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Scottish Identity Overseas:

An exploration into the identity and experience of
the Scottish diaspora living outside of the United
Kingdom.¹

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1. My sincerest gratitude goes to Lord Laidlaw and the Laidlaw Foundation for their support of this project, and to my two supervisors - Dr. Nick Brooke and Mr. Stephen Gethins - for their endless support and commitment to me and my research.

“You [Scots] come of a race of men the very wind of whose name has swept to the ultimate seas.”

- James M. Barrie.²

Abstract

The research which underpins this report set out to explore how individuals of Scotland’s immense worldwide diaspora negotiate their Scottish and non-Scottish identities, and how their Scottishness impacts and influences their lives outside of the United Kingdom. This report concludes that the Scottish national identity is largely underpinned by birth and upbringing among the Scottish lived diaspora. The use of ancestry or ‘blood’ to support Scottish identity claims is less frequently deployed by Scots who can make ‘birth’ claims, but it is common to the identity claims of the Scottish ancestral diaspora. Among the Scottish lived diaspora, accent is also an intrinsic part of the Scottish identity overseas. Particularly in Europe and the core-Anglosphere, there is a strong positive international perception of Scotland and Scottish people which becomes a major asset for many Scots living overseas. The Scottish accent (along with various Scottish identity performances) helps Scots to be identified abroad, providing both identity recognition for the Scottish individual as well as creating a more positive reception for them in their host country.

Keywords: Scottish diaspora, expatriation, migration, Scottish brand, national identity, identity performance, accent.

I. Introduction

This report will analyse the nature and construction of the Scottish national identity as felt by the Scottish diaspora. Moreover, it will explore how this identity is navigated alongside other non-Scottish identities, how it is performed in everyday life, and how it is influenced by various international contexts. To simplify what is a very complex diaspora, this report will break down the Scottish diaspora down into three categories:³

- The ‘lived diaspora’ refers to individuals who were born, raised, or have lived in Scotland for a considerable amount of time before relocating elsewhere. This category includes both Scottish ‘expats’ (a shorthand term to describe temporarily relocations) and Scottish ‘emigrants’ (a term to describe more permanent relocations).

2. Barrie, James M. “Courage.” (speech, University of St Andrews, May 3, 1922), The Literature Network, <https://www.online-literature.com/barrie/2088/>.

3. Other categories such the an ‘alumni diaspora’ (individuals who studied at educational institutions in Scotland) and the ‘affinity diaspora’ (individuals with an affinity to Scotland who do not claim an ancestral connection) are becoming increasingly recognised by the Scottish Government and academics, but these groups are not central concerns of this report.

- The ‘second-generation and third-generation diaspora’ refers to individuals whose parents or grandparents were born, raised, or have lived in Scotland for a considerable amount of time, but they themselves have not. This group may have experienced a Scottish-born, raised, or lived family member during their lifetime.
- The ‘distant diaspora’ refers to individuals who have Scottish ancestry beyond their grandparents.⁴ This group is unlikely to have personally met a Scottish-lived family member because of the generation gap. Combined with the second-generation and third-generation diasporas, these groups form the ‘ancestral diaspora’.

Although the majority of the Scottish lived diaspora reside within the United Kingdom,⁵ this research is concerned with the Scottish identity outwith the UK. There is a diverse variety of countries and regions where research participants have lived (both past and present), spanning 6 continents and over 40 countries. To loosely categorise these regions, the ‘core-Anglosphere’ will refer to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This English-speaking part of the world shares cultural and historic ties with UK and is generally considered to host the largest grouping of diasporic Scots.⁶ Countries and regions outside of this group are harder to categorise, but broadly speaking, there are fewer Scottish individuals and a generally weaker cultural connection to Britain throughout the rest of the world.⁷

A few special cases which do not fit into either category are urban ‘expat hubs’ which host a significant British expat population. These environments are geographically detached from the UK and core-Anglosphere, but the presence of strong English-speaking British expat population removes the need for the lived diaspora to learn the host country’s language, to fully integrate, and allows individuals to stay within strong and active British social networks.⁸ In this research, Doha, Dubai, and Abu Dhabi were the main British expat hubs where data was collected from.

