

A Wee Bit Different: Socio-Cultural Influences on Scottish Marketing

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Has the world become the ultimate marketplace? Not really, because resurging nationalism in many European countries indicates that globalisation has still failed to create complete cultural homogeneity. The convergence thesis in cross-cultural marketing therefore appears to be wrong because consumers remain highly susceptible to stimuli that fit their cultural expectations (De Mooij). However, culture as a “whole way of life” (Williams 122) offers predictable social interactions in a post-modern world. Scotland and its quest for an independent identity in particular is a perfect exhibit for this observation. In this country conventional sociological and economic categories turn out to be too wieldy. Therefore, culture is particularly promising as an analytical approach.

This paper analyses how cultural differences influence the way the creative industries work. The analysis is based on various works of David McCrone (“Being British”; *Understanding Scotland*), McCrone et al. (“Who Are We?”), Murray Pittock (*Scottish Nationality*) and Gerry Hassan (“Anatomy”; “Tales”). Main players in Scottish marketing were interviewed about their views in March 2005. The Scottish trade magazine *The Drum* offered further insights into the industry. Finally, campaigns were analysed to find out whether or not a ‘Scottish approach’ in marketing exists. All samples are reproduced with kind permission and copyrights remain with the designers. Full results are published in my *Diplomarbeit* at Passau University (Wingbermühle).

Scotland – Afraid to Know Itself?

Authors like Tom Nairn (*The Break-Up of Britain*), Linda Colley (*Britons*) and Andrew Marr (*The Day Britain Died*) described the waning of the notion of Britishness in the twentieth century. Today, it is very much another name for ‘Englishness’, but historically, Britishness in Scotland was tied to the mixed blessing of the Empire (Ratcliffe 7): Scotland did not only supply the army with over-proportional numbers of troops, but Glasgow became a major manufacturing centre in the nineteenth century (Smout, *A Century* 85). Scottishness became one of many local nationalities within the ‘Pax Britannica’ (Cohen 35). On the other hand, notions of “internal colonization” and Scotland’s role as England’s “junior partner” developed (Harvie 44, Nairn 61). In the 1950s, the heyday of Scotland’s Britishness was reached with its positive connotations of the Welfare State. However, as the welfare state and other all-British institutions like the BBC were later on weakened, Britishness was declining, too (J. Mitchell 49, 61).

In a 1999 MORI poll, Scots identified themselves primarily with Scotland (72%) and their particular region (62%), whereas the English opinion was almost evenly split between the options respectively (“All Power” 4). The so-called Moreno Question reveals that ratios remain at 7:1 and 10:1 in favour of Scottishness between 1986 and 2000. The Scottish thus strongly identify with their nation. Social variables have an influence as young people and manual workers mostly think of themselves as Scots, compared to a ‘centrist’ view of women and middle class groups. However, differences between party supporters are not clear cut, although voters of the Scottish National Party (SNP) are least likely to choose a more British identity and right-wingers are less inclined to call themselves exclusively Scottish (Bromley et al., Moreno). It was only in 1988 that the SNP started to promote “Independence in Europe” in order to disconnect Scottish nationalism from its parochial outlook.

If, consequently, Scottishness seems to be a preferable frame of reference for the majority of people, it is important to define this concept more clearly. In the 1997 National Election Survey, 83% of respondents claimed that the ‘accident of birth’ was

the most important criteria for being Scottish, 75.5% rated ancestry as very or fairly important and 67% agreed with a civic definition (Heath et al. 12). Yet, one might argue that Scottish national feeling remains “both passionate and unfocused”. In 2003, the Scottish Social Attitudes’ Survey, nonetheless, found 97% of respondents either somewhat or very proud of being Scottish (Strategy Unit 11). One account director explains that this affects “the way we approach the business and marketing” (Wingbermhühle 7).

Scotland, moreover, appears to be divided between its romantic ‘heart’ and its rational, ‘Germanic head’. The rivalry between Glasgow and Edinburgh is as fierce as the encounters between cities and rural areas. Even Scottish history is often falsely illustrated as a set of mutually exclusive stories, for example, the Clearances versus Enlightenment. Various authors have tried to create an origin-myth to solve the identity problem. According to these writers the name ‘Scots’ derives from the Scots of Dalriada, an Irish tribe that settled in Argyll in the sixth century. However, in the fourteenth century, John of Fordun attributes the name ‘Scots’, originally Latin for ‘Irish’, to Scota, the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh in the Gathelus myth. The Greek not Trojan roots are emphasized to create an ancestry that differs from the English (Ferguson 14, 21, 301-307).

