studies also be found in selected literary works, or only in history?

There are several reasons why I have chosen to write on *The Dancers Dancing* and *Kieron Smith, Boy*.¹⁸⁰ Most importantly, TDD is set in Ireland and concerned with Irish auto-images, while KSB is set in Scotland and deals with Scottish auto-images. Furthermore, the two novels are contemporary works of literature. ‘Contemporary literature’ in this context simply means literature written between the late 1990s and the present – TDD was published in 1999 and KSB in 2008. Both novels are set in the second half of the twentieth century. To be more precise, TDD states that it is the summer of 1972 when the teenagers embark on their journey to the Donegal Gaeltacht, while due to certain references and allusions to this decade, it can be assumed that KSB is set in between the 1950s and 1970s.¹⁸¹ Moreover, both novels narrate the protagonists’ childhood – Kieron is roughly between six and twelve years

¹⁸⁰ Henceforth, *The Dancers Dancing* will be abbreviated TDD, and *Kieron Smith, Boy* will be abbreviated KSB.

¹⁸¹ Kieron’s family moves to a new scheme at the outskirts of Glasgow. In their chapter on “Redevelopment fiction”, a Scottish subgenre, Peter Clanfield and Christian Llody state that the “grand modernist urban schemes” were common in Scotland in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Clanfield and Llody, 124).

old and in the summer when the language school takes place Orla is thirteen years and two months and Aisling is twelve years old. As a Bildungsroman is a novel which “[...] is an account of the youthful development of a hero or heroine [...]” and “[i]t describes the processes by which maturity is achieved through the various ups and downs of life” (Cuddon, 88), both novels can be classified as Bildungsromane, or coming-of-age novels. Kieron and Orla, furthermore, have the same working class background. Both their parents, with their low salaries or no income, are struggling to provide for their children. The working class experience of Orla’s family is dominant in TDD. Nevertheless, Aisling’s family, who can be counted among the middle class, is an integral part of the book, too. Finally, the two novels have been highly praised and successful: TDD was shortlisted for the Orange Prize for Fiction in 2000 and KSB won the Saltire Society's Scottish book of the year award. In both novels the content is not very eventful and the plot is not very complex, but TDD as well as KSB lend themselves for thorough studies on Irishness and Scottishness.

However, a few problems have been encountered as well. The different narrative situations made the comparison of the two novels more difficult. While in TDD an omniscient narrator tells the story, KSB has a first person narrative situation. Additionally, the protagonist and the ‘I’ who is narrating the action is the young boy Kieron Smith. Thus, as a juvenile first person narrator does not have unrestricted knowledge and cannot provide in-depth accounts or problem analyses of certain situations, KSB lacks the facts, understanding and wisdom of an omniscient narrator. Furthermore, some aspects of Irishness or Scottishness are intertwined or overlap. Therefore, the boundaries between certain features, especially relating to politics and religion, cannot always be clearly drawn.

6.1. Features of Irishness in *The Dancers Dancing*

6.1.1. Language

Throughout the book, TDD is concerned with the language of Ireland, an aspect that has been for a long time and still is strongly associated with Irishness. On the one

hand, there is the Irish language, also known as Gaelic. However, on the other hand, TDD also devotes itself to Hiberno-English – the dialect of English spoken in Ireland. Orla is the one who occupies her mind with what correct English should sound like. She is of the opinion that words such as *youse* and *yez*¹⁸², which are typical features of the English variation spoken in Ireland, or phrases such as “The’ll na take ye” (TDD, 123) do not count among an accurate usage of the English language. Although she is not very persistent, her final objective is to ‘eliminate’ the Hiberno-English vocabulary, grammar and syntax from the English language:

Sandra says *youse*. [...] Orla has a special linguistic mission in life, and it is not the mission of every good citizen, which is, according to the teachers in her school, to speak Irish. It is rather to stamp out every trace of local English dialect from her surroundings, rather as Church and State in Ireland have recently been aiming to eliminate sex from the Irish way of life. Words like *youse* cannot be tolerated. (TDD, 12-13)

The Gaelic language has been advertised as a “symbol of the Irish nation” (Watson, 361) since the nineteenth century. As a fully Irish-speaking nation was the objective of the newly independent state in order to create a nation that distinguishes itself from the others, the Irish language was restored wherever possible. Place names and names of persons which have been anglicised during colonial rule were ‘retranslated’ into Irish.¹⁸³ Orla considers the English names to be absurd and, whereas the Irish names recover a lost Irish identity. To her, the Irish names appear to be more important, more correct and more elegant:

Before, everyone and every place in Tubber had an English name, but now they are all Irish. Tubber itself is An Tobar. The Dohertys are Muintir Uí Dhochartaigh. Charlie Paddy Andys are Muintir Uí Ghallchóir. They all sound much more important, it seems to Orla, more correct and elegant than they do in their own funny Donegal English. [...] In the English of this area, as of many areas in Ireland, all names sound, to Orla, faintly ridiculous. People have clownish name. Murphy and Meaney and Sweeney and Mulligan. Bally this and Ballyslapdashinmuckerishthat. Irish restores to them dignity and elegance. So she thinks, happily abandoning her own name in English, Orla Crilly, and calling herself Órla Nic Giolla Chrollaigh. (TDD, 36)

¹⁸² Second person plural (you); used in order to distinguish second person singular and second person plural.

¹⁸³ Cf. Watson, 357.

Among other things, the government also introduced the Irish language to the education system in order to revive the language.¹⁸⁴ In TDD, an important, or maybe the main reason why the teenagers from Dublin are sent to the Donegal Gaeltacht is the improvement of their Irish. The Dublin girls and boys should have a head start in Secondary School after their holidays, “one up on the children whose parents have not sent them to the Gaeltacht” (TDD, 9). Owing to the fact that they need to *improve* their Irish, this means that the children from Dublin knew and spoke Irish before coming to the Irish language school. Nevertheless, research observes a movement away from the Irish to the English language since the middle of the nineteenth century. Hilary Tovey and Perry Share state that by the 1960s, Irish was spoken as an everyday language only in the rural west, a region which is traditional, isolated and known as the Gaeltacht.¹⁸⁵ The children from Dublin and Northern Ireland are sent to one of those Gaeltachtaí in order to speak Irish on a daily basis. While in former times the whole of Ireland would be considered a Gaeltacht, Gaeltacht has only been the name of the few Irish-speaking regions in Ireland that have survived since the decline of the Irish language. Co. Kerry, Connemara (which is Co. Mayo and Co. Galway) and Co. Donegal can be counted among the largest Gaeltacht areas in Ireland.¹⁸⁶ Tubber, the fictive small village where the Irish college in TDD is located, is situated in the Donegal Gaeltacht, and is described as being “[n]ot only west, not only beautiful, but all Irish as well – not half Irish, not a quarter Irish. All” (TDD, 6).

Although being sent to an Irish summer school, Aisling and Orla can be counted among fluent Irish speakers who, although not using Irish on a daily basis as the people from the Gaeltacht do, grew up with the Gaelic language. Aisling even speaks Irish at home, thus is raised bilingually. Orla, on the other hand, can be considered a secondary bilingual. Due to the fact that Irish is often learned as a second language, secondary bilinguals are being taught in Irish in school from an early age onwards.¹⁸⁷ In the course of the book, the reader finds out that all of the Dublin boys and girls speak very good Irish as they might be either bilinguals or secondary bilinguals. Moreover, the reader often encounters Irish words, such as terms of endearment like *a*

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Watson, 357.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Tovey and Share, 333.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Davis et al., 98.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Watson, 366.

stór or a *thaisce*, or even full Irish sentences which are usually not translated as they are clear from the context. Éilís Ní Dhuibhne also tends to ‘translate’ Irish explanations during classes or conversations which are overheard verbatim from Irish to English, resulting in passages such as this one:

Reads aloud Máistir Dunne’s class from the great classics of Ireland: *Jimín and Rotha Mór an tSaoil, Peig, An tOileánach*. Organises the debate: Life of the Town versus Life of the Country. [...]

Hear they Bean Uí Luing under bottom the curtain.

Sentences a-teaches she.

I am in sixth class at school.

I am four years teen of age.

Better to me tea than coffee.

Hurler good is my brother.

Footballer good is my brother.

There is a cat white to me.

There is a dog black to me.

It is lovely with me my dog black.

Repeat the pupils the sentences after her, and then learn they them by clean mind. (TDD, 43)

Although her father speaks the Donegal accent, Orla does not dare to speak any other accent than her own as children in the city easily bully those who speak something other than Dublin Irish. Moreover, TDD shows that all Irish speakers do not necessarily understand each other as there are different dialects within Ireland. The Banatee and Sava, for example, speak a northern dialect that the girls from Dublin hardly understand. However, also “[t]he Banatee does not appear to understand much of what Aisling and Orla say either, when they speak their fluent Dublin Irish” (TDD, 40). The intonation, whole words and sentence constructions are different amongst the dialects, making it impossible that the dialects of the Irish language are mutually understood. That Donegal Irish is very different from Dublin Irish shows the following quote:

Caidé mar atá tú instead of *Conas atá tú*. *Falsa* instead of *leisciúil*. *Fosta* instead of *freisin*. *Geafta* instead of *geata*. They manage to mess up almost every single word, even before they start changing the tune of the sentences. (TDD, 41)

What might be more striking, however, is the difference between northern and southern speakers in Ireland. First of all, there is a stark contrast in the sounds of their

English. Orla and Aisling notice words that Pauline and Jacqueline pronounce differently such as “Cheps is what she says. Cheps.” as well as “Och. Turrible. Och that’s turrible” (TDD, 74). Furthermore, the reader of TDD gets the impression that the inhabitants of the Republic of Ireland consider their language to be one of the main components that make up Irish national identity. In contrast, in Northern Ireland the Irish language does not play an important role anymore. While the children from Dublin speak Irish fluently, the children who come from Derry and Belfast speak hardly any Irish. Orla observes that she would not be able to talk to the boys from Northern Ireland at the first céilí as they were not allowed to speak English and “[t]he boys from Belfast know even less Irish than the ones from Derry, in other words none at all” (TDD, 59). Consequently, the question among the Dublin girls arises why their northern neighbours come to an Irish summer school even if they are Protestant and live in a part of the United Kingdom. The reader might expect an answer that gives an explanation - for example, that they have or want to learn Irish and the local culture as their parents still hold on to a nationalist view of Ireland, and the Irish culture and language are dominant signs of an Irish national identity. However, the question stays unanswered but two messages are communicated. First, you can be a Protestant and still be Irish and second, nobody in the world wants to be Irish, anyways:

‘Why do you want to learn Irish? If your father is a Protestant?’
 ‘Why do you want to learn Irish?’ Pauline is scornful.
 ‘Well...I am Irish,’ Orla declares.
 ‘So am I well. So is he. Ye don’t have to be Catholic to be Irish do you?’
 Orla wishes she hadn’t asked the question. She blunders on. ‘Well I mean... you’re Northern Irish. It’s different isn’t it?’
 ‘I’m sick of this conversation,’ says Pauline. ‘Time for beddy-byes! Yawn yawn yawn yawn. Who’d want to be Irish anyways? For crying out loud.’
 (TDD, 78)

Although the West was finally included into modern Ireland and is heavily influenced by mass media, Irish is not (yet) a dead language. Numerous families, outside and inside the Gaeltacht areas, still use the Irish language to communicate and many of their children are educated through Irish.¹⁸⁸ The last chapter in TDD, which is titled ‘Now’, gives the reader an insight into a more recent situation of the Irish language. The time is not specified, the reader only knows that Orla is married and has children.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Tovey and Share, 333.