4. In some instances, participants could trace their Scottish heritage back to the 18th century, so this category encompasses ancestral Scots far beyond just the ‘fourth’ and ‘fifth’ generation.

5. Shaw, *Citizenship in an Independent Scotland*, 2.

6. Leith and Sim, *Scotland’s Diaspora Strategy*, 188.

7. Some exceptions exist, and this categorisation does not fully account for former British colonial ties with states now considered to be in the (non-core) ‘Anglosphere’. There is some evidence of differences between Anglospheric states and non-Anglospheric states on matters surrounding the central themes of this research, but a more extensive study would be required to analyse these differences accurately and confidently draw this distinction within the ‘non-core-Anglosphere’ category.

8. Although these locations have strong British expat populations and not necessarily strong Scottish ones, Scots often gravitate towards other British expat groups in these contexts. Scots do group together in these expat hubs, but this is normally within larger British groups.

II. Methodology and Limitations

This research uses anecdotal data from a series of online interviews conducted with mostly Scottish expats and emigrants, as well as using data from a survey which was circulated among the wider Scottish diaspora. The majority of interviewed participants were recruited using Facebook advertisements posted onto Scottish and British expat community groups. Survey participants were recruited in a similar fashion via Scottish heritage groups, St Andrews and Caledonian Society pages, and other Scottish culture groups. In total, 61 interviews were conducted, and 294 verified survey results were collected.⁹

The survey was open to a wide range of connections to Scotland (Table 1),¹⁰ whereas interviews were conducted with mostly ‘expat’ Scots from the lived diaspora (Table 2). The interview participant demographics represented a wide range of durations spent outside of Scotland (Table 3), and most participants were currently living in Australasia, Europe, Asia, and North America (Table 4) with many having lived elsewhere previously. There was a mixture of survey participants from the core-Anglosphere and non-core-Anglosphere (Table 1), however there were more core-Anglosphere responses most likely because of the concentration of the diaspora in this region.

Table 1: Survey participant’s connection to Scotland and current location.

	Core-Anglosphere	Non-core-Anglosphere	Total
Lived diaspora	33	11	44
2nd Gen diaspora	28	5	33
3rd Gen diaspora	39	9	48
Distant gen diaspora	157	12	169
Total	257	37	294

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9. Because participants were required to actively reach out to get involved with this research, the data used in this report represents a demographic within the Scottish diaspora which is naturally more enthusiastic and proactive about their Scottishness. Those who are less interested in their Scottish roots would be less likely to reach out and get involved, and so go underrepresented in this research.
 10. The survey explicitly declared that it was “intended for non-expat Scots”, whereas the interviews were advertised “for Scottish expats.” So, the ‘lived diaspora’ survey respondents are more likely to be long-term Scottish emigrants who do not consider themselves to be expats.

Table 2: Interview participant’s connection to Scotland.

Lived diaspora	Returned migrants	2 nd / 3 rd Generation diaspora	Distant diaspora	Total participants
56	2	2	1	61

Table 3: Interview participant’s time spend living outside of Scotland (only lived diaspora and returned migrants).

0-5 years	6-19 years	20-49 years	50+ years	Ongoing periodic returns
9	24	19	4	2

Table 4: Interview participant’s location of most recent residence (only lived diaspora and returned migrants).

North America	South America	Europe	Africa	Asia	Australasia
8	0	14	2	16	18

III. The Nature of the Scottish Identity Overseas

Existing literature on nationalism frequently discusses two distinct conceptions of nationality: ‘ethnic’ and ‘civic’.¹¹ The former is a sense of nationality which is constructed on a belief of “biological and cultural essentialism”, whereas the later refers to an identity built around “commitments to ideas of citizenship and the rule of law”.¹² Scotland is commonly understood as a good example of ‘civic’, meaning that one’s sense of belongingness to Scotland is largely build upon citizenship, residence, and civic engagement.¹³

If we use this ‘civic’ understanding to presume the national identity of Scots living overseas, we would expect the diaspora to have a weakened sense of Scottish identity as a result of their disconnection to civic society in Scotland. However, when asked about their national identity, 78% of the interviewed participants from the lived diaspora still consider themselves ‘fully Scottish’, with 10% stating that they now have a combined nationality with their new host country. Not one

11. Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone, *Birth, Blood and Belonging*, 150.