The battle for securing its distinct identity dominates most of the rest of Scotland’s history. In 1314, Robert I’s triumph did not secure independence for long. The attempt to get papal protection led to the Declaration of Arbroath, an impressive manifest of nationalism in medieval Europe (Harvie 9ff). James IV’s disaster at Flodden finally threw Scotland back into military crisis. In 1603, James VI became King of England which foreshadowed the “marriage of convenience” of 1707. Scotland remained semi-detached and anti-Union riots followed (Goodare 399). Later on, the Enlightenment gave Scotland the chance to embark on a more positive identity again (Ferguson 32-58).

The Favourite Guinea Pig

Looking into the past to create a community is only one way of dealing with identity issues. Another approach is simply to look across the border. Minor differences are often amplified to set Scotland apart from England, which led to an awkward adoption of Highland imagery after 1707 (Parry 151). Even nowadays anti-English movements attract huge media attention, e.g. the “Settler Watch” poster campaign (J. MacDonald 2): In a *Citigate SMARTS* beer campaign a road sign saying “Welcome back to Scotland” is juxtaposed to the words “The worst is over”. Account director Petra Cuthbert grins: “Things like that tend to go down really well up here” (Wingbermühle 10). On the other hand, account manager Mandi Taylor warns that agencies risk abandoning part of their target group with such campaigns. And the *Marketing Magazine* reports that tartanized M&S sandwich boxes are not well received either. Scottish imagery consequently should only be applied to indigenous brands like Kwik-Fit or Baxter’s. Even innocuous expressions like “regional sales manager” could be considered offensive (Fairweather 23).

It is really astonishing how many mistakes were made by UK companies in this area in the past. An English department store once announced “back to school deals” weeks after the Scottish holidays had ended. The Poll Tax is moreover a prominent example for using Scotland as a test market (Seawright 68). Test marketing in this small market is cost effective as you can reach about 90% of the population on a single TV station, but it comes with a health warning. Consumer behaviour differs substantially as managing director Ian Wright knows: “If you would test [a chocolate bar] in Scotland, it would do really well because we like sweets [...]. It might not be like that elsewhere in the UK” (Wingbermühle 12).

Remote Control

The agency *Family* sees itself as a “European agency that happens to be placed in Edinburgh” (Wingbermühle 12). It recently did a campaign in Estonia. Marketing guru Colin Marr has also been in Perthshire for 37 years: “You can do good work from

anywhere” (Wingbermhühle 12). On the one hand, local knowledge can be a huge asset in marketing. *Citigate SMARTS* does all the Scottish PR for John Lewis although they use a London agency: “There’s still no substitute for picking up phones and saying: ‘Can you come around in ten minutes?’” (Wingbermhühle 12). Conversely, Andy Hughes, Director of *Barkers Scotland*, thinks location becomes less important. The Royal Bank of Scotland, for example, operates a digital artwork approval system. Remoteness moreover depends very much on the point of view: Glasgow is sometimes perceived to be remote from London, even though “travel time by air is probably faster to central London than the drive time from many London suburbs” (Anderson et al. 33).

Mobility is one hook, cost effectiveness another, admits David Gaffney from *Beattie Media*: “The equivalent salary of what we’ve got paid in London is probably about 10 grand more minimum because people have got higher rent, higher travel costs and living expenses” (Wingbermhühle 14). Access to professional labour is assumedly more difficult for Scottish agencies. However, taking a closer look, for Gaffney’s colleague Nick King the opposite is true as well: “In the UK, there are three main media centres: London, Manchester and Glasgow. [...] If you’re based in central Scotland [...] you can draw on that pool of people who work in the media in Glasgow” (Wingbermhühle 15). *999 Design* claims that it even receives CVs from San Francisco while *Newhaven* forges links with art colleges.

The Scottish Market

After Scottish agencies realized that it made perfect sense to set up business in Scotland, they had to find out who the people are that they are targeting. While the UK population is projected to reach 65.7 million by 2031, the natural decrease in Scotland is likely to reach over 13,000 a year by 2027 as the number of births continues to fall. Net gains of students and retired people counterbalance net losses in employed people (Macniven 4-8). Only 1.7% of the Scottish population belong to an ethnic minority

compared to 28.3% of all Londoners (Office for National Statistics 32) – strangely enough, for a country that picked St. Andrew to unite “the Picts, Scots, Danes and Norwegians” (Macinnes 174). Social justice became a buzz word for the Scottish Executive, but the repeal of Clause 2a, which tried to prevent teaching about homosexuality in schools, still caused a media uproar. The popular myth of the egalitarian society nonetheless survived: somehow, the class system is seen as an English intrusion (Paterson 125-126).