It might be in the 1980s, or even 1990s, when Orla comes to the Gaeltacht to take a vacation. The Gaeltacht area seems to be a very popular destination for holidaymakers. The interesting part in the following quote, however, is that the Irish language is thriving in this part of Ireland. People speak Irish in the streets, parents are raising their children bilingually and here are even radio stations and television channels that broadcast in Irish:

[T]his is an area where Irish has survived and where it sometimes seems to prosper. There is a radio station, and people have started to agitate for an Irish television channel. You can hear Irish spoken in the schoolyard, in the pub, even in some of the shops. You can hear it on the crowded beaches. It's the Gaeltacht triumphant – not a bit like Tubber. (TDD, 276)

6.1.2. Religion

Irishness and Catholicism have always been closely connected. The Catholic Church in Ireland has been considered a pillar of Irish society. As the Irish can be classified as a “deeply spiritual, pious, humble people devoted to their Church”, religion provided them with a “sense of identity and belonging” (Inglis, 67). The Crilly family, however, seems to be the only family the reader of TDD gets to know who are practicing Catholics. For Orla and Elizabeth, the identification through the church or at least giving the impression of being religious is very important – they dress in their best clothes when going to Sunday Mass, they sit in the first pew and are responding overenthusiastically to the priest. For them, it is not only crucial to go to church, but to display and communicate their devotion and dedication to the Roman Catholic denomination:

That afternoon Elizabeth puts on her navy suit and navy-and-white straw boater, usually reserved for Sunday Mass in Whitefriar Street church, where the Crillys sit in the very front seat and where Elizabeth and Orla shout the responses at the top of their lungs, letting the priest and the congregation hear how religious they are. [...] ‘Christ have mercy!’ they yell, and their voices boom around the big, gloomy, empty church, like thunder on a grey summer’s day. (TDD, 97-98)

That the church is described as being gloomy and empty might be an indication of the decline of the influence and importance of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the second half of the twentieth century. With the establishment of the new Irish State the Catholic Church ‘officially’ became powerful. While in the first half of the twentieth century church and state appeared to be united forever, the second half saw a step towards secularisation and economic growth as, in the 1960s, Ireland opened up to international investors and investments and thus, an abandonment of the formerly close relationship occurred. Consequently, Ireland’s look ahead was brighter and traditional institutions in Irish life were reevaluated. Although still about 90 per cent of the population saw and described themselves as Roman Catholic, the institutional Church has no longer the authority and influence it once possessed.¹⁸⁹ In TDD, neither Aisling’s family nor the Northern Irish Catholic families seem to be particularly devout and god-fearing, although all of them consider themselves Roman Catholics.

For the Northern Irish Catholics, religion implies more than merely going to church. Due to the sectarianism that has been experienced in Northern Ireland and the resulting conflict, religion can be linked to various aspects of the social life. The ‘othering’ exceeds religion and can also be felt in terms of ethnicity. Religion, thus, is often an “ethnic and cultural marker” and not automatically connected with religious beliefs or practices (Tovey and Share, 395). Segregation and separation affect employment, residence and social life. Especially residential segregation has risen from 1971 onwards and mainly Northern Irish working class people tend to move to and live in areas where most of their neighbours share the same religious denomination.¹⁹⁰ Nuala, Aisling’s mother, points out the residential segregation between Catholics and Protestants to the children after Orla tells her and her husband about Jacqueline’s family not being allowed to move into their new home:

Nuala shrugs. ‘Oh yes. Gosh, yes, I read about it in the *Irish Times*. The two communities, you know Aisling what I mean by that, the Catholics and the Protestants, seem to be trying to keep their own areas completely to themselves now. All the Protestants are forced out of Catholic areas and all the

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Inglis, 68.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Lundy and McGovern, 374.

Catholics out of Protestant areas. It's amazing. I can't really understand it.' (TDD, 207)

Apparently, the people in the Republic do not have any problems with sectarianism and Aisling even mentions once that her next-door neighbours are Protestant. The problems that the North is facing are amazing but at the same time not really comprehensible and accessible to the people from the South.

6.1.3. Politics – The Northern Ireland Conflict

TDD is set in the summer of 1972. Aaron Edwards and Cillian McGrattan describe the year 1972 as the “bloodiest in the history of the Northern Ireland Troubles, with both republican and loyalist terrorists embarking on a radical escalation of their violent campaigns” (31). This conflict is vividly present in TDD. At the beginning of the novel, the bus from Dublin has to go through Northern Ireland in order to get to the summer school in Donegal. The bus is stopped in Aghnacloy after crossing the Monaghan border into Northern Ireland. The children from Dublin have never been actively ‘involved’ in the conflict before and know the Troubles, which have been going on for three years, only from the media. For them, the Troubles take place in another world that is far away from their own. Thus, seeing a real soldier who enters their bus is an exciting, however, also a rather unreal experience. Despite the proximity of the conflict that is staged on the same island, the soldier is a mere ‘Action Man’, or an alien from outer space for the Dublin girls and boys:

A soldier wearing fatigues and carrying a heavy gun boards the bus. He gives the children a sweeping cold glance: thrilling. They all gaze eagerly at his face, a round pink boyish face, fresh from the rain that now pings down outside. They stare happily at his helmet, his gun, his green-and-brown Action Man clothes. It is the first time they have ever seen a real soldier, on duty: it is as if an alien from outer space, or Fred Flintstone or Donald Duck stepped onto the bus. (TDD, 16)

For the children, the North of Ireland is not a site of conflict but a place where they are able to buy the long-desired chocolate bars and sweets that are not available in the Republic. In TDD, this whole argument is summarised in a single sentence:

“Everyone in the world must know this by now, what the North meant to the children of the Republic: it meant Mars Bars” (TDD, 15).

In TDD, the adults in the Republic either ignore or think poorly of the Northern Ireland Conflict and it seems as if the North of Ireland is left to her own devices. When Orla’s father is talking about the Northern Ireland Conflict, he has no good words for their northern neighbours:

‘Let them shoot themselves to bleddy bits,’ he shouts after his plate of ten potatoes and some meat, when he is drinking his cup of tea and eating biscuits. ‘That’s good enough for them. Let them blow themselves out of it, that’s all they were ever good for! Bleddy hooey!’ he sneers [...]. (TDD, 142)

Nevertheless, there is also a lot of support coming from the Republic. The Nationalists stand behind and aid the IRA (Irish Republican Army) that came into prominence once more with the outbreak of the Troubles.¹⁹¹ As the conflict is characterised by violence, it is not surprising at all that like-minded people from the Republic provide the IRA with bombs illegally manufactured. As the neighbouring county Donegal is conveniently located, Orla’s father knows about bomb-making factories hidden in abandoned railway stations or barns. Orla’s father, although he seems to be rather indifferent about the situation in Northern Ireland, or the question of who kills whom, turns into a proud Nationalist when telling his daughter about the infamous delivery of bombs from Donegal to Northern Ireland:

A bomb-making factory for the IRA. That is what this part of Donegal is renowned for, so says her [Orla’s] father, laughing harshly and proudly. [...] [T]he myth of the IRA, heroism, bravery, recklessness, lawlessness, sustains them. Bombs. Everywhere. In disused railway stations, in barns and byres, on the tops of mountains. They used to distil illicit whiskey, that was all the racket. Look. That’s where it is. The still. Now they hide gelignite, manufacture bottle bombs for their brothers across the border. Every old shabby building may house a terrible secret. (TDD, 81-82)

As mentioned before, the teenagers from Dublin merely know the bombings and shootings from the news. However, they are not the only ones, as also Pauline, though living in Derry, is not directly affected by the conflict, neither. Her father is a rather

¹⁹¹ Cf. Biletz, 186.

rich Protestant. Due to the fact that she lives in the suburbs, she lives in the ‘right’ neighbourhood where bombings and fighting do not take place. Jacqueline, on the other hand, lives in the ‘wrong’ neighbourhood. TDD describes her situation in the following way: “[...] [F]or Jacqueline the news is on her road, because she lives in a place on the news, the Bogside” (TDD, 117). The Bogside in Derry was indeed an area where numerous battles were fought during the Troubles. Most notably is probably the Battle of Bogside, taking place in 1969, which was one of the first riots that caused fighting at other places in Northern Ireland.¹⁹²

While Pauline’s father is a Protestant, her mother and both of her friend Jacqueline’s parents are Catholics. In 1971, Catholics amounted to 36.8 per cent of the total population in Northern Ireland.¹⁹³ Since its formation in the 1920s, Northern Ireland has had the reputation of being “something of a ‘cold place’ by (and for) Catholics” (Lundy and McGovern, 370). Although there has always been a rather well-established and politically as well as socially powerful Catholic middle class in Northern Ireland, numerous northern Catholics, especially those coming from a working class background, tended to be socially excluded or marginalised and thus more often unemployed than their Protestant counterparts.¹⁹⁴ These inequalities were said to be the main reason for the outbreak of the Northern Irish conflict that commenced in 1968 and lasted over thirty years.¹⁹⁵ Jacqueline’s family is directly involved in the conflict and they experience the inequalities that affect the Northern Irish Catholics firsthand. First of all, Jacqueline is told that her family is not allowed to move into a new house which they got from the Housing Executive as they used to live in a neglected apartment building. The “[f]ucking Brits” (TDD, 75), however, prohibit the moving for the second time due to the fact that Jacqueline’s family is Catholic. Although, according to Pauline, there is a new law that apparently makes the situation in Northern Ireland more equal, Jacqueline’s family is kept away from their new flat with machine guns and Panzer tanks:

‘Catholics don’t get new houses in Derry, that’s the rule until now.’

¹⁹² Cf. Mullholland, 43.

¹⁹³ Cf. Lundy and McGovern, 372.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Lundy and McGovern, 373.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Lundy and McGovern, 370.