12. Hearn, *Claiming Scotland*, 7.

13. Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone, *Birth, Blood and Belonging*, 151.

participant has completely disassociated from their Scottish nationality. Crucially, several Scots from the lived diaspora stated that they actually feel ‘more Scottish’ overseas and their relocation intensified their sense of Scottishness. So, despite the lived diaspora experiencing a diminished civic connection to Scotland, the Scottish identity persists and, in some instances, has strengthened.

Turning to the ancestral diaspora, 22.8% describe their Scottish identity as stronger than their other national identities, with a further 34.6% describing their Scottish identity as equal to their other national identities. Despite having never permanently resided in Scotland, there still exists a relatively strong sense of Scottishness among this group. Therefore, a ‘civic’ lens of Scottish nationality cannot account for the Scottish diaspora, as their relative disconnection from Scottish civic life does not result in weaker sense of Scottish identity.

So, what does underpin the Scottish identity among the diaspora? When interviewed, every single lived diasporic Scot referenced their geographical birthplace and upbringing when asked about their connection to Scotland and their Scottish identity.¹⁴ Of these individuals, 31% explicitly referenced an ancestral connection to Scotland, using their Scottish heritage as a marker for their own Scottishness. Whenever participants described their parents’ nationality, they also primarily described them in terms of where they were born and raised, and to a lesser extent, if they had Scottish ancestry themselves. (Lack of) citizenship or owning a Scottish residence was brought up by some participants, but birth-place, upbringing, and having Scottish heritage were by far the most commonly deployed identity markers when participants were discussing their Scottish nationality.

Although their research does not address the Scottish diaspora specifically, Kiely, Bechhofer, and McCrone break away from the civic/ethnic dichotomy and instead use ‘blood’ (one’s ancestry), ‘birth’ (one’s birthplace and upbringing) and ‘belonging’ (one’s commitment to Scotland) as more accurate “conceptual tools” for measuring Scottish nationality.¹⁵ In their research, they conclude that “being Scottish is a pragmatically a matter of birth-place rather than birth-blood”,¹⁶ which departs from the ‘civic’ understanding of Scottish nationality in favour of a more birth-oriented one. This concordant with identity markers used by the lived diaspora during the research interviews.¹⁷ Although the civic/ethnic dichotomy may be appropriate for discussing the domestic Scottish identity, birth/blood/belonging terms are more inclusive of wider diaspora’s Scottish identity.

14. This includes those who identify as Scottish but who were not born in Scotland. In many cases, these individuals would often emphasise their upbringing in Scotland if they were born elsewhere.

15. *Ibid.*, 153.

16. *Ibid.*, 170.

17. ‘Belonging’ (the authors’ third identity marker) is heavily reliant on residence in Scotland and contribution to the country (Kiely, Bechhofer and McCrone 2005, 153), which makes it somewhat irrelevant for Scottish overseas communities as they neither reside in Scotland or generally make any significant contribution to the country.

If we then adopt the birth/blood/belonging identity markers, we can presume the underpinnings of the ancestral diaspora's Scottish nationality. Because of their inability to claim a 'born and bred' connection to Scotland, and because a 'belonging' claim is somewhat reliant on residency,¹⁸ the ancestral diaspora must presumably understand 'blood' as a central identity marker for their Scottish nationality. This is indeed what was found throughout this research. Many ancestral Scots could trace their family tree back accurately, referencing names, dates, and family migration with great detail. The use of genealogy software and genetic testing is common among this group, whereas these blood-oriented methods of tracing Scottish heritage are seldom used by the lived diaspora. Therefore, Scottish 'blood' is clearly more central to the ancestral diaspora's Scottish identity.