Relative income and expenditure are much at par with other UK regions (Clifton-Fearnside 13). According to ACORN ‘Urban Prosperity’ and ‘Moderate Means’ are above average, but 35% of the population are ‘Hard-Pressed’ in comparison to only 22% in the UK as a whole. Regional price levels in Scotland mirror the UK average (“Regional Price” 1). Apart from an inexplicable Scottish affinity for Deep Fried Mars Bars, *Family’s* Managing Director Ian Wright points at higher consumption levels for crisps and alcohol. Lack of physical activity and alcohol misuse contribute to the ‘Scottish Effect’: life expectancy for men in 2003 was the second lowest in whole Europe after Portugal (Armstrong 14-22). Understandably, advertising spending of the NHS has increased rapidly (“Still Ill” 1). Different consumer behaviour also asks for special research but in 2002, only 15 of the UK’s 600 market research companies were located in Scotland.

Closed Community

“Scotland will only really start to believe in itself [...] if it gets some sort of independence. ” The *Leith Agency’s* Chairman John Denholm calls the Parliament a “halfway house” while the SNP envisages a ‘neverendum’ on constitutional change (Wingbermühle 19). The demand for devolution “has arisen from the politicisation of national identity” (Taylor et al. xl) and is therefore vital for understanding the Scottish people. In 1948, two million people signed the calling for Home Rule of the Scottish Covenant. Symbolic acts like Napier’s regnal numeral protest reflect the swelling conflict. Hopes for a devolved parliament were repeatedly destroyed: in 1977, it was a

lost guillotine motion, two years later the yes vote came short of the 40% required in the Cunningham Amendment. The broad campaign group ‘Scotland Forward’ prevented another failure in 1997. In 2000, 60% of the Scots expected independence to occur within the next twenty years (Jones, *New Song* 6; Harvie 193-6).

The new parliament in Holyrood passes laws on devolved matters such as education, economic development and transport (Warhurst 195). The limited fiscal powers of the Scottish Executive, however, remain controversial: its expenditure is largely funded by a block grant fine-tuned by the disputed Barnett Formula (Leeke 9). Before devolution, high expectations were created by a “fantasy Parliament” onto which people projected their hopes. Post-war electoral behaviour saw the fall of the ‘English’ party because Thatcher’s centralising efforts were perceived as an “attack on Scotland itself”. This shows that Scottish politics are highly intertwined with issues of national identity. The SNP also proved its marketing skills in 1965, with the introduction of the party symbol, a combined thistle and saltire, and with the 1973 “It’s Scotland’s Oil” campaign. However, the political classes are traditionally Labour dominated: Being Scottish is equated with favouring state intervention (Macwhirter 32-35).

The accusation of parochial cronyism alludes to the Scottish Office fostering a “close-knit community” in the 1980s (Fry 29). Scotland still sports an incredible plethora of business organisations and quangos. After World War Two, magnates like the Colvilles, Coats and Alexanders made room for business men like Sir Angus Grossart (Hope 145-146). Scottish Enterprise usually argues that Scotland’s problems rather stem from a low business birth-rate (Parry 144). Strategic Planner Victoria Milne also calls the marketing community “incestuous” borrowing Alex Neil’s term (Rosie 128). *Newhaven Communications*’ Ken Dixon sighs that Edinburgh could do with “a few more people shaking it up” (Wingbermhühle 22).

Heralding News

The semi-autonomous status of the media has often been used as another metaphor for Scotland's role in the UK (Schlesinger 3). The Scots consume more media across the range with all figures 100 or above on a British index. There are more people from sociological groups C to D, which supposedly translates into more tabloid press readership. Press advertising still remains the most popular marketing method for 54% of clients ("Press Fares Best" 1). *Sunday Mail*, *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Record* lead the table of the most popular national papers. The regionalised market resembles the US rather than the UK. The Scottish read up to 85% more regional papers probably due to geographical reasons. For this, companies have to spread adverts across a range of relevant titles to maximise penetration (Fernie and Woolven 26). What the 'city state' press lacks is a truly national paper as the major publications have a bias towards their heartlands (Schlesinger 8). Gillian Cairney of *Feather Brooksbank Media* thinks the *Scotland on Sunday* comes closest to a national paper. One solution could be to merge the *Scotsman* with the *Herald*, although it might alienate their traditional readers. Or a 'tartanised' edition of a London paper might take the lead (Garside 196). Account manager Nick King argues that most London papers are "very London-centric". The change of format of some Scottish broadsheets recently renewed interest in the industry.