‘But now they can – there’s a new law or something. Only the UDA stopped them moving in last time. And this time the Brits did it.’ Pauline interjects. ‘There’s a new law, it’s all more equal now.’
 ‘More equal? UDA, Brits, what’s the difference? They wouldn’t let us move into our new house!’ [...]
 ‘But how did they stop you? The, eh, Brits?’ [asks Aisling.]
 ‘How do you think? With machine guns and Panzer tanks. They blocked the road with them. [...]’ (TDD, 76)

Orla and Aisling tell Aisling’s parents about Jacqueline’s situation and the different treatment of Catholics and Protestants during their visit in Donegal. The children explain, as Jacqueline has told them, that “[...] Protestant bachelors got houses more easily than Catholic families of ten. Like hers” (TDD, 207). In contrast to the children, Aisling’s parents do not seem to be too upset about the difficulties and obstacles the Northern Irish Catholics have to face. They downplay the importance of the incident with comments such as “‘Ah, she sounds like a bit of a moan to me,’ says Nuala.” and “‘Who forced them to have ten children anyway?’ Ciaran says in a low furious whisper to Nuala” (TDD, 208). It can be observed that in TDD the Northern Ireland Conflict is something that only the Irish children are curious about. While the adults try to make the conflict appear less important than it really is, the children feel a need to address the complicated situation:

The Derry situation, with its Catholics and Protestants and its rugged aggressiveness, its lack of shame about its problems, seems both funny and shameful. They are dying to talk about it and to find out about it, but at the same time they shy away from it. (TDD, 76)

The adults either fulminate against or belittle the Northern Irish problems. Orla and Aisling, although they show some reservation, try to find out about what their Northern Irish housemates are going through and long conversations between the girls ensue. These conversations usually reveal that the girls from the Republic of Ireland know very little about the conflict. Orla and Aisling, for example, did not hear anything about the IRA ceasefire that finally ended in the summer of 1972 and Pauline and Jacqueline are incensed by their lack of knowledge. However, the serious topics discussed by the girls tend to end with childish remarks appropriate for the age of the speakers. As the important theme of a united Ireland is touched upon, no ‘constructive’ answer is given as Orla declares that a ‘united Ireland’ would not be good owing to the fact that sweets are now available in Northern Ireland:

Orla decides to take the plunge. ‘So, are you for a united Ireland or not, then?’ Pauline laughs. ‘United Ireland? Are you?’ she asks [...].
 ‘Not really,’ Orla answers. ‘I think it’s more fun having the North.’
 ‘Being able to get Mars Bars and things, she means,’ Aisling explains helpfully.
 ‘Yeah, well it’s like having a foreign country sort of on your doorstep,’ Orla adds. (TDD, 118)

The second tragedy causing suffering to Jacqueline’s family is her father’s imprisonment in Long Kesh. Long Kesh, or also known as ‘Her Majesty’s Prison Maze’, or simply Maze prison, or H-Blocks, is the prison for political prisoners. In 1971 the Northern Irish government re-introduced ‘internment’, which is the “detention of suspects without trial” (Edwards and McGrattan, 13). The Northern Irish government used internment when they thought that the Republicans became too dangerous in Northern Ireland, such as in the 1920s, throughout the course of the so-called ‘Border campaign’ of 1950-1962 and in 1971. In August 1971, when the Unionist Prime Minister Brian Faulkner instituted internment in response to the Provisional IRA bombing campaign, it was highly unsuccessful and failed to improve the political situation as all of the 342 accused were Catholics.¹⁹⁶ It can be assumed that Jacqueline’s father is one of those detained during the 1971 raids and since then has been imprisoned in Long Kesh. From the text it is however not clear if he is a member of the IRA or not. The incarceration in Long Kesh is cruel and the prisoners are treated badly. They have to live in ‘cages’ – Jacqueline’s father has “Cage Four” as well as “nothing to eat but watery porridge and brown water masquerading as soup” (TDD, 77). It is mainly Pauline who likes to talk about Jacqueline’s father being imprisoned in Long Kesh and both Pauline and Jacqueline seem to be rather proud to know someone who is actively involved in the conflict.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Edwards and McGrattan, 13.

6.1.4. Geography – Dichotomy between the Rural and the Urban

Rural Ireland gained status and significance in the years after independence. The rural parts of Ireland were seen as the ‘real Ireland’.¹⁹⁷ In TDD, this opinion is shared as the West of Ireland is described as unspoiled and picturesque and “[t]he rural idyll, real Ireland” (TDD, 220) is mentioned continuously. The parents from the city send their children there in order to experience the ‘real’ Irish culture and values. However, the Irish countryside has frequently been romanticised and sometimes tourist boards and holiday brochures make it more appealing than it really is. In TDD, rural Ireland is nevertheless portrayed as beautiful and even poetic, and thus the countryside is seen as much more innocent and virtuous than the city:

There is a kind of equality here that isn’t possible in Dublin, land of ‘What Does Your Father Do?’ This is the Gaeltacht, a land of the child. What matters is the length of your hair and your skirt, the sweetness of your smile and your voice and your Irish, the lightness of your step, your ability to make friends. (TDD, 161)

The urban way of life and culture is encountered with scepticism. The city “[is] usually represented as being a place of corruption and impurity which [is] set against the innocence and simplicity of the countryside and the peasant” (Paschel, 26-27). Ireland is not an island with one culture or one appearance but the great dichotomy between the rural and the urban or the West and the East is dominant. While urban Dublin is seen as harmful, uninteresting, unpleasant and English, rural Tubber is considered as being beneficial, tourist, beautiful and Irish:

Tubber is one of the maps Orla has held in her head since babyhood. There is another. That is the map of Dublin. Two sides of the Crilly coin: the good and the bad, the tourist west and the dull east, the rare Irish and the common English, the heathery rocky lovely and the bricky breezeblock ugly, the desirable rural idyll and the unchosen urban reality. Holiday and work. Past and present. (TDD, 6)

Nevertheless, the opposite can be observed, too. Since the 1960s, the cities, and

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Tovey and Share, 345.

especially Dublin, have been turned into modern Ireland and the rural areas have been identified as undeveloped and old. Owing to the establishment of infrastructural resources and the access to media, politics have been moved to urban areas. The change in residence and occupation to an urban environment lets urban groups appear to be more prestigious and culturally up-to-date.¹⁹⁸ In TDD, it is the parents of Aisling who pose a stark contrast to the countryside. Their appearance is modern with their stylish clothes and hairstyles. Even their Irish is unusual compared to the Donegal Irish, as if they spoke a different language. Aisling's parents represent the busy, modern-day city while the Dohertys in Tubber personify the laid-back, old-fashioned countryside:

Their [Aisling's parents] fashionable summer clothes, their city hairstyles, are outlandish in the brown country parlour: it is as if Marilyn Monroe dropped into the classroom in the traditional Irish schoolhouse to take the choir practice. [...] Their Irish sounds strange too. After the Donegal Irish – straggly, glottal-stopping, somehow as untidy and wild as the countryside – it sounds foreign and artificial. (TDD, 202-203)

With nearly over half a million inhabitants by 1961 and a labour market based on service, finance and administration, Dublin became an advanced capital. As a consequence, numerous inhabitants of the Irish countryside were drawn to the modern city of Dublin.¹⁹⁹ Tom, Orla's father is originally from western rural Tubber, however, he moved to Dublin when his wife came from England to Ireland. It can be assumed that the Crilly family left the countryside and opted for the modern city in order to get work. Tom very quickly became part of the fast moving city as he commenced to work as a builder. He was involved in constructing Bus Aras, the main bus station in Dublin, Belfield, which is one of the campuses of University College Dublin, flats, shopping centres and numerous other buildings that arose during Dublin's modernisation:

He [Tom] has built or helped build half of modern Dublin. Bus Aras. Belfield. The new flats at Ballymun. Stillorgan Shopping Centre. Every new building Orla sees around her, her father has worked on. The buildings are new and exciting, worthy of comment by all and sundry. And yet the actual work of constructing them is, for some reason, ignoble. (TDD, 90)

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Tovey and Share, 345-346.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Davis et al., 76.

6.1.5. Emigration and Immigration

Ireland has always been seen as a “country of emigration” and emigration has always been considered as an Irish problem as Ireland’s population constantly decreased from the 1840s Great Famine to the 1950s, due to people leaving the country (Loyal, 30). In the nineteenth century, nationalists thought that emigration was caused by British colonialism and landlordism as numerous people left Ireland because of English rule.²⁰⁰ The problem’s causes, however, have changed over the years. People primarily left Ireland as a reaction to overpopulation and poverty or they had other class-related motives.²⁰¹ As soon as the economy commenced to boom and became stronger in the 1960s and 1970s, the number of those who emigrated decreased.²⁰² Owing to the Common Travel Area which allowed easy travelling due to very little border controls, migration between the two British isles was unproblematic.²⁰³ Thus, from the mid-1930s onwards, the main destination for Irish emigrants was Great Britain. Formerly, most Irish immigrated to the United States, however, entry regulations had become stricter and entering Great Britain was much easier.²⁰⁴ Due to the good connections, people returned home to Ireland after working for a few years in Great Britain and thus, the former ‘country of emigration’ experienced a change from emigration to migration.

In TDD, the issue of migration is discussed in various ways. The reader encounters people who emigrated from, but also some who immigrated to Ireland. That emigration is a problem inherent to the Irish way of life becomes explicit immediately. The rural Crilly family, for example, is affected by emigration. In TDD it says that “[f]rom here [the Crilly farm in Tubber] the Crillys have walked to Derry and taken the boat to Scotland, to New York, to Australia, to Gros Île” (TDD, 163). Emigration does not only have an intense impact on Irish society as a whole but on the families themselves. Especially in rural areas, people depend on their neighbours

²⁰⁰ Cf. Tovey and Share, 152.

²⁰¹ Cf. Tovey and Share, 153.

²⁰² Cf. Loyal, 30.

²⁰³ Cf. Loyal, 35.

²⁰⁴ 84 percent emigrated to the United States between 1876 and 1921, and only eight percent to Great Britain. Between 1946 and 1951 four-fifths of the emigrants went to neighbouring Britain (Tovey and Share, 147).

when several relatives have left for another country. The ones who are physically close are of course more reliable and loyal than those who live on another continent and only come home for holidays:

For them connections and responsibilities are ordained by physical closeness more than by ties of blood. ‘Ar scáth a chéile a mhaireann na daoine,’ they believe. Meaning that neighbours must rely on one another. This is a neighbourhood where most people’s closest relations live in, say, Philadelphia and come home once in ten years on big holidays, celebratory, boozy, disruptive. Those who stay behind, the survivors or the abandoned, feel more kinship with one another than with those who went away, even if they are their own brothers and sisters. (TDD, 165)

Big families were the standard in rural areas at the beginning of the twentieth century. The reader, however, only gets to know two members of the Crilly family – Orla’s father and her aunt. Thus, it can be assumed that other siblings emigrated from Ireland. While those members of the Crilly family left Tubber for America, Australia or Canada and never came back, Tom Crilly was one of those emigrants who, in the mid-1930s, chose to work in Great Britain. From 1936 onwards, he worked as a bricklayer in Glasgow, but he did not stay in one place and made his way southward to England – to Manchester, Birmingham, London and Southampton. Tom had three major reasons for emigrating: his wish to travel, boredom and money. He took the chance of exploring a new country during his stay in Great Britain:

[...][Tom was] living in digs, working for Irish contractors on the lump, always itching to move along and see some new place, the gratification of this desire to explore being his compensation for the life of the immigrant labourer. [...] On Sundays he slept till eight and then explored his neighbourhood, whatever it happened to be. Edinburgh, Argyll, the Hebrides, the Cotswolds. York Minster, Westminster Abbey, Salisbury Cathedral. Folkstone and Dover, the Vale of the White Horse. The tourist spots of England, Scotland and Wales were as well known to him as to any well-heeled visitor from America or the Continent [...]. (TDD, 149)

In contrast to numerous other Irish-born people who were forced to leave the country for various reasons, Tom decided to leave voluntarily. Tom cannot be classified as an Irish expatriate as his time of working abroad was limited, and he returned to Ireland after some years. Elizabeth, his wife, and the Banatee, however, decided to stay in a different country for the rest of their lives. Unlike Tom, they immigrated to Ireland.