According to the survey (Table 5), the lived diaspora not only have the strongest Scottish identity (70% feel 'mostly' or 'fully' Scottish), but this is dramatically higher compared to all other categories, especially in terms of 'fully Scottish' claims. This difference of strength of identity between the 'born and bred' lived diaspora and 'blood-based' ancestral diaspora suggests that 'birth' produces a much stronger Scottish nationality than 'blood' generally does. The data also reveals that the distant diaspora is significantly less likely to completely disassociate from their Scottish nationality than the third-generation diaspora, breaking a pattern of increasing 'other, not Scottish' claims down the generations. Representatives of the Scottish Government's Directorate for External Affairs stated that there is an increasing recognition by the Scottish Government of a Scottish 'affinity diaspora', built up of individuals who feel a certain resonance with Scotland but who do not have any ancestral or civic connection.¹⁹ Perhaps there is a more potent 'affinity' to Scotland felt by the distant diaspora than the more immediate generational diasporas.²⁰ As Billy Kay stated, "identity is a choice, and emphasising one's Scottish identity is a popular choice among members of the diaspora",²¹ and so maybe the choice to emphasise one's sense of Scottishness is more popular among the distant diaspora is because of a stronger affinity and a more powerful desire to choose to be Scottish. The third-generation diaspora may have stronger 'blood' claim to Scotland, but it could be a stronger affinity among the distant diaspora which explains why they are more likely to retain their Scottish identity.

18. *Ibid.*, 153.

19. Interview with representatives of the Scottish Government's Directorate for External Affairs, 6th July 2022.

20. It is important to note that having a general 'affinity' to Scotland is not limited individuals without a formal connection to Scotland. A diasporic Scot may still have a strong affinity to Scotland in addition to a more formal connection with the nation.

21. Interview with Billy Kay, 31st May 2022. Billy Kay is a Scottish writer and broadcaster who has written and broadcasted on the Scottish diaspora.

Table 5: ‘How would you describe your national identity? (‘other’ being any non-Scottish national identity you may have).’²²

	Scottish, not other	More Scottish than other	Equally Scottish and other	More other than Scottish	Other, not Scottish
Lived diaspora	59.09%	11.36%	27.27%	2.27%	0.00%
2nd Gen diaspora	15.15%	18.18%	36.36%	24.24%	6.06%
3rd Gen diaspora	6.25%	20.83%	31.25%	22.92%	18.75%
Distant gen diaspora	1.82%	17.58%	35.15%	37.58%	7.88%

IV. Performance and Influence of the Scottish Identity Overseas

Having established the underpinnings of the Scottish national identity overseas, this report will turn to the ways in which this identity is expressed and influences the activity of Scots overseas. The majority of the lived diaspora identify as fully Scottish and subsequently want to have that identity recognised by those around them. There are however few components of Scottishness which define Scots from other British groups in the UK.²³ There is one fundamental demarcation of Scottishness which plays a role overseas: a clear, ‘othered’ English (and to a lesser extent, British) out-group.²⁴ Identities are frequently defined by “who we are not”,²⁵ and in the case of Scotland, the use of the ‘other’ in the construction of nationality is more important than in other comparable nations.²⁶ A few expatriated Scots consider drawing the distinction between Scottish and English people as an important aspect of ‘being Scottish’,²⁷ whilst many others considered it to be less essential but they still made a strenuous effort to differentiate themselves from being English to overseas audiences. This practice of clarifying the perceived differences between Scottish and English people to non-Scots overseas could be interpreted as a reinforcement of Scottish identity.

22. The selection of categories used to measure national identity in this question are derived from the ‘Moreno Question’ (Moreno 2006, 5). It has been adapted in this research to encompass all non-Scottish identities.

23. Ichijo, *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe*, 16.

24. *Ibid.*, 22.