Foreign ownership is another major concern. In 1954, Canadian Roy Thomson bought the *Scotsman* (Harvie 151-153). The Swedish Bonnier family and two English companies compete with D.C. Thomson and the Scottish Media Group. Outside owners might occasionally pursue different interests. For example, the Scottish *Sun* frequently changed back and forth between supporting the SNP and New Labour (Garside 197-199). Consolidation does not help either. The SMG owns not only the *Herald* but also Scottish and Grampian TV, cinema advertising and parts of Scotland's largest commercial radio group (Schlesinger 5).

Commercial radio has also been dominated by Scottish Radio Holdings. In 2002, Radio Borders reached higher audience levels than any other British station ("Out and

About” 1). Scots surf the Internet more frequently than the English, too. In 2001, 70% of businesses had their own website compared to 62% in the UK, but e-commerce figures remain slightly below average (Goudie 105). The BBC is still regarded as the “cultural arm of the English colonial machine” as the public debate about a ‘Scottish Six’ news show in 1999 reflected (Garside 190-194). Unfortunately, regional TV programmes are always put against strong programmes on BBC. Agencies have to be aware of these differences in media consumption when creating a campaign for the Scottish market.

Distilling Business Opportunities

Despite the size of the market, there are lots of business opportunities in Scotland. Since 1995, Scotland’s GDP continually rose to £14,440 per head in 2002 (Goudie 17). Scottish Enterprise under Crawford Beveridge tried to create a “Smart Successful Scotland” (Shaw 164) while critics of the dependency culture remarked that too much intervention turns Scotland into a screwdriver economy (Warhurst 189). In the 1990s, public policies to attract subsidiaries of IBM and Motorola to ‘Silicon Glen’ were indeed increased with unemployment soaring (Hood 44). Today, services contribute around 70% of total GDP (Scottish Executive 4).

Modern Scotland now sports a variety of sectors that all pose different challenges to marketing. 80% of the food processing industries’ £3.3 bn strong exports in 2003 were whisky. When the agency *Tayburn* designed Glenmorangie’s Annual Report 2004, it faced a trade-off between the consumers’ interests in the heritage and the shareholders’ interests in a contemporary feel. *Newhaven Communications* flipped the desire to emphasize Tennent’s Scottishness on the head by creating a spoof movie trailer in classic Bollywood style for the lager brand. Consequently, indigenous products do not necessarily have to wave their Scottish credentials all the time. In 1994, the *Leith Agency* recommended to present Irn Bru as a ‘likeable maverick’. This increased the beverage’s tiny market share in the Southern ‘export market’ (Wingbermhühle 28).

Tourism is another promising sector. It generated almost £4.1 bn in 2001. In the Highlands over 17% of the workforce is employed in this sector (VisitScotland, *Tourism in Scotland* 1; Goudie 122). With the reiteration of the rural idyll in literature and film, a “sense of place” comes natural (Smout, “Perspectives” 107). Scotland is traditionally marketed as a “land out of time” (Rojek 181). The agency *1576*, for example, ran a London campaign to make people travel to Scotland. On the posters, litter boxes with the label ‘stress’ were put in the landscape to hint at the relaxing components of a Scottish holiday. A sense of Scottishness therefore best applies in a tourist context. Tartan and bagpipes are pulling first-time visitors. Victoria Milne thinks that “people are intelligent enough to see what cliché is” and dumping stereotypes could be a mistake as foreigners expect them: “We’re really creative, leading in technology [...] that’s not what they want to hear” (Wingbermühle 29).

The strong imagery is Scotland’s main USP and a valuable asset, something other countries have to create artificially. On the other hand, *1576* targeted the London market with a ‘romantic breaks’ campaign in 2001. The sexy posters ran lines like “The Scottish weather is perfect for a romantic break. You won’t go out much” to attract a younger audience. Responses were satisfying, apart from Tom Forrest who owns a B&B in Kinlochewe: he would prefer VisitScotland to promote climbing and fishing instead of sex (VisitScotland, *Case Study* 1).

Scotland’s over 300-year-old financial sector has long been another pillar of national identity. The ongoing consolidation in banking causes major concerns for Scottish marketing agencies. In 2001, the Bank of Scotland was taken over by the UK’s largest mortgage bank Halifax. HBOS is still headquartered in Edinburgh but all marketing functions went south. Besides, Scotland definitely produces world-leading results in life sciences. The country houses 50% of the industry’s manufacturing facilities. Invitrogen’s EU headquarter is located in Scotland, next to Glaxo Smithkline. Research focuses on drug discovery, nanotechnology, stem cells and bioinformatics. The Scottish repeatedly made headlines from Sir Philip Cohen’s work in signal transduction to ‘Dolly’ the sheep. Since 1999, the sector has grown by an average of

28% compared to the European average of 15%. It thus becomes another attractive target for local agencies (“Life Sciences” 1).