Both are from Great Britain – the Banatee is coming from Scotland and Elizabeth from England – and both came to Ireland owing to a love interest. It is, moreover, worth mentioning that they are both perfectly integrated in Ireland. If not mentioned explicitly, the reader would not have been able to guess that the Banatee is a Scottish immigrant. Besides having a perfect command of the Irish language, she is the host of the Dubliners and thus representative of an indigenous, rural Ireland and Irish culture so that “[...] the children will learn something other than [the] Irish [language], something cultural, the nature of which nobody quite understands” (TDD, 46). Additionally, Elizabeth is a well-adjusted immigrant who surprises everyone when saying that she grew up on the Isle of Wight and only moved to Ireland in her early twenties. She passionately speaks Irish with a Dublin accent and due to her keenness on and enthusiasm for Ireland, she has almost forgotten her childhood in the South of England:

Elizabeth loves Ireland and the Irish language with huge, often-expressed passion. It has never occurred to Orla to ask why. [...] She speaks with a strong Dublin accent, she seldom refers to her past. But it is there, not a secret, just forgotten. Her parents have been dead for years. [...] Her childhood was not spent swinging around lampposts on a Dublin street, as her accent and demeanour might indicate, but on a beach in the south of England. (TDD, 146-147)

6.1.6. Family, Gender Roles and the ‘Male Breadwinner Model’

Ireland has often been described as a “society characterised by familism” (Hilliard, 83).²⁰⁵ Family has been one of the main elements in Irish life and other important aspects such as economy, community, leisure and religion are concentrated on or arranged around the family.²⁰⁶ While a study by Conrad Arsenberg and Sol Kimball in the 1940s suggested a traditional, patriarchal family type with different generations living and working together which was deeply rooted in the community, this view of

²⁰⁵ Also cf. Arsenberg, Conrad and Sol Kimball. *Family and Community in Ireland*. Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1940.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Hilliard, 83.

the traditional family was questioned in the 1960s and 1970s.²⁰⁷ Although the nuclear family was still the norm, most of the families did neither follow the conventional traditional nor the modern urban model and various types of families appeared.²⁰⁸ Although the reader of TDD encounters a few family types, all of the families are nuclear families as divorce was not possible in Ireland in 1972, neither were same sex couples or single parents typical. Furthermore, it can be observed that the families that are described do not consist of more than two children²⁰⁹. Orla, Aisling as well as Sava have one brother and Pauline is an only child. The concept of the big family which was for a long time the standard, especially in Irish rural societies, seems not to be the norm in TDD. An explanation might be the fact that the 1970s saw a decrease in family size, although in the twentieth century Ireland's fertility rate was uncommonly high compared to other European nations.²¹⁰ This decline might mainly be owing to the changes in the conception of 'womanhood' and the gradual access to contraceptive methods.²¹¹ As the family is a very dynamic concept, it is not unusual that the nature of the family unit has changed over time. Families moved to urban or suburban regions and, consequently, the concept of the extended family unit did not totally vanish but simply changed.²¹² Tom and Elizabeth Crilly, for example, moved to Dublin, and the distance between them and their relatives is great. For the Crilly family, the concept of the extended family has changed in so far as they, instead of seeing each other every day, only see their relatives when visiting Tubber in summer or when calling them.

The Male Breadwinner Model was prevalent in Irish society in the twentieth century. Above all, this model attributes women the position of a stay-at-home mother. Hilary Tovey and Perry Share argue that the "gendered nature of work" has always been relevant to Irish society (247). By 'gendered nature of work' the two sociologists understand the notion of men working for money in the public sphere, whereas women tend to work without pay at home.²¹³ In TDD, the woman's place is in the

²⁰⁷ Cf. Hilliard, 83.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Hilliard, 84.

²⁰⁹ The sole exception is Jacqueline's family with ten children.

²¹⁰ Cf. Tovey and Share, 141.

²¹¹ Cf. Tovey and Share, 143.

²¹² Cf. Tovey and Share, 247.

²¹³ Cf. Tovey and Share, 247.

home. It seems as if mothers are not able to please everybody – either they stay at home in order to look after their children and do the domestic chores, which is equivalent to ‘doing nothing’, or they take on a job, even if it is only for a short time or part time work, which causes a feeling of ill will from their children and probably also their husbands:

Most of them [the mothers], almost all of them, ‘do nothing’, according to their children. And that is the correct thing. A working mother, no matter what she works at, is a bit of an abomination. ‘Once mammy did some substitute teaching for a friend of hers. I really didn’t like it when I came home from school and she wasn’t there,’ somebody – maybe it was Monica – had said in a classroom debate called ‘A Woman’s Place Is in the Home’. [...] A mother should be simply a mother, just as a child is a child. (TDD, 91)

In TDD, there are no mothers working outside their homes. A working mother was actually illicit between 1932 and 1973, as women were officially and legitimately denied access to the civil service through the ‘marriage bar’ under which women had to leave their jobs as soon as they got married. Thus, women who were gainfully employed were usually young and single or never married.²¹⁴ In the TDD Pauline’s mother, back then eighteen and single, worked in a shirt factory. However, as soon as she got to know her husband, the reader never hears about her working again. Elizabeth, Orla’s mother, is a stay-at-home mother, too and can be seen as the ‘Angel in the House’ as she “arranges everything; everything revolves around her” and “[t]he kitchen is her command headquarters” (TDD, 70). Elizabeth, however, is not passive, powerless or submissive to her husband. Although Tom is the one who brings home the money, it is Elizabeth who is in charge of it. She acts like a matriarch. However, this concept, as is the concept of feminism, is not important to her. Being in control and command of the house and her family is sufficient for Elizabeth and what the world outside the house has to offer is not of any interest to her:

He [Orla’s father Tom] doesn’t manage anything in the Crilly household. All he does is go to work and hand over his little shiny brown pay packet to Elizabeth on Friday evenings. [...] [Y]ou couldn’t expect him to manage anything. That’s what mothers do. And no mother more efficiently and absolutely than Elizabeth, a matriarch to strike wonder, if not more, into the heart of the most ardent feminist. Equality is not a concept known to women like Elizabeth, and she certainly would not wish to fight for it if she knew

²¹⁴ Cf. Tovey and Share, 249.

what it meant. Superiority is what she has always had, at least since the day she selected Tom as a suitable partner. (TDD, 71-72)

While Irish women at the turn of the twentieth century were heavily engaged in political²¹⁵ as well as literary²¹⁶ matters, the rather conservative 1937 Constitution saw the woman's position to be at home.²¹⁷ The Irish Constitution provided a “deliberately narrow and prescriptive definition of women's role in the new state” (Davis et al., 255). However, this very conservative notion of family and gender was soon combated by the ‘second wave’ of feminism which arrived in Ireland in the 1960s and early 1970s. In TDD, the re-emergence of feminism can be felt. Although not actively recognising or knowing it, women such as Orla's mother Elizabeth strive for equality inside and some also outside their homes. Women move away from being the ‘Angel in the House’ and commence to identify with the concept of emancipation. While stereotypical male qualities still exist and men have the benefit of being able to call some of the past time activities their own, women try to ‘catch up’ with the men:

Ladies drive, all right, in Dublin, lots of them. Ladies swim. Ladies run. Ladies wear shorts on the beach when the weather gets hot, and ladies are just beginning to go to the pub and drink sweet mixtures like vodka and orange, lager and lime. Some ladies. [...] Men drink, men drive, men got to football matches, men go to the dogs, men bet on horses. Have jobs, responsibilities, pay packets. Cars. And so do some other kinds of ladies: ladies who are younger, richer, commoner than Elizabeth. Different. (TDD, 89)

6.1.7. Aspects of Irish Culture: the *Céilí*

In TDD, the *céilí* takes up a special place owing to the fact that the *céilí* stands for Irish folk tradition, notably Irish manners and correct behaviour in Irish society. Generally speaking, the Irish *céilí* is an “organised, public, traditional [...] social

²¹⁵ Suffragettes and feminists, for example, founded different organisations such as the Cumann na mBán (The Society of Women), Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Ireland) and the Irish Women's Franchise League in order to make their voice heard (Davis et al., 254).

²¹⁶ Lady Augusta Gregory, an Irish playwright and folklorist, was involved in the establishment of the Abbey Theatre alongside W.B. Yeats and Edward Martyn. She was an important person in the Literary Revival (Davis et al., 103).

²¹⁷ Cf. Davis et al., 254-255.

dance” (Vallely, 64). Since its reintroduction during the Gaelic revival, the *céili* can be considered a significant and traditional part of Irish culture. The children in the Irish college learn how to dance *céili* every evening. Apparently, the *céili* is as essential a feature of Irishness as is learning the Irish language. Headmaster Joe takes the dancing really seriously and the children learn not only how to dance but also how to behave in an Irish manner. Through the dance, the male teenagers were supposed to carry on the manners and high standards of their ancestors, “the Gaels of yore” who were “courteous, gentlemanly, gallant” (TDD, 57). Before every dance, the boys have to address the girls with the invitation formula “An ndéanfaidh tú an damhsa seo liom, más é do thoil é?” (TDD, 57). The girls are not allowed to decline and have to accept the invitation with the words “Déanfaidh agus fáilte” (TDD, 57). While initially the dances were quadrilles and waltzes, Irish social dances, which resembled English and Scottish ‘country’ dances, were developed in the 1920s. These dances were danced to traditional Irish music.²¹⁸

[T]here is a band in a corner, a small *céili* band, invited in from a neighbouring parish. Its members sit and wait, accordions and fiddles on their knees, while he opens the proceedings. [...] In and out the dancers move, in and out and round about. The hands clasp, the feet bounce, the lips smile. Over to the right side, over to the left side. Take your partner and on you go. The barrier of arms drops, the stream of dancers passes through. Along the schoolhouse they flow sedately to the music. The Siege of Ennis. The Little Cape of Clonard. The Fairy Reel. The Couple’s Jig. (TDD, 272)

6.2. Features of Scottishness in *Kieron Smith, Boy*

6.2.1. Language

The Scottishness of Kieron Smith’s language is manifested in the syntax of his text as well as in the orthography. James Kelman’s fiction contains a speech that strongly reminds the reader of ‘Scots’. Also Robert Crawford describes James Kelman’s language as “English strongly slanted in the direction of urban Scottish speech” (330). According to Robert Crawford, what James Kelman presents is neither

²¹⁸ Cf. Vallely, 64.

Standard English, nor a written version of an urban dialect, “[...] but a text suspended between the two so that it both welcomes and disturbs most readers” (330). The language is not only a cautiously created art-speech, but also serves as a clear evidence of solidarity with the protagonist and thus a special community.²¹⁹

Kieron’s language, therefore, is the language of a young boy who grows up in urban Glasgow. On the one hand, he is speaking the Glasgow vernacular that he learned from his father, grandparents, friends and on the street. On the other hand, he is taught to speak ‘proper’ Standard English by his mother. Consequently, the text appears as a mixture of the Scottish vernacular and the English standard language. Besides occasional occurrences of a different syntax and orthography, the reader stumbles over various words that are different to Standard English terms: *Ye* and *yer* instead of you and your, *greeting* instead of crying, *wee* instead of little, *maw* instead of mother and *lasses* instead of girls, just to name a few. Moreover, irregular past tense verbs are often transformed into regular past tense verbs (*gived*, *telled* and *hurted*) or an incorrect indefinite article is used (“He had a angry face.” (KSB, 49)).

Language is an issue that is present throughout the book. While Orla in TDD wants to eliminate all dialect words so that a correct form of Standard English is spoken in Ireland, also Kieron is constantly conditioned by his environment to speak ‘proper’ English. His mother urges him to “talk nice” (KSB, 235) in order to find a respectable occupation and to finally have the chance to leave Glasgow (or even Scotland?). His maw, as he calls her, which she hates and would much rather be called mum, “was sad if [he] did not speak right” (KSB, 92). She wishes a better life for him than the one of a *keelie*²²⁰ that she thinks can be achieved by her encouraging him to work hard and pay attention to the way he speaks:

My maw said, Do you want to be a keelie all your life? That is what they are, just keelies. They will be stuck here till they are dead. They will never go anywhere and never amount to anything. You are not a keelie. Not in my house. And if you buckle down. Oh Kieron will you buckle down? Promise you will buckle down. (KSB, 92)

²¹⁹ Cf. Crawford, 330.

²²⁰ “a disreputable inhabitant of a town or city, especially one from Glasgow” (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/keelie>, 19 November 2012).

