



Homecoming Scotland 2009: Mobilising Diaspora for Tourism
Development

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Homecoming Scotland 2009 Mobilizing Diaspora for Tourism Development

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You may have noticed that in North America, 6 April is Tartan Day. I am sure that many found this more than a bit uncomfortable. [...] it raised nicely the question of who is a Scot. That dubious statistic of 15 million Scots abroad reared its head. However that calculation is done, it does raise the issue of what defines Scottishness. I guess that much of our native discomfort with Tartan Day is that many of us living in Scotland do not care very much for an ancestral, an ethnic, definition of Scottishness. 'My mother's a McTavish' does not do a lot to measure the commitment and contribution to Scotland in our scale of values these days. (McCrone 2001, p.20)

Scotland is a land of five million people. A proud people, passionate about their country and her rich, noble heritage. For every single Scot in their native land, there are thought to be at least five more overseas who can claim Scottish ancestry - that's many, many millions spread throughout the globe. For them, for you, Scotland is home. And, of course, there's no place like it. A trip to Scotland - a trip back home - is surely the best way to feel connected to this ancient land. A way to feel part of something greater than the here and now. A way to truly belong. (AncestralScotland.com 2008, 'Home page')

People from Scotland define 'Scottishness' differently than how people of Scottish descent living abroad use the term. In Scotland, to be Scottish can indicate someone who was born in Scotland, who is living in Scotland, and sometimes a person with Scottish ancestry. For someone who is from a place such as the United States where there are a large number of Scottish descendants, to be Scottish can mean that someone has a Scottish surname, has a Scottish ancestor anywhere in their line of kinship, or even someone who feels a personal connection to Scotland without having any direct ties to the

nation. Scottish descendants are also referred to as members of the Scottish diaspora or 'hyphenated Scots' for hyphenated identities such as Scottish-Americans or Scottish-Canadians. As illustrated by the first quote by David McCrone, tension arises between different ideas of what being Scottish means. Both uses of the term indicate a connection to Scottish Heritage.

The debate comes to a head when the different uses of the term meet face to face, when Scots from abroad become tourists in Scotland. For the heritage industry in Scotland, which is dependent on tourism, the most inclusive definition works best and aims to welcome any potential business from whoever wishes to participate. Diaspora visitors travel primarily from the United States, and VisitScotland, the Scottish government's tourist board, is working to strengthen this relationship. In 2009, VisitScotland is running a 'Homecoming' campaign targeting people who are descendants of Scottish immigrants abroad. A year-long list of events in Scotland beckons tourists to come and enjoy all that the country has to offer, such as celebrations of the poet Robert Burns, whisky tours and tastings, golf courses galore, clan marches on the Royal Mile, Highland games and other touristic Scottish specialties. This paper discusses how the Homecoming Scotland 2009 campaign uses diaspora perspectives on Scottishness in its campaign materials in order to attract tourists to Scotland. First, it examines what defines a member of a diaspora in order to identify who the Scots abroad are and how they express their Scottishness. Second, it discusses the recent history of VisitScotland and the reasoning leading up to the campaign to discover why it was developed. The third section looks at the marketing choices and language used in the Homecoming Scotland 2009 campaign trying to appeal to the Scottish diaspora.

Defining Diaspora

All people with Scottish ancestry living abroad can be described as members of the Scottish diaspora, and the word 'diaspora' is often used by Scots abroad to define themselves. The word, however, is used in a great variety of contexts. Coles & Timothy (2004, p.3) tell us, 'Diasporas are groups of people scattered across the world but drawn together as a community by their actual (and, in some cases, perceived or imagined) common bonds of ethnicity, culture, religion, national identity and, sometimes, race'. They note that while there is generally a feeling of nostalgia associated with the ancestral homeland, not all diaspora groups are motivated to return. However, the ease of travel today allows tourism to be used to establish or maintain relationships with their places of origin: 'Thus, tourism represents a vital medium by which post-national and post-sovereign social relations may be resolved because it acts practically as a strong socio-cultural glue which bonds the home state with "its" migrants' (Coles & Timothy 2004, p.11).

Celeste Ray (2005) explains that only some academic authors will use the word 'diaspora' to describe Scottish descendants abroad. Authors who focus on fieldwork and spend more time with people who describe themselves as members of the diaspora are more likely to use the word, while others do not feel the term is applicable. Robin Cohen (1997) devised a comprehensive and often-cited framework which is used to conceptualize diasporas. In this are nine common features shared by diaspora groups:

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions
2. Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions
3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland,

including its location, history and achievements

4. An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity
5. The development of a return movement that gains collective approbation
6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and belief in a common fate
7. A troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group
8. A sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement
9. The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism

Looking closely at these criteria, the emigrants of Scotland loosely fit into this framework. The first two points are acknowledged; many people from Scotland have emigrated abroad, some under duress and others voluntarily in search of better opportunities. On the third and fourth points, a folkloric history is shared within the Scottish heritage movement, and Scotland's past is often idealized as an ancestral home. Points five, six and seven do not apply as readily to Scots abroad