The Creative Industries

Before we take a look at various campaigns that were run in the Scottish marketing sector, we have to identify the main players in the industry and how they broke into the market. The term “creative industries” as defined by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport comprises media and design as well as publishing and cultural industries (S. MacDonald 173). In Scotland, the sector employs approximately 100,000 people, more than any other region outside London. Forecast to grow 10-20% per annum, it is ready to reap the net gain of a growing entertainment industry (“Software & eBusiness” 1). Successful studios such as Rockstar North and the Digital Animation Group, world leading designers of avatars, reflect the nation’s strength of content origination.

Nevertheless, it was quite difficult to build business when the *Leith Agency* started 21 years ago. London’s major advantage is that a marketing director might struggle to defend the appointment of a small, unknown Scottish agency. *Leith* finally managed to compete against London agencies by offering “great advertising without the grief”, the proposition was thus to counter the arrogant prima donnas’ approach. In general, Scotland’s marketing history is filled with success stories. Thanks to several EPICA awards, *the Union* ranks 16th across Europe, while *Leith* ironically services VisitLondon.

Promoting Scottishness

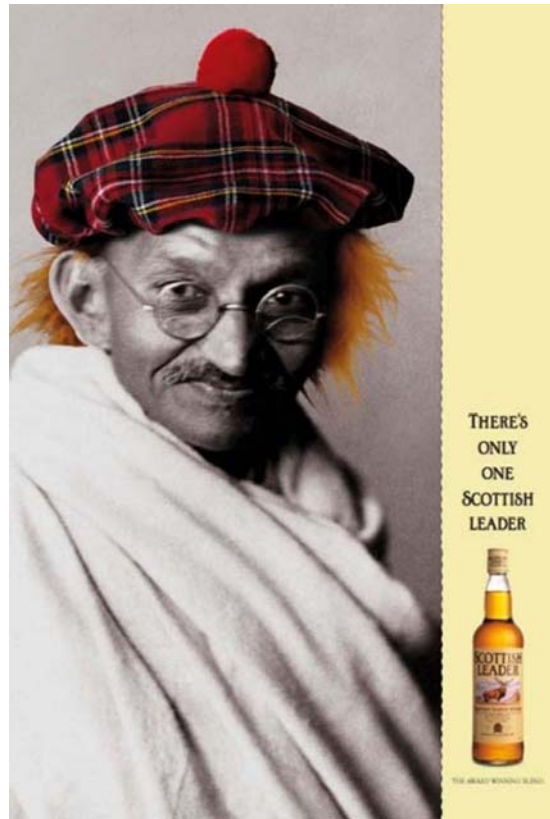
Some critics claim that high levels of government intervention caused entrepreneurial sluggishness. To be successful again, Scotland needs to recover its image of pioneering. *Tayburn*’s Jon Stevenson accounts that the Scottish Enlightenment proves

that Scottish history is “not all about castles”; Nick King cites Carnegie and Adam Smith (Wingbermühle 36). Business insider Janice Kirkpatrick even maintains that in the global marketplace “culture equals cash”, as it provides a consistent picture to outside trading partners (*The Identity* 224- 226). Agencies should definitely use these stereotypes of Scottish inventiveness and salesmanship for their self-marketing.

Nevertheless, many clients of Scottish agencies are first and foremost interested in the market itself. VisitScotland or the RBS contrarily target a UK wide audience although they are based in Scotland. A number of agencies state that the majority of their clients are Scottish, so it is not difficult to convince them to use a Scottish team. It is harder to grasp how *Leith* managed to attract Coors of the States: “Carling is the biggest drinks brand in the UK, its heartland is South of England and the Midlands, so there’s no Scottish rational for us handling it other than we’re pretty good in doing beer advertising”. Chairman John Denholm regrets that the myth about obligatory local expertise was invented by his Scottish colleagues to keep London consultancies out: “We can’t argue that in the same breath saying, ‘we want to handle Carling across the UK’” (Wingbermühle 36).

Apart from this, it is mainly local food and beverage companies that emphasize their Scottishness. For consumers in those segments, heritage means trust. The “Glen of Tranquility” ads push Scottishness simply because Scottish culture is inheritant to whisky.

Nevertheless, Scottishness has to be done by Scottish agencies. *Beattie Media* generated enormous press coverage when they put ‘hey jimmy wigs’ on the statures of Glasgow’s George Square for Scottish Leader, a brand of distiller Burn Stewart. *Family* also gave their ads a national flavour by putting “jimmy” wigs on ‘non-Scottish leaders’ like Harold Wilson or Gandhi (see advert 1).