25. McCrone, *The Question of the vis-à-vis*, 1.

26. *Ibid.*

27. This point only arose during interviews with the lived diaspora and was not mentioned by any ancestral Scots.

Participant A: “It’s nice to be distinguished from the English and the UK. English people are more abusive, and Scot’s are friendlier... [they’re] a different race of people.”²⁸

Participant B: “I take offence when I’m mistaken as English. I don’t mind if you call me Irish, but don’t ask if I’m English.”

Participant C: “Scots are more down to earth... the Brits are up themselves.”

Participant D: “Scots are nice, the English are snobs.”

Another way the lived diaspora practice their Scottishness overseas is through language and mannerisms, most frequently, the use of Scottish phrases and ‘tough, characteristically Scottish’ humour.²⁹ The use of Scottish phrases is used both within the workplace with non-Scottish colleagues as well as in private households, often with children in an effort to keep them in-touch with their Scottish roots. Interestingly, swearing was also seen by some Scots as a characteristically Scottish practice, and some participants incorporate this into their everyday language overseas, even if this is against general social convention of their host country.

Many participants also describe getting involved with more ‘novelty Scottish things’ overseas than they did in Scotland, often as a result of their intensified Scottish identity after expatriation. Many individuals are more likely to wear Scottish items of clothing, apply Scottish car stickers, or add Scottish mementos to their house. Some participants also took up Scottish dancing, started to take a greater interest in Scottish cultural events like highland games, Burns Nights, and ceilidhs, and now have a greater interest in Scottish food and drink.³⁰

Accent was perhaps the most frequently discussed aspect of the Scottish national identity and it was often mentioned almost immediately after participants were questioned about their nationality. The following dialogue is a good representative case for many of these occurrences:

28. This English ‘othering’ does not appear to be regionally specific, and this theme was discussed by participants living in the core-Anglosphere, Europe, Asia, and in British expat hubs (with strong English populations). In overseas locations where there are fewer British people, the occurrence of ‘anti-Englishness’ is often provoked by local’s misinterpretation of the Scottish participant’s nationality. Among strong overseas British populations, this Scottish distinction is often grounded in social observation of Scots and English people in their social and professional networks. It is important to note that in both circumstances, there are still (albeit a minority) lived diasporic Scots who draw little distinction between Scots and English people, or with other British individuals.

29. ‘Tough, characteristically Scottish’ humour was generally understood to be offensive and biting. The two Scottish comedians most frequently cited by participants as representing this ‘Scottish humour’ was Billy Connolly and Frankie Boyle.

30. Irn Bru was commonly stated as an example of a drink which participants cared little about in Scotland but liked to find in shops outside of the UK. Many participants, especially in the core-Anglosphere, would travel to Scottish butchers to find haggis and potato scones, and would often bake Scottish goods for themselves and others.

Interviewer: “How would you describe your national identity as a Scot living outside of the United Kingdom?”

Participant E: “I’m still very Scottish, as you can probably tell my accent hasn’t changed at all.”

Although some Scots contested the importance of accent as intrinsic to the Scottish identity, many understand it as an important marker of their Scottishness. Regardless, there was a strong consensus that it was a desirable thing to retain as a Scot living overseas. Not only does it demonstrate the Scots nationality, but when the accent is picked up on by non-Scots overseas, it gives the participant identity recognition in their host country.

Participant F: “An accent is an over-demonstration of who you are as a Scot. An accent doesn’t define who you are, but it conveys who you are.”

Participant G: “Accent is a huge part of Scottish identity, and I think it important to retain it... I would be over the moon if my daughter kept her Scottish accent overseas too.”

Participant H: “I try really hard to keep my Scottish accent here, and could not stand losing it. I would need to go back home.”

Participant I: “A lot of people [non-Scots] say to me ‘if you’re Scottish, then you don’t have the Scottish accent’ which is quite upsetting... I would feel sad if I lost the accent completely, because it is nice to be acknowledged as Scottish.”

Some participants (albeit more rarely) would reject the idea of adapting their accent at all, even if left misunderstood by people in their new host country. In these instances, participants valued their Scottish accent so highly that it was more important to retain it than to improve their comprehension in their new setting.