In KSB, language is mainly a marker of class and the class division is represented through the use of Glaswegian versus Standard English. According to his mother, Kieron has to speak properly so that he is no longer seen as a *keelie* and as a result manage to move up the social ladder. For Mrs Smith, being a ‘nice speaker’, who has the chance to ‘escape’ the working class milieu, entails that the said person is not using dialectal words and his pronunciation is English rather than Scottish. By correcting his ‘mistakes’, she wants Kieron to acquire a standard pronunciation and grammar and thus to extinguish any trace of a Glaswegian dialect:

Uncle Billy was waving down to us. Hoy yous two! My maw was smiling but saying yous, she would not like it. You not yous, you not ye. Head, not heid. Dead not deid, instead not instead. And not isnay and wasnay and doesnay. When I said doesnay my da said, Walt Doesnay, you do not. (KSB, 93)

Kieron’s mother is not the only one who insists on a proper pronunciation and grammar. In school and at the Lifeboys meetings, speaking ‘good’, ‘nice’ and ‘right’ is essential. The linguistic aim in Kieron’s school is to speak Queen’s English, as the new teacher Miss Halliday explains. In school “[i]t was say yes and not aye, down and not doon, am not and no um nay, ye were just to speak nice” (KSB, 34). Besides being smart and having a clean uniform, also the Lifeboys required Kieron “[...] to speak good, not umnay didnay and willnay but am not did not and will not” (KSB, 81).

When he is on the streets of Glasgow, Kieron, however, hears a totally different language spoken than the one that is promoted all the time. Kieron’s brother Matt, who speaks Standard English in front of his mother and in school, does not dare to talk ‘posh’ with his friends or on the streets as “[p]eople would just batter him” (KSB, 301). In his family his mother is the only one who demands the use of Standard English. Kieron’s father says “eftir aw and not after all” (KSB, 301), his uncle uses the second person plural ‘yous’ and his grandfather says ‘weans’ instead of children and “Aye but I cannay dae that” (KSB, 88) instead of ‘yes’ and ‘cannot do’. Coming from a working class background, their language is obviously a sign of their inferior position in society.

6.2.2. Religion

Religion is an important aspect of Scottishness. The representation of religion in KSB is similar to the portrayal of religion in TDD. In KSB, the presence of Protestantism in daily life is clearly manifest. However, just as Catholicism in Ireland, the influence of the Scottish Kirk is not as strong as it once used to be. The Smith family is by no means a devoutly religious family. Mrs Smith attends church with her children only when her mother decides to go to church. Nevertheless, Matt and Kieron are christened. When Kieron's father comes home from his job at sea they "[...] had to say Grace at night for [their] tea, For what we are about to receive, may the Lord make us truly thankful" (KSB, 14). Moreover, although their mother forgets to remind them, Kieron and Matt say their prayers before going to bed:

My maw took us to Church sometimes, no much, just if my grannie went. She got us up early and we got a good breakfast and we all went. I saw boys in my school. If my da was home we had to do Grace at teatime. We said our Prayers in bed. My maw forgot to ask if we done them but we did, I always did. So did Mattie. Sometimes he just did it into himself. Because I did not hear him. Oh ye did not say yer Prayers.

I did so.

I did not hear ye.

I done it into myself.

Who did ye bless?

Oh everybody.

Cousins as well?

Just everybody.

One time we went to Church and we got Christened. Others were there, lasses as well. We sang hymns. If Catholics sang hymns, maybe they did. (KSB, 33)

Kieron often asks himself if Catholics have the same rituals and ceremonies as Protestants, and notes the differences he observes between Catholicism and Protestantism. He knows that Catholics have candles, Holy Water and a different Bible and sees that Catholics wear necklaces with crosses. At one point he concludes that "[i]f it was good for a Pape it was bad for a Proddy [...]" (KSB, 33) and consequently worries about turning into a Catholic if he makes the same signs and says the same things as they do. Throughout the book, the Protestant religion is portrayed in contrast to the Catholic religion and various distinctions between the two denominations are indicated. Generally speaking, this religious differentiation is

known as sectarianism. According to Hilary Tovey and Perry Share, the term sectarianism describes the

process [...] whereby religious differences are noted – through picking up clues from names, accent, school attended, sports played – then evaluated and sometimes acted upon in a way that is discriminatory. (Tovey and Share, 394)

The sectarian conflict, which is omnipresent throughout TDD, is addressed in KSB as well. Despite the constant presence in TDD, the Northern Irish conflict and sectarianism are not part of the teenager's life in the Republic and Orla and Aisling only hear about it in the media and through the stories told by their Northern Irish neighbours. KSB, however, is set in an era where the Troubles that are dividing the Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants are also experienced across the Irish Sea in Glasgow. Kieron Smith, in contrast to Orla and Aisling, is in the middle of a sectarian feud, although, in contrast to Northern Ireland, there is no 'official' conflict. Kieron is confronted with a rough life in a divided city as the sectarian conflict spreads fear and hate. Throughout the book, the two religious groups are found in opposition to each other. Insignificant problems are usually exaggerated in order to have a reason for hating each other. The Protestants in KSB, for example, feel disadvantaged because the Catholic Chapel is right next to the Catholic school, while the Protestant Church is not exactly beside the Protestant school but down the road:

The Chapel was beside theirs. So they came out school and went to the Chapel. But the Church was not beside our school. That was what people said. Oh it is all for the Catholics. If the Papes had the Chapel where was our Church? There was not one, no beside the school. It was away way down the road. It was no near at all. (KSB, 29)

Furthermore, it can be seen that segregation of Catholics and Protestants in schools is common as each denomination has its 'own' school. The rivalry between Catholics and Protestants does not spare anyone, not even the children. Kieron generally loathes his Catholic peers. However, as he still is a child, Kieron is not very selective of who he chooses to play with. He even has a few friends who are Roman Catholic, such as Michael Lang. Nevertheless, the rivalry that has been passed on from the adults to the children is still there. Sometimes, the children handle the sectarian conflict rather humorously by calling each other names. They shout at each other: "Catholic cats eat

the rat. [...] Proddy dogs eat the frogs” (KSB, 31). The hostility also gets more serious when Kieron and his brother have to take another way to school as they are afraid of the nearby Catholic school’s pupils, who might ambush them and pelt them with stones. Battles between Catholic and Protestant school children are fought on a regular basis, too:

But it was not far to school from my house. It was at the top of my street and then along. Except ye could not go that way. Papes would get ye. Their school was at the top of our street. Ye had to pass theirs to get to ours. [...] We could not go to school up our street because Papes were on the lookout and flung stones. They pelted ye. There were big fights at dinnertime. Boys flung stones into the playgrounds and the janitors and teachers had to stop it and if windows got broke, Oh the cops are coming. (KSB, 29-30)

Just as in TDD’s Northern Ireland, in KSB’s Glasgow religious discrimination expands and is transferred to parts of life that have nothing to do with religion. Matt and his friends make fun of Kieron as his name sounds Irish. They conclude that he must be a Catholic as “ye do not get Proddies called Kieron” (KSB, 43). While Matt only teases his brother, religious differentiation is more critical and even dangerous when it comes to the close relationship between football and sectarianism. Kieron, when he sneaks into a football match played by the Rangers, experiences the rivalry between Glasgow’s two main football clubs firsthand. As the Rangers are associated with a Protestant and Unionist identity, Kieron naturally supports the Rangers. During the football match, he finds himself surrounded by Rangers’ supporters who are chanting slogans which are addressed to their rivals – the ‘Fenian bastards’, the Irish, the Papes – whom they would like to fight and send back to Dublin. The sectarian tendency is clearly visible among the Rangers supporters and the difference between Glasgow’s Celtic Football Club which is associated with Ireland and Catholicism, and Glasgow’s Protestant-Unionist Rangers Football Club are highlighted in the chants. Rage, stirred up by the hatred and rivalry of the two clubs, seems to be an integral part of every football match:

Everybody was singing, and ones were jumping up and waving their arms and punching, oh it was big punching and oh the men’s faces all angry angry oh for the Fenian b*****ds oh for the Fenian b*****ds. Celtic would know about their troubles, we would fight them fight them fight them, till the day is done, oh if they thought we would be beat by them, we never would be beat, no by them, never never never, no against them and all the Irish and the Papes, never

never never if we would ever surrender, never never, we would always guard against them, we would just chase them away and they could just go back to Dublin and we would follow on, if they were just running away, not staying to fight and we were the bravest Protestant Boys, we would fight to death, we would just kill them because if they hung themselves oh for the Sash well we just would wear the Sash too if it was for our fathers and King Billy an then if it was the Gracious Queen, we would fight till our dying day. (KSB, 55)

6.2.3. Politics

In KSB, a Unionist tendency is suggested to be representative of Scottishness. On one occasion Kieron, Matt and their friends see the Orangemen marching in a parade. The Orangemen are affiliated with the Orange Order, which tries to promote Protestantism and its objectives are to preserve as well as support the link to the Crown.²²¹ As Orangeism originated in Northern Ireland, the Orange Order was reinforced in Scotland when workers from Ulster immigrated to Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Around 300 Orange lodges and about 20 000 members can be counted to the Scottish Orange Order. The Orange Order is also well-represented in Glasgow.²²² In KSB, the Orangemen's parade which is held by members of the Orange Order seems to fascinate Kieron, Matt and their friends and they feel as if they are amongst like-minded people. Kieron and Matt even see their Uncle Billy in the middle of the other Orangemen. The young boys join the Orange Order Walk and enjoy the company of the Orangemen and the band with its flutes and drums:

So we were looking over at it [the ferry]. It was loaded down with people but then it was all flags and all stuff and it was a band playing oh if it was a circus, it was like one. But it was not. Oh it's the Orangemen! A big boy shouted. They are going to the Walk! [...] [A]nd all the traffic was getting off and we were going to stay on board but then we were not. Oh come on we will go with the band! [...] We walked with the Orangemen for a long long distance hearing the flutes and the drums and it was great if it was all the tunes and it was the best ones. We went on the pavement beside them and behind then running ahead to see the man that tossed the stick. [...] Then came old men marching then the band and more men then women and boys and lasses and with orange and blue and white. Hulloo Hulloo, for the Billy Boys and other

²²¹ Cf. Kaufmann, 1.

²²² Cf. Haddick-Flynn, 398.

ones and the boys were shouting tooralooo f**k the Pope tooralooo for the Protestant Boys and that was us. (KSB, 25-26)

The name for the Orange Order was provided by William III, Prince of Orange and King of England, Scotland and Ireland. He was an inspiring figure for the Protestants and marked the end to the oppression by the former Catholic King James II.²²³ At John Davis', who is Kieron's friend, house pictures of King Billy, as William III was known in Scotland, and the Queen remind the reader of the allegiance to the Crown. Once more, supporting the Rangers football team is equivalent to being a Unionist as the Davis' house shows with its blue and orange decorations and the pictures of King Billy and the Queen:

I went home with him [John Davis, Kieron's friend] one night after school. His maw opened the door and took me in. She did not speak, just smiled. It was Rangers everywhere. Even in the living room. It had all blue and orange for the curtains and carpets and all pictures, it was King Billy and the Queen on their horses or else just standing. My maw did not let King Billies go on the wall but she liked the Queen and we had pictures of her. The biggest one was in the living room. Her and the Duke wore the Sash and had on Army clothes. (KSB, 122)

The Smith-household, too, is not spared with pictures of the Queen and her husband and loyalty to the Queen and the Crown can be assumed, as well. Whilst the language is Scottish, the loyalty of KSB's protagonists is to the English Crown. Any aspiration for Scottish independence and devolution cannot be observed. On the contrary, the Scottish in KSB are eager supporters of the union between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Kieron's father, on top of that, dislikes everything Irish. For him, "Ireland was the worst of all" as "[o]h the Irish, they get everything, just everything" (KSB, 282). The xenophobic trend that makes the Irish feel so unwelcome in KSB's Scotland can again be attributed to religious differences. Matt is even of the opinion that those who participated in the Wars of Scottish independence, such as William Wallace, or Scottish historic figures, such as Bonnie Prince Charlie, cannot be liked owing to the fact that both were Roman Catholics.²²⁴ Matt's world-view is uncomplicated and plain: Those who are Catholics are Irish and thus disliked and disapproved of. The Scottish, on the other hand, are generally Protestant and thus

²²³ Cf. Haddick-Flynn, 13.