Both agencies say that the play on common stereotypes was a key to success: "If an English agency would have done that, they would have been accused of being xenophobic but the same thinking applies the other way around, if a Scottish agency would get a contract for the London Olympic Bid" (Wingbermhühle 37). Account manager Nick King hints at 1576's VisitScotland campaign which nearly backfired when the redtops discovered that the blond model starring in the TV ads was in fact Scandinavian.

Devolved Divisions?

It is interesting to note how devolution influenced Scottish marketing. Some interviewees claimed that devolution only drove property prices. In 1999, the business community feared that the creation of 'artificial cultural constraints' might hinder trade with England. Business leaders expected creeping marginalisation with tax increases and extra layers of red tape ("Questions of Business" 1). On the other hand,

75% of Scottish business leaders think they would be worse off in an independent Scotland (“Captains of Industry” 1). *Leith’s* Denholm philosophises: “We would at least stop blaming England for everything” (Wingbermühle 39).

Interviewees finally agree that devolution made little difference in marketing. Scottish media devotes much space to politics, which means that PR agencies sometimes struggle to win editorial space and Holyrood Parliament gives newspapers a lot more to talk about. Consequently, this enhances media clout according to *Beattie Media*: “Previously, if it was an MP, a Scottish title couldn’t actually do anything to affect him, but in our small community if the Scotsman would to have a front page about an MSP, it could finish his career” (Wingbermühle 40). More reporting also means more influence of journalists like *The Herald’s* Alf Young. Kirsty Wark is regularly featured in the ‘100 most influential’ lists (Parry 143; Garside 199).

PR probably enjoyed the biggest devolution windfall as lobbying targets became more accessible in the eyes of the *Beattie Media* team: “Companies like the Scottish Book Trust before didn’t feel the need to have a PR agency [...] the people they get funded from are now based in Edinburgh” (Wingbermühle 40). *TBWA’s* Gary O’Donnell criticizes the over-reliance on the public sector devolution created: “Very few successful agencies in London have a piece of ‘government’ business whereas it is difficult to be successful in Scotland without one” (Wingbermühle 40). A place on the Executive roster means secured business in a volatile market. The three year contract helped *Consolidated Communications* to expand substantially.

Some big networks, nevertheless, have already left. In 2003, *Fauld’s Advertising*, once the largest independent agency outside London, went into liquidation. At that time other top agencies reportedly suffered from a downturn in earnings, too (Beach 1). On the other hand, phoenixes like *Troyka* and *Multiply* emerged from the ashes of *KLP EURO RSCG*. Communication consultancy *60 Watt* successfully specialized in B2B, recruitment and technology to address the shrinking market: they won more Scottish Recruitment Advertising Awards than anyone else. Small businesses might be quicker to implement new strategies, whereas integrated agencies like *the Union, Family* or

1576 agree that it is important to offer ‘360 degree thinking’. Divisions like media planning or new media are joined back into agencies because clients do not like to shop around. Another solution to a shrinking home market could be to attract international clients. HBOS or Scottish & Newcastle are two of the remaining big names, as the number of public limited companies has halved in the last 15 years. An exploding demand for content management systems and weblogs might finally help the media industry out.

Cultural Strategies

Men in Skirts

“‘Design’ is a process of [...] manipulating the elements of culture” (Kirkpatrick 223). It is consequently of particular interest to analyse how agencies handle Scottish imagery, as it reflects the self-definition of a culture. In general, Scots tend to have a positive sense of their national identity compared to the English. In a survey, Scottish respondents described their compatriots as ‘friendly’ and ‘patriotic’ with the most prominent negative notion being ‘low self-esteem’ (Lindsay 55). The common use of stereotypes in the media can be explained by their powerful iconic significance (G. Mitchell 122). Hollywood exploited the strong image of the Highlander in *Brigadoon* and *Braveheart*. This appeal of old icons to a modern audience was also the idea behind *Leith*’s ad in which ‘William Wallace’ fights for the radio station Beat 106. Added with traditional music, he announces “our enemies may take our lives, but they’ll never take our Feeder” – an obvious pun on the anticipated word ‘freedom’. The national pride of modern Scots is addressed to motivate them to support a national radio station.

Highland imagery in general was already promoted in Victorian Britain. Sentimental ‘Tartantry’ was depicted in Landseer’s paintings as much as in the middle classes wearing kilts on Sundays (Harvie 21, 40; Hamilton 6). Macpherson’s Ossian poems were attacked because they handled historic facts rather generously, even though

critics like Pinkerton were not less creative (Ferguson 228-243). Finally, Tartanry culminated in the pastoral escapism of the Kailyard School (Campbell 111, 117). Even today, Arcadian dreams are still common in advertising (Anderson et al. 26-34). For example, Harris Tweed is protected by an Act of Parliament, it therefore has to be hand-woven on the island Harris Lewis. Their website features pictures of little cottages and heather to allude to this natural image (Devine 22).