Among the ancestral diaspora, there are various Scottish activities and practices which many Scots perform because of their Scottish roots (Table 6). With over 80% ancestral Scots ‘keeping Scottish things in their house’, and majority using Scottish expressions and eating or making Scottish food, it is clear that the practice of doing Scottish things and Scottish identity performance is not only limited to the lived diaspora.

Table 6: ‘Which of the following activities and practices do you participate in because you are part of the Scottish diaspora?’ (excluding lived diaspora).

	Percentage of participants who selected this option.	Total Inputs (n= 237)
Keep Scottish things in your house.	81.4%	193
Consume Scottish media.	61.2%	145
Participate in local Scottish community group/ society.	57.4%	136
Eat/ bake/ cook traditionally Scottish food.	57.4%	136
Celebrate Burns Night and/or St Andrews Day.	52.7%	125
Discuss Scottish issues/ politics/ culture with friends or family.	52.7%	125
Use Scottish expressions/ slang.	50.6%	120
Celebrate Tartan Day.	39.7%	94

Overall, between retaining the Scottish accent overseas, setting a clear distinction between ‘Scottish’ and ‘English/ British’, and taking greater interest in Scottish activities and ‘novelty’ things, it is clear that the strong Scottish national identity overseas is not just ‘felt’ by the diaspora, but it is also expressed and has an influence on their lives, activities, and daily interactions.

V. Scotland’s International Brand, Migrant Visuality, and Identity Reception

Scotland has an astonishingly positive international perception and a strong national brand, existing in every region of the world to some extent. In the core-Anglosphere there is a relatively good understanding of Scotland, its level of statehood, and its relationship with the UK. There is a very widespread interest in Scotland and Scottish heritage, and participants are often asked about Scotland and their own background. Scottish accents are easily heard in the English-speaking world, and the recognition of a Scottish accent by locals in the core-Anglosphere is often the pretext for a lot of the curiosity and interest in Scotland which is discussed with the expat or

immigrant.³¹ Many Scottish cultural events such as highland games take place here, and various Scottish societies actively run at a regional level.³² Although there is a very prominent kailyard romanticism of Scotland,³³ there are almost no negative images which individuals in the core-Anglosphere have of Scotland. Many interviewed participants were aware of this perception and acknowledged that they felt part of a powerful global diaspora.

Elsewhere, there is poorer understanding of Scotland as a political entity, especially in non-Anglospheric regions outside of Europe. There is still an interest in Scottish culture, and it is seen as a somewhat ‘exotic’ nation. Scottish whisky, golf, and Scottish landmarks tend to form the basis of these region’s cultural knowledge of Scotland. Albeit to a lesser extent than in the core-Anglosphere, there is still a very positive image of Scotland and Scottish people in this region.

In Europe, especially in the West of Europe, there is a particularly positive image of Scotland. Scots are seen as friendly and there is a general desire among Europeans to visit Scotland. Common to this part of the world is the difference in reception given by locals to Scots compared to English people. Often, when Scots are not speaking English, Europeans can only hear a vague British accent and assume that the Scottish person is English. When corrected, many interview participants stated that they always notice a far warmer reception when they are revealed to be Scottish, and it is clear that there is an instant likeness given to Scots. This phenomenon is also something which participants said their English friends recognised too, however this was to their disadvantage.

Participant J and K: “When we speak French, we are always assumed to be English because they [French people] cannot distinguish between different British accents. When we correct them, they often say ‘c’est mieux’ which means ‘that’s better’, as they seem to generally prefer Scots.

...

Being Scottish made us ‘not just another English couple’ and certainly helped us to make more friends. The better your French gets the better you can integrate, but at the beginning, playing on being Scottish helped a lot.”

31. Although this provides some identity recognition for Scots and some Scots enjoy this curiosity, it is not a positive experience for all of the lived diaspora. Some immigrants who intend to integrate into a new location feel like they can never fully do so because they ‘stick out’ with their accent and are recognised as an outsider among locals. Even if people from the host country do not intend to do so, over-curiosity can make expats and immigrants feel ostracised.