²²⁴ Obviously, William Wallace lived before the Scottish Reformation and, thus, the Roman Catholic faith was the only religion which was officially practiced.

have to be English. Matt tries to teach his younger brother that as a Scottish Protestant you have to be supportive of the ‘Redcoats’ and the English and despise the ‘kilties’, the Irish and the Catholic. Kieron, however, seems indifferent rather than angry to hear that he is no longer allowed to support Bonnie Prince Charlie or other ‘Papes’:

It was the same as Bonnie Prince Charlie who was a RC. We got him at school. I liked him but Mattie said how he was a Pape. The kilites too. They were all Papes. So that was them, if ye were going to fight with them, they were all Fenian bees. That was what Mattie called them. So away and fight for them, if ye wanted to be a Pape, well same with them, and William Wallace too, if ye thought he was a Proddy he was not, he was a Pape. So if he was he was Irish. The Irish were true Papes. So it was the English, that was who ye were if ye were Scottish that was what Mattie said, ye were just a true Protestant and it was the Redcoats ye liked, if it was true Protestants, ye must be for England. RCs were for Ireland. So if I liked Bonnie Prince Charlie and the kilties then if I was a Pape, I must be one, if I was Irish. I did not care. [...] And if really I was a Pape, or if it was a RC I did not care. (KSB, 42)

6.2.4. Emigration and Immigration

The sectarian conflict in Scotland implies that numerous Irish people must have immigrated to Glasgow over the years. Especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Irish immigrants came to Scotland in order to find work.²²⁵ However, these immigrants are not specifically addressed in KSB. Nevertheless, they are constantly referred to as the ‘Irish Papes’, who are persistently rejected by Kieron, his family and his friends. Although Scotland experienced emigration – during 1861 and 1951 about 1 585 000 people left Scotland due to crop failures, poor economic development and other reasons²²⁶ – emigration is not treated as a major Scottish theme in KSB. The reader only hears about one of Kieron’s friends who “[...] had all cousins in America and they sent him stuff” (KSB, 77) which can be interpreted as if the rest of his family were expatriates in America. Due to “overseas investment, economic developments in the dominions and dramatic advances in sea communication”, numerous Scots left for America, Canada and Australia in the

²²⁵ See 1.1.2. Post-Reformation.

²²⁶ Cf. D. Craig, 273.

beginning of the twentieth century (Devine, “Migration”, 249). The reader also learns that Kieron’s grandmother’s first fiancé emigrated to New Zealand in order to become a wealthy man. He never came back.

Just like Tom, Orla’s father in TDD, temporarily emigrated to Great Britain in order to work, Kieron’s uncle Billy has a job in England, as well. The motives for Billy’s migration are similar to Tom’s. His main reason is to earn more money than he would be able to earn in Scotland. As the distance between England and Scotland is not too far and the transport connections are good, Billy comes home frequently and usually takes the overnight bus back to England on Sundays to start work on Monday morning. However, he does not feel very welcome in England. Except for his landlady, with whom he gets along well, people in England do not talk to him because he is Scottish. Billy tells Kieron that “[he] will be coming home for good soon” as “[he is] sick of it down there” (KSB, 414). Nevertheless, Billy tries to convince Kieron’s father to work in England when he left his work at the factory. In his sociological survey, David McCrone states that

[...] Scotland’s economy was rarely if ever self-contained and independent. It was an open economy, reliant on external capital and technology, and subject to the vagaries of the broader economic and political environment, whether of Britain or a wider Europe capitalist economy. (McCrone, 35)

While Scotland “lagged behind and splintered”, England, on the other hand, “matured organically” (Kelly, 176). Uncle Billy affirms that lots of jobs are available ‘down there’ and lots of money could be made if one is willing to move to England or even commute there every week. Kieron’s father, however, is not too sure about the idea of working in England:

My da did not take us many places. He needed a job first. And if he could not get one. Well, he would have to. He did not want to go back to sea. Except if he had to that was that. Uncle Billy was saying to him about how it was jobs in England, if ye were getting big money and just all overtime, yer digs money, and ye saved it all up and that was you. He came home a lot of times. Ye got a bus down there and it took ye all the way back. Ye just got big money then came home and bought stuff. Ye just worked for it and ye got it, because the jobs were down there. My da was looking over at my maw. Then he was looking at me and Matt and we went down to the ice-cream van. (KSB, 96)

6.2.5. Geography – Dichotomy between the Rural and the Urban

Although Ulrike Paschel is talking about Ireland when she states that the city "[is] usually represented as being a place of corruption and impurity which [is] set against the innocence and simplicity of the countryside and the peasant" (26-27), the same can be applied to KSB's representation of the urban and the rural in Scotland. The countryside is described as the peaceful and beautiful part of Scotland where mountains, fields and lochs dominate the landscape. When Kieron takes the train to school, he imagines staying on the train and going to the Highlands. The sparsely populated Highlands, where only a few trains go, are the perfect retreat as well as the point from where to start a life on the sea as a fisherman:

Some trains went to the highlands. All mountains, fields and lochs and ye could get a boat maybe and go sailing, right out to the sea, away way away. And that would be you. Boys got jobs as fishermen. Maybe I could. It was a hard life but ye made money and ye saved up. It was rough seas up north and that was where the fishermen went, away to Greenland and up the Baltic. (KSB, 363)

Also Kieron's 'other' grandmother, Grannie Petrie Smith, who lives in Dunfermline is of the opinion that a life in the city is not worth living. Kieron and his family have to visit her, as she does not like visiting Glasgow. For her, Glasgow is a city full of sin and crime where only the *keelies* live:

She was my other grannie, Grannie Petrie Smith. She stayed in Dunfermline and did not come to Glasgow. Oh they are all sinners, they are thieves and murderers, they will cut yer throat. That was what she said if it was Glasgow people, Oh they are just keelies. (KSB, 64)

An old Glaswegian man confirms Grannie Petrie Smith's prejudices about the city. In the course of Kieron's job as a delivery boy, this old man informs Kieron about Glasgow's big and frightening underworld, where villains cause trouble. He tells him of the "[...] fights, fights he had with villains out the underworld" (KSB, 390). The ugliness of city life is furthermore underlined by the "great smells at the river" (KSB,

5) and the ‘bad closes’ where “[i]t all was dirty and all smells and noises and filthy filthy water” (KSB, 32).

Another great dichotomy between urban and rural areas can be found in the different types of housing. In the more rural environment, Kieron’s relatives have their own house with garden. Grannie Petrie Smith stays with Kieron’s uncle, aunt and cousins in a house that “[...] was an upstairs-downstairs house and had a garden round the front and round the back” (KSB, 64). Before moving to the new scheme, Kieron’s family, on the other hand, live in a tenement flat in the city centre. The flat is an unsanitary dwelling where mice “[...] were on top of the kitchen table and up on the sink and the draining board, piles of them” (KSB, 2). The flat is small, too, which is highlighted by the fact that his parents’ bed is in the kitchen. Michael Pacione explains that after World War II, “one-seventh of Scotland’s population was crowded into three square miles of central Glasgow, and houses often lacked basic sanitary amenities” (161-2). Thus, after the Second World War, parts of Glasgow were entirely reconstructed. Glasgow’s inhabitants were either moved to new tower-blocks that were built as a replacement for older houses or to new housing schemes at the outskirts of the city that were erected in order to provide better housing for the Glaswegians.²²⁷ Kieron’s family, too, is moved to a new house. Their housing scheme is not the only one built in this area and Kieron observes that “[...] it was going to be houses, houses, houses” (KSB, 160). The housing estates are situated in a suburban district, far away from the city centre. Kieron has to change school and Matt has to take the train to get to his old Secondary School. Visiting their grandparents becomes problematic as well:

It was away away and ye needed the subway and then the bus or else ye could get a train and then too if ye wanted the ferry, the ferry took ye instead of the subway and it did not cost ye nothing. (KSB, 86)

²²⁷ Cf. Clandfield and Llody, 125.

6.2.6. Family, Gender Roles and the ‘Male Breadwinner Model’

While in TDD children and society condemn a working mother, in KSB women with a job are not considered uncommon. Kieron’s mother is working. However, the reader never gets to know what job she has. Kieron occasionally mentions that “[his] maw was at her work” (KSB, 8), and when they move to the new housing scheme, he explains that “[his] maw did not have the holiday [...]” (KSB, 86). The Male Breadwinner Model, which is prevailing in TDD, is not addressed in KSB. From time to time, Mrs Smith is even the only one who has an occupation and earns money. She is constantly worried about the financial situation of the Smith family. When Kieron’s father is still in the Navy and away at sea, she is worried when he does not send any money home in time. It is usually Kieron’s grandmother who helps her out. When Kieron’s father quits working for the Navy and leaves his new job at the factory because he simply “did not like his job” (KSB, 178), she is again the only one who supports the family financially.

Apart from being the breadwinner of the Smith family, Kieron’s mother is also in charge of the shopping and the household. When they move to the new house outside the city, doing the shopping is more difficult for Kieron’s mother due to the great distance to the city centre where cheaper shopping facilities are located. Thus,

[she] went into town every Saturday morning then came home [only] in the afternoon. She done a big shop. When she came home she was loaded down with message bags. (KSB, 101)

Moreover, Mrs Smith has probably raised Matt and Kieron alone as her husband, who works for the Navy, is barely at home. When Mr Smith is home more often owing to his new job, she is still in charge of the children’s upbringing and well-being. Kieron’s father does not even know when Kieron’s bedtime is:

I thought he [Kieron] was away to his bed? Said my da.
No, ten o’clock is his bedtime. [said Kieron’s mother]
Oh. (KSB, 147)

Although she is in control of so many parts of the Smith's family life – be it the household, the upbringing of the children or earning money – the reader gets the impression that Kieron's mother is still a very submissive woman. It seems as if Kieron's father is the head of the family, who is in charge and often undermines his wife's authority. Even though their mother constantly urges Kieron and his brother to speak properly, she does not correct her husband's speech and colloquialisms. She either ignores or just smiles when he uses words she disapproves of. Moreover, when Kieron's father quits his job for the second time, they admittedly fight over his state of unemployment. However, in the end it is the mother who is crying and yields to the demands of her husband. Like Elizabeth, Orla's mother in TDD, Kieron's mother is not a feminist and probably will never be one. Her husband controls her life when he is at home. She does not agree with many of her husband's decisions, but does not object to any of them, either. Kieron's mother is a hardworking and determined woman but not yet strong enough to claim her rights.