The superiority of Quality Meat Scotland is connected very much with the Scottish nature. Their agency *the Union* borrowed all premium images from the landscape and the commercial shows green hills and unspoiled nature. In addition to this, the ad is predominantly aimed at middle class female shoppers. The meat is therefore embodied by a handsome man who is contrasted with a filthy guy eating junk food. Glen walks around wearing a kilt and chops wood, emphasizing his connection to the Scottish scenery. He became a real icon and was even requested for guest appearances. Walker's Shortbread is another intrinsically Scottish product, therefore it clings to its tartan wrapping, too. However, there is no copyright to the universal design pattern. In 1994, it asked *Baillie Marshall* to concentrate on elements like the miniature painting of Bonnie Prince Charlie that embody a more protectable property (Gofton 25). Soup producer *Baxters* only retained its tartan design in the overseas market where heritage goes down well (Vass 5). Still, when it sponsored the Loch Ness Marathon in 2004, it ran a poster showing a shoe-lace in the classic pose of 'Nessie'.

Another theme that is frequently sported in the field of Scottish marketing is soccer because Scottish football has always been linked with a strong nationalist feeling. In 1977, Scottish fans broke down the Wembley goalposts chanting: "Gi'e us an Assembly, and we'll gi'e ye back your Wembley". Today, the Tartan Army "good-humouredly awaits defeat". The website *whatthefaro.com* (WTF) was run for Tennent's during the European Championship 2004, even though Scotland did not qualify. *Newhaven's* website sported a 'Euro Bingo' in which you could tick off moments that were guaranteed to happen like "A Scottish pundit mistakenly referring to England as 'we'". WTF's language and implied self-mockery is deeply rooted in Scottishness: "Our game is not in a very great place, but still we're celebrating it"

(Wingbermhühle 47). Most importantly, terrace humour stresses a genuine passion for the game as an antidote to the commercial interests of most sponsors. *Leith* similarly chose to shoot the biggest Scottish commercial ever in one of Glasgow's 'dodgy' areas. In January 2004, over 1,000 extras were playing football in their underwear to reflect the true spirit of the game.

The Right 'Slogorne'

Apart from the right pictures, adverts have to hit the right tone with their audience. One can only speculate about the original language of Scotland and the relation between P-Celtic and Q-Celtic, the precursor of today's Gaelic (Ch. Jones 95; Corbett et al. 5-6). Linguistic influences begin with Germanic streams in the fifth to seventh century. Viking raidings brought Scandinavian contributions until French and Latin spread among the aristocracy. Scottish English was called Inglis until the fourteenth century to reflect the problem that the two languages are not mutually exclusive (Corbett et al. 4-9). For example, the Durham burr, a uvular [R] sound, was quite common in the Scottish Border Regions (Ch. Jones 72ff). Under the Anglo-Norman influence, English quickly became the language of commerce of the medieval burghs (Ferguson 305). From the sixteenth century onwards, a standardised form of Scottish was established. Though the unpopular Union of 1707 created a revival of the Scots dictum in literature, did the English language remain a worthwhile accent until the nineteenth century. It seems also doubtful to regard Gaelic as a cultural signifier, when less than 2% of the population speak it, although Gaelic radio still enjoys high loyalty (Chapman 12). However, many Scots prefer their local dialect or sociolect to English (Corbett et al. 14). Qualitative research shows that dialects increase the impact of advertising because people feel they are addressed personally ("Case Histories" 1).

In Scotland, it is easy to give a commercial a regional colouring because words like 'wee' and 'aye' are instantly recognizable as Scottish morphemes ("Notes" 1). For example, although *Newhaven's* spoof Bollywood trailer seems to have an international flavouring, it has a Scottish twist. In the subtitles, the word 'aye' appears two times.

Another linguistic device is the use of the distinct Scottish grammar. Sentences are linked in a different way with ‘like’ highlighting explanations. Furthermore, tenses vary from the English use with past forms like ‘goed’ (J. Miller 93-97). Scots also prefer other modal verbs than their English counterparts whereby modals can be combined. Verbs are negated by ‘no’ or ‘nae’ which can be cliticised (Ch. Jones 1-20). A series of commercials for Whyte and Mackay starred Kenny Logan and Ally McCoist mocking the Adidas ‘Kicking It’ spots featuring Jonny Wilkinson and David Beckham. The Scottish tone was essential in this persiflage. In the ad ‘Free kick’ Logan almost stereotypically asks: “That’s going in the back, in’t it?”