32. These include Caledonian Societies, St Andrews Societies, Scottish heritage groups, and Burns Clubs.

33. ‘Kailyardism’ is a certain romanisation of Scotland which stemmed from a 19th century literary tradition. It sentimentally envisions Scotland as consisting of rustic, backward settlements containing ‘small-town characters’ which ignored the larger trends of the ongoing industrialisation of Scottish cities (Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, 157/8). To an extent, this persists today with a dominant image of Scotland which is centred around the highlands, tartan tradition, and clan culture - a sub-culture of Scotland which does not represent the lives and environments of most modern Scots.

“A common characteristic of most groups of migrants is their visibility in their new host country,”³⁴ but for Scots, accent is perhaps the only noticeable identity marker they have to immediately distinguish themselves from other British and North American migrants. This might suggest one reason why the Scottish accent is seen as so important to the Scottish identity: it is the most noticeable way for Scots to define themselves as Scottish (not English or American), whilst also displaying their Scottishness to audiences in their host country. Not only does this give Scots identity recognition, but it also helps with day-to-day life as the accent acts as a passive signal to inform others of their Scottishness, usually having positive implications and resulting in a warm reception.³⁵ As previously noted, many Scots choose to wear clothing and decorate their houses and vehicles to display their Scottishness. In addition to accent, this further helps Scots to be identified in their host country and improves their chances of benefiting from the positive image of Scotland.

Some interviewed research participants did not identify as fully Scottish because of their non-Scottish ancestry or their upbringing outside of Scotland. Importantly, identity is not inherently fixed, but instead fluctuates in various social contexts depending on the anticipated reception which an individual can expect to receive based on their identity claims.³⁶ In light of this, many ‘part-Scots’ often admitted to playing-up and emphasising their Scottishness, using that as their primary national identity when interacting with non-Scots overseas. This is often an active effort to capitalise on the international perception of Scotland because their other nationalities would not bring the same benefit that being Scottish would.

Ultimately, the hugely positive international perception of Scotland, and the subsequent warm reception given to Scots, is a significant underlying factor as to why there exists a persistent and strong feeling of Scottishness among the Scottish diaspora. It is the image of Scotland which enables and encourages Scots to choose to retain, express, and to ‘make visible’ their Scottish identity, because doing so automatically grants Scots social capital in their new host country, allowing them to reap the benefits of their strong international perception. As one participant put it:

Participant L: “Scottish people are warmly welcomed all across the world. For being such a tiny country, we punch so far above our weight. Almost everyone in the world has heard of Scotland, has heard of whisky, the Loch Ness Monster, of Billy Connolly, etc. Everywhere you go, they’ve heard of Scotland, and they’re pre-warmed to Scotland.... the Scottish brand is so immense.”

34. Watson, *Being English in Scotland*, 83.

35. Naturally, this point is more relevant for the English-speaking core-Anglosphere. With a few exceptions, countries outside of the core-Anglosphere cannot identify a Scottish accent which is usually obscured by a non-English language, preventing the passiveness this migrant visibility. Scots in these countries require a greater degree of input to be recognised as Scottish.

36. Bechhofer et al., *Constructing National Identity*, 520/1.

Overall, the Scottish identity is felt strongly among the diaspora, despite their relative civic disconnection to Scotland. This identity can be kept in-tact overseas because the identity markers which underpin it - 'birth' and 'blood' - are not reliant on Scottish residence. Through retaining their accent and embracing Scottish culture, many Scottish emigrants and expats maintain their sense of Scottishness overseas, even experiencing an intensification of it. This is supported and is incentivised by Scotland's strong and far-reaching international image which is a major asset for Scots trying to integrate into a new host country. Future research on Scottish nationality should consider Scotland's diaspora, and expand the discussion beyond just Scottish civic society to better understand what it means to 'be Scottish' whilst residing outside of the United Kingdom.

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