6.2.7. Aspects of Scottish Culture: the *Céilidh*

In contrast to an Irish *céili*, the Scottish *céilidh*²²⁸ focuses on music and song performances whereas the dancing is only of marginal importance.²²⁹ In KSB, Kieron and his classmates learn how to dance 'Scottish' during a PE lesson at school in order to be 'prepared' for the upcoming school party. For Kieron, however, the dancing "was [only] a good laugh" (KSB, 237). Despite the fact that the boys initially ridicule the dancing, they are finally all seen dancing. Although the dancing is not taken as seriously as in TDD, the boys are instructed to say 'girls' instead of 'lasses' and have to keep a certain level of formality. Unlike the teenagers in TDD, Kieron and his classmates do not have to use any Gaelic phrases when asking a girl to dance:

One time a teacher came to give us PE. We all thought it was games to get but it was dancing for the school party and it was Scottish Dancing, all just hooching and shouting, but it was a good laugh. Ye were to say girls instead of lasses. Julie Michaels came and got me for a partner. She wore perfume and

²²⁸ The spelling in Ireland and Scotland is different.

²²⁹ Cf. Vallely, 64.

ye smelled it. She took yer hands and ye jumped up to the right then up to the left, one two three, and then back again. Then she took yer one hand and went round in a circle, hooch hooch hooch. It was just Scottish and hard to get right. Boys were jumping and laughing. Some lasses were angry and telling the teacher, Oh Miss he is kicking me, oh he is pushing me Miss. (KSB, 237)

When Kieron tells his mother about the Scottish dancing, she is very pleased. Kieron's mother thinks that the dancing and the songs are part of Scottish history. Scottishness, unexpectedly, seems to be very important to her. Although in KSB the protagonists represent an Anglocentric position, sometimes single characters tend to emphasise how important Scotland, Scottish history and Scottish identity are to them:

The song was like Oh the Grand Old Duke of York but was for Scotland instead, people were saying the name. I forgot what it was. My maw was asking. She liked Scotland, Oh it is your history. (KSB, 237)

6.2.8. Professions

Shipbuilding has been a long-established and prestigious industry in Scotland and the Scottish shipbuilding tradition is unrivalled in Great Britain. On the Clyde ships like the Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth were launched.²³⁰ In KSB, work on and with ships is constantly encountered. When Kieron's grandfather asks one of Kieron's friends where her father works, she answers: "Oh it is the shipyards" (KSB, 46). Kieron, his brother and his friends often watch the ships as they leave Glasgow on the Clyde and go ocean wards. If it is a big ship, they usually run along with it until a fence or a wall stops them. Once, Mr Smith takes Matt and Kieron to the launch of a special boat in the middle of the night. Launches of newly built ships – however also launches of older cargo - or container ships – tend to attract a lot of people who are cheering when the sailors are looking down and waving:

There were great smells at the river and big ships went down it, ocean-going. Ye heard the horn and ran to see them. Ye had to run fast so it would not be away. Everybody was cheering maybe if it was a new one just built and here it

²³⁰ Cf. Muir, 28.

was launched. Even if it was an old cargo boat or else a container ship. (KSB, 5)

Moreover, a few members of Kieron's family have worked on ships. Kieron's father and his grandfather have been in the Merchant Navy until resignation or retirement respectively. Also Kieron's cousins work on boats; one of them is a naval cadet. Although Kieron's grandfather worked on ships from his early adolescence, he was just one of many able-bodied seamen. Kieron's father's job on sea, however, is according to him better than his father in law's, although the reader never gets to know what he actually does. Nevertheless, owing to his job, Kieron's father has been all over the world and he likes Brazil and Rio de Janeiro most. He usually tells stories about his adventures on sea, the food they get, the 'darkies' and 'chinkies' he encounters, with a prejudiced undertone. It seems as if his xenophobic sentiment is fuelled by his work and his travels to different parts of the world. For Kieron's father, if you are a foreigner "[o]h you are just a cannibal, you only want heads and arms chopped up in soup" (KSB, 63). To the dismay of his mother, Kieron, too, wants to join the Navy some day. Kieron's father, on the other hand, does not express any disapproval as he thinks that jobs on sea are lucrative and seamen lead good lives:

He [Kieron's grandfather] ran away to sea when he was fourteen and telled the Captain he was fifteen. He was in the Merchant Navy same as my da except ma da's job was better. My granda was just able-bodied. My da said they were ten-a-penny. I had cousins at sea. One was in the Cadets. I was wanting to join. My maw did not want me to but my da said I could, it was a good life and ye saved yer money [...]. (KSB, 4)

Although jobs as sailors are well-respected and, as Kieron observes, "[n]obody would ever say a wrong word to them" (KSB, 6), the best jobs are the ones where "ye worked with yer brains and not just yer hands" (KSB, 185-186). According to their mother, the careers which Kieron and his brother should aspire to are white-collar jobs, such as clerks, as the working hours are reasonable and they "did not get their hands dirty" (KSB, 186). Comparable to the view on jobs in KSB, white-collar jobs are also considered the best occupations in TDD. Orla's mother forbids her daughter to call her father a 'bricklayer' but has to say that he is a 'building contractor' in order to make the job sound more respectable. Orla, moreover, secretly wishes that her father were a teacher or a civil servant. For Orla, girls whose fathers are either a

teacher or a civil servant are advantaged in every way as they have the whitest socks, the most recent trends and they are adored by everyone:

The best answer is ‘teacher’ or ‘civil servant’, it seems to Orla. [...] All the very best girl, the girls with the whitest socks and the freshest plaid skirts, the girls whose copybooks are neatly ruled with red margins and who always have the latest style of pencil case in their tidy zipped plastic schoolbags, are the daughters of civil servants or teachers. These are the girls who are cherished by the teachers, respected by the world in general. (TDD, 87-88)

6.2.9. Attitude to Englishness

Although this feature is not central in the texts, the attitude to the English and Englishness should nevertheless be pointed out. The following two quotes are an interesting parallel between TDD and KSB. Both quotes treat books Kieron or Orla have read. While in TDD, books by Enid Blyton such as the St Clare’s Series and the Malory Towers series, or The Bobbsey Twins series by Laura Lee Hope are explicitly referred to, it can only be assumed that Kieron reads similar books owing to the fact that he mentions that in the books the school children are from England and go to school in England.

I read a book and children went away to school and with their suitcases all packed, saying cheerio to their mothers and fathers at the train station. Boys to one school, girls to one and they just met up for hols. Some were sisters. They were with the boys at the seaside and had all adventures. If they were swimming and the lasses did not have their swimming costumes they just used their underwear and the boys just looked away. It was just all living together, doing yer lessons and then games and big dinners, ye saw them in the dorms and it was cakes and buns. They were posh and were in England but they were still like pals and ye thought if ye met them, well they would be okay, and ye could show them places. (KSB, 102)

She made herself believe it would be like a summer camp, like something she had read about in *The Bobbsey Twins*. When she saw the word ‘college’ – the word ‘Irish’ she had to disregard, obviously – she saw the Bobbsey twins by a campfire, roasting marshmallows; she saw the Chalet School, Jo and Mavis and all of them in the snow-capped mountains, going for hikes and being funny, wise, tasteful, English – what Orla would love to be. She’d like to be Jo at the Chalet, or the twins at St Clare’s, or, most of all, Darrell Rivers at

Malory Towers, with whom Orla has always identified absolutely. [...] Lovely perfect English accents singing through the clean air. English as she should be spoke. Girls as they should be taught. Life as it should be lived. (TDD, 32-33)

Kieron and Orla refer to books that deal with the lives of children in England – the schools they go to, how they spend their spare time or their holidays. Literature coming from England that is probably written by English authors and is concerned with English school children seems to be read both in Scotland and Ireland. It is striking that both Orla and Kieron look up to the children in the books. It seems as if their way, or the English way, of life is the one that should be aimed at. Especially for Orla, the children of England featuring in novels are role models. Orla even states that she would rather like to go to an English than an Irish college. Both Kieron and Orla have essentially the same idea of English children. They are perceived as being posh, but down-to-earth. Kieron even mentions that they would get along well with each other if they ever met. Usually, the English children are in boarding schools and their lives are full of adventures, fun and wisdom. The lifestyles of the fictive protagonists stand in stark contrast to Orla's and Kieron's lives and both are aware of this fact. The last sentence of the passage from TDD provided above – “Life as it should be lived” (TDD, 33) – suggests that the English way of life is the one most desirable, appropriate and superior: everybody speaks proper English, being at school and going on holidays is fun for the children because they constantly have siblings and/or friends around them with whom they have a harmonious friendship, they play games, have adventures and – unlike Kieron and Orla – the English children do not have to worry about the way they speak, political and religious conflicts, their parents' financial situation or other existential problems.

7. Conclusion

The historical links between Ireland and Scotland as well the present political and literary situation on the British Isles discussed in this thesis have shown that both nations are not likely to be threatened by the long-lasting Anglocentric predominance. Moreover, the comparative imagological study has confirmed that features common to both Ireland *and* Scotland can be found in the two novels selected for analysis. The images of Scotland and Ireland that are presented in KSB and TDD indeed resemble each other and the aspects of Irishness that were established in TDD could be identified in KSB as well. The links and connections that are promoted by Irish-Scottish Studies can thus be discerned not only in history or politics but also in Irish and Scottish literary works as has been shown by the two representative examples. Furthermore, it has to be noted that the established features of Irishness often include features of Northern Irishness as well. Ireland and Northern Ireland may not be one single political entity but as they are neighbours they share a history and certain aspects of cultural identity with each other. Despite the fact that the thesis tries to distinguish between the two nations' images, the features of religion (especially sectarianism) and politics (especially the Northern Ireland Conflict) identified in TDD can mostly be attributed to the northern part of Ireland.

In the following, a concise outline of the aspects of Irishness and Scottishness, what is similar and what is different, as well as an answer to the research questions proposed²³¹ is given. In general, the auto-images of Ireland and Scotland found in KSB and TDD can be epitomised under the hypernym 'national identity', which consists of language, religion, politics, dichotomy between the rural and the urban, emigration and immigration, family, gender roles and the Male-Breadwinner-Model, céilí/céilidh and professions.

- **Language**

In both TDD and KSB, language is an aspect of Irishness, or Scottishness respectively. Both novels are concerned with the language that represents their nation. While in TDD it is the Irish language that represents the Irish, in Scotland it is the

²³¹ See 6. Features of Irishness and Scottishness.

Scottish vernacular that stands for Scottishness. Despite the fact that both languages are markers of Scottish and Irish identity, the attitude towards the dialectal varieties is different. Speaking Irish in Ireland is promoted in TDD and the teenagers are even sent to an Irish summer school in order to improve their Irish. In KSB, on the other hand, Kieron's mother along with public institutions urge Kieron to use a 'proper' anglicised pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, although the world around him (from his family to everyone on the street) speaks the Glaswegian vernacular. Although the Gaelic language is also part of Scotland²³², Scottish Gaelic does not take on the same important role in KSB as Irish Gaelic does in TDD.

Generally, the best language to be spoken is Standard or Queen's English. While Orla disapproves of the use of Hiberno-English and wants her friends to speak 'proper' English, it is Kieron's mother, the school and the leaders of his Scouts group who constantly remind Kieron that he has to use Standard English. In KSB, furthermore, the idea is conveyed that if you speak proper English, you will go far in life. In both novels the English language is represented as the paragon. One might even go so far as to claim that English domination and influence can be felt through the forced use of the Standard English language in KSB, and partly also in TDD.

- **Religion**

In both TDD and KSB religion is portrayed through the two denominations of Protestantism and Catholicism. Religion, although it is omnipresent in Irish and Scottish life, no longer stands essentially for piety and religiousness. The Smith family in KSB are a Protestant family. However, they do not go to church very often and only say prayers before their meals when Mr Smith is at home. The Crilly family in TDD are a Catholic family. They do go to church, however, the church they attend is described as being half-empty during the services. None of the other families in TDD are depicted as practicing Catholic or Protestant families.