Classic examples of the idiosyncratic pronunciation are Germanic sounds of fricatives in words like ‘loch’ (Ch. Jones 28, 57). Another is the phonological alternation commonly known as Scottish Vowel Length Rule: vowels are long when they precede voiced fricatives or [r] and at the end of a word. In the Great Vowel Shift around 1500, the high vowel [ii] was converted into the diphthong [əɪ] in England while all other vowels were raised by one height. The Scottish however kept the Old English pronunciation of words like ‘house’ as [hus] (Macafee 116, 145-147). It therefore comes as no surprise that *Consolidated Communications*, for example, announces “prime coups” in its advert. This parodies the Glaswegian pronunciation of the word ‘cow’ as [cuu], which makes sense when you interpret the line as a caption to the picture of a highland cattle (see advert 2):



The Sean Connery Problem

Local culture plays another important part in marketing when it comes to national holidays and traditional festivities. Apart from St. Andrew's Day or Burns' Night, the Royal Highland Show and the Edinburgh International Festival create major opportunities for promotional activities. In 2003, *Tayburn* designed and produced the international EIF programme ("Portfolio" 1). Another important event in the Scottish calendar is the music festival 'T in the Park' sponsored by Tennent's. *Newhaven* Partner Ken Dixon explains why their commercial stars Franz Ferdinand: "Anytime we're doing something for Tennent's there's a certain level of Scottishness [...], even though it's not stated" (Wingbermhühle 52).

In general, commercials often work with celebrities to borrow on their popularity. In "Broadband for Scotland" Ford Kiernan plays a guy who loses his mind when trying to work with a slow internet connection as in the Scottish BBC comedy series "Chewing the Fat". The immediate response of nearly all interviewees when they were asked to come up with a good Scottish testimonial, was: "Not Sean Connery". Unfortunately, Connery does not only lend his voice to the SNP, but already offered to become an unofficial Scottish ambassador to Jack McConnell (P. Miller 2). So who would be a nice figurehead for an all-Scottish campaign? Ewan McGregor was described as a heartthrob with an international reputation for playing Obiwan Kenobi in *Star Wars*, but some marketers had problems with the probable arrogance of a movie star. In a brave move, *Citigate SMARTS* used both McGregor and Connery in a campaign for a Scottish beer brand. The ad "Who's your favourite?" put the two Christian names next to each other in the style of the *Star Wars* resp. *James Bond* logo.

In general, the biggest problem is that most successful Scottish people are low profile business managers. *Consolidated Communications* normally chooses testimonials like Julia Ogilvy for their public sector photo calls. Many of Petra Cuthbert's colleagues went along with Tom Hunter because the former chairman of the Entrepreneurial Exchange invested money back into sports and children. Politicians are not regarded as

very sexy either; otherwise Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and Lord Robertson would make great ambassadors. One way to avoid the clichés could be to choose someone from the vibrant music scene. In the past, it already catered for odd Scottish testimonials like Madonna who married at Skibo Castle or Rod Stewart.

Conclusion

The concept of globalisation reflects that cultural influences are stronger than ever. For marketers it is therefore of utmost importance to take into account these notions that form consumer behaviour. This paper has shown that the Scottish marketplace differs substantially from the UK market in consumer preferences. Marketing opportunities are fantastic with a huge appetite of the Scots for all kinds of media and healthy growth rates of sectors such as Tourism, Biotechnology and Creative Consultancy. From the 1980's onwards, Scottish agencies managed to drive attention away from Britain's centralised marketing, although devolution did not have a great impact on advertising itself, but more so on media buying and PR. Scottish stalls are highly successful in attracting both local and international business with their quirky campaigns which often play on common clichés and stereotypes. The question then arises of what the future will hold in store for Scottish marketing.

“Scotland is very good at doing history, it's not very good at doing future” claims *Newhaven's* Ken Dixon (Wingbermühle 55). Like most European countries, Scotland used to look into its past to construct a sense of identity (Smout, “Perspectives” 108). Most interviewees know the problem of promoting a contemporary image of Scotland abroad. The Saltire will not lose its emblematic significance, because 75% of the Scots still strongly identify with it (“All Power” 4). Alternatively, Vin Diesel's appearance in a Black Leather Kilt at the 2003 MTV European Music Awards proved that old insignia can be transformed into cool badges.

The tourist industry will probably cling to their hackneyed clichés, simply because they sell. New Zealand could become an alternative role-model, as it positions itself on

its natural beauty. Although the impact of devolution on Scottish marketing remains disputable, it nevertheless helped to increase international recognition of Scotland as a modern nation. In the coming years, the marketing community is, therefore, well advised to foster the newly won reputation of cities like Edinburgh to position itself as an international hub for creativity which it definitely already is. Because marketing is not the only field where, once in a while, it helps to be a ‘wee bit different’.

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