What religion basically signifies is a conflict. The sectarian conflict between Catholics and Protestants might be identified as another sign of Irishness and Scottishness. In TDD, the sectarian conflict is conveyed through the protagonists'

²³² The common ancestor of Scottish Gaelic and Irish Gaelic is Old Irish (or Old Gaelic).

involvement with the Northern Irish girls. To be more precise, the sectarian conflict is not a problem as such in the Republic as Catholics and Protestants in Dublin live peacefully side-by-side. However, through the contact with the Northern Irish girls, sectarianism becomes tangible for Orla and Aisling. Although one could define sectarianism as an aspect of Northern Irishness, the Irish girls and boys from the Republic are affected by it as well. Even though their involvement is only passive – they learn about it through the news and their parents' discussions, they get confronted with it when they meet their house- and classmates from Northern Ireland or when they cross the border in order to get to Tubber – Orla and Aisling are very curious about the Troubles experienced in the North of 'their' island.

The sectarian conflict expands from religion into the field of politics. The difference between 'Orange' and 'Green', or Unionists and Republicans is another feature of Irishness and Scottishness detected in both novels. Religion and politics are usually intertwined as to whether the characters are Catholic or Protestant is decided by their political affiliation or vice versa. The Catholics in TDD actively or passively support the activities of the IRA in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, British soldiers in Northern Ireland prevent Jacqueline's family from moving into a new house due to the family's religious affiliation. In KSB, on the other hand, the Protestants' loyalty is to the Crown, Orangeism and Unionism. Uncle Billy, for example, participates in the Orange Order March by which Kieron, Matt and their friends are very intrigued. The conflict between 'Orange' and 'Green' is best shown in KSB. The rivalry between the Rangers football club's and the Celtic football club's supporters reflects the conflicting attitudes to both politics and religion of the two denominations.

- **Emigration and Immigration**

Both KSB's Scotland and TDD's Ireland are mainly affected by temporary emigration. Tom as well as Kieron's uncle Billy have been or are working in England temporarily in order to earn money, as jobs outside of England are scarce. Moreover, emigration is seen as a major problem for Irish and Scottish societies. The reader hears about numerous relatives and ex-fiancés having emigrated to another continent in order to start a new life. Either those who emigrate stay away forever and leave their parents, brothers or sisters behind or they return home mainly during holidays. Migration between the two British Isles was common throughout history. Therefore, it

is not unexpected that in both novels immigrants from the neighbouring island can be found. While in KSB it can only be assumed that numerous immigrants from Ireland live in Glasgow due to the conflict that is present between Protestants and Catholics, the reader of TDD comes to know two immigrants from England and Scotland better: Orla's mother and the Banatee who decided to immigrate to Ireland owing to their husbands.

- **Geography – Dichotomy between the Rural and the Urban**

Another important aspect shared by Irishness and Scottishness is the dichotomy between the city and the countryside. In TDD and KSB, the countryside is portrayed as safe and picturesque, whereas the city is depicted as cruel and unpleasant. In TDD, however, the dichotomy is much more powerful, as the countryside is portrayed as the 'real Ireland' where 'real Irishness' is still lived and Irish is still spoken, whereas the urban centres, such as Dublin, are seen as modern Ireland. In KSB, the city, too, is ruthless and foul smelling. Nevertheless, the countryside, such as the Highlands, which are described as idyllic and rural, is not referred to as the 'real' Scotland.

- **Family, Gender Roles and the Male Breadwinner Model**

The Male Breadwinner Model, a crucial feature of Irishness in TDD, is not a typical aspect of Scottishness. Kieron's mother is working outside her home and sometimes is the only breadwinner of the Smith family. Nevertheless, the position of the woman is similar in KSB and TDD, as the second wave of feminism does neither affect Kieron's mother nor Orla's mother Elizabeth. Moreover, both mothers are in charge of the work in the house and the raising of the children. On average, the families that are depicted have two children – Kieron, Orla and Aisling each have one brother – and nuclear families are the norm in both KSB and TDD. Kieron and Orla have relatives they regularly see. Nevertheless, the extended family type is neither an aspect of Scottishness nor Irishness.

- **Aspects of Irish/Scottish Culture: the Céilí/Céilidh**

Both KSB and TDD refer to céilí/céilidh-dancing. Orla, Aisling and their classmates dance nearly every evening and the céilí is very formal and taken very seriously by the headmaster and the students. Kieron, on the other hand, dances céilidh only once

in preparation for a dance at his school. It can be argued that in KSB and TDD the céilí/céilidh is portrayed as an integral part of and representative for Scottish as well as Irish culture and cultural heritage. Thus, céilí/céilidh-dancing can be seen as a feature of Irish- as well as Scottishness.

- **Profession**

In KSB and TDD, certain professions are particular to Irishness and Scottishness. The mothers of Kieron and Orla agree that white-collar jobs are worthy aspiring for. Nevertheless, as the working-class experience is portrayed in both novels, the jobs that are occupied are different to the jobs that are considered best. In Scotland, and especially in Glasgow, several men are employed in the shipbuilding industry. Professions on ships are equally important and highly respected and most men of Kieron's family work for the Merchant Navy as seamen or cadets. Despite the fact that Ireland also has a coastline and so can make use of the sea, the Irish men depicted in TDD are working as farmers in the countryside and bricklayers in the city. Aisling's family is the only family that has a middle class background as her father works as a journalist.

Three objectives of imagology became especially important in the course of the writing of this thesis. First, it is crucial to understand that an imagological analysis looks at the literary representation of a society and not the actual society.²³³ Furthermore, it is important to establish potential identities and/or stereotypes that originate in written works and, thus, might not be representative for the 'real' society at hand. Secondly, the study of the historical context and politics is as important as textual interpretations.²³⁴ Due to historical events such as the Northern Ireland Conflict, or political institutions, such as the Orange Order in Scotland, it is not possible to regard the works solely as fictional as they can claim some empirical authenticity. Finally, the comparative approach may effectively elucidate parallels between Irish and Scottish national identities.²³⁵ The cross-national features that occur in both Irish and Scottish texts can thus be highlighted and the research questions

²³³ Cf. Leerssen, 27.

²³⁴ Cf. Leerssen, 28.

²³⁵ Cf. Leerssen, 29.

answered without difficulty. Moreover, the analysis of auto-images in Irish and Scottish literature confirms a shift away from an Anglocentric presentation of the Irish and the Scottish.

Numerous authors have already embarked on the journey to represent Irishness and Scottishness in their works since the beginning of literacy, but scholars have only recently started to identify these features of Irishness and Scottishness in various ways. I can without a doubt place myself in the same position as those who are concerned with Irish-Scottish studies. I can say this because I too share in the hope that more comparative studies and examinations, not only in the literatures of Ireland and Scotland but also in other fields of interest, will be conducted.

We have the opportunity to make sure that, in the future, relations between Scotland and Ireland are remembered as something which helped us create a new trade in ideas and expertise among our people.

- Jim Wallace MSP, Deputy First Minister, Scottish Executive
(<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/history.shtml>, 19 November 2012)

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ABSTRACT IN GERMAN / DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Den theoretischen Hintergrund der vorliegenden Diplomarbeit bildet das Eintreffen der 'Irish and Scottish Studies' als neues Forschungsfeld auf den Britischen Inseln. 'Irish and Scottish Studies' beschäftigen sich mit der komparativen und interdisziplinären Forschung der Geschichte, Kultur, Sprachen sowie Literaturen von Irland und Schottland. Vor allem haben Irland und Schottland Parallelen in der Geschichte, da beide Nationen ein Gebiet bildeten, wo Kultur, Sprache, Religion und das Wirtschaftssystem geteilt wurden, weil der Kontakt über die Irische See leicht war. Schottland erhielt außerdem seinen Namen von einem Stamm irischer Einwanderer, den Scoti, die das Königreich Dál Riata in Schottland gründeten. Die zwei Nationen hatten auch dieselben keltischen Wurzeln und benutzten dieselbe und später eine ähnliche gälische Sprache. Migration und Völkerwanderung zwischen den zwei Nationen war überdies häufig. Saisonarbeitskräfte wurden in beide Richtungen ausgetauscht, von 1606 an kamen protestantische Schotten nach Ulster, um rebellierende irische Katholiken im Zaum zu halten, während der großen Hungersnot in Irland zwischen 1845 und 1847 übersiedelten tausende Iren nach Schottland und bis in die 1930er Jahre bildeten sie den größten Anteil von Immigranten dort. Die Beziehungen beider Nationen zu England waren und sind des Öfteren angespannt. Politische Veränderungen im 20. Jahrhundert, wie das Entstehen der Republik Irland, die Dezentralisierung des schottischen Parlaments und die Zuwendung zueinander und Europa/der EU erleichterten aber beiden Nationen die Distanzierung von Großbritannien bzw. England. Nicht nur wird ein ‚Break-Up‘ von Großbritannien in Tom Nairns Buch mit dem selben Titel prophezeit, sondern dieses Loslösen lässt sich auch in der anglozentrischen akademischen Disziplin der Englischen Literatur nachvollziehen. Robert Crawford beruft sich in seinem Werk *Devolving English Literature* auf das Un-Englische in schottischen (aber auch irischen und anderen englischsprachigen) Autoren und Büchern. Ein konstantes Infragestellen des anglozentrischen Kanons und die Bezugnahme auf die regionale Herkunft der Autoren und deren Bücher soll beachtet und schottische und irische Literaturen nicht mehr länger von der englischen Literaturtradition unterdrückt werden.

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit ist eine komparative, imagologische Studie. Sie basiert auf zwei gegenwärtigen Büchern: *Kieron Smith, Boy* (2008) vom schottischen Autor James Kelman und *The Dancers Dancing* (1999) von der irischen Autorin Éilís Ní Dhuibhne. Imagologie beschäftigt sich im Allgemeinen mit der Repräsentation von Ländern und den ethnischen, regionalen und kulturellen Bildern oder Stereotypen in literarischen Werken. In den zwei Büchern *Kieron Smith, Boy* und *The Dancers Dancing* wurden irische und schottische Merkmale und Besonderheiten identifiziert indem Auto-Bilder analysiert wurden. Bereits publizierte soziologische Studien wurden als Hilfe herangezogen. Diese gefundenen Aspekte wurden unter den Begriffen ‚Sprache‘, ‚Religion‘, ‚Politik‘, ‚Emigration und Immigration‘, ‚Geografie – die Dichotomie zwischen Stadt und Land‘, ‚Familie, Geschlechterrollen und das männliches Brotverdiener Modell‘, ‚Aspekte der irischen/schottischen Kultur: der *Céili/Céilidh*‘ und ‚Berufe‘ zusammengefasst und mit dem ‚Close Reading Approach‘ genau analysiert. Schlussendlich wurde erarbeitet, ob sich Gemeinsamkeiten oder große Unterschiede in den Bildern der beiden Nationen finden lassen.

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Sprachkenntnisse

Deutsch	Muttersprache
Englisch	Unterricht ab der 5. Schulstufe, Abschluss durch Reifeprüfung, Studium
Französisch	Unterricht ab der 7. Schulstufe, Abschluss durch Reifeprüfung
Latein	Unterricht ab der 9. Schulstufe, Maturaniveau
Modern Irish und Old Irish	im Rahmen des Keltologie Studiums, 2 Semester Old Irish und 4 Semester Modern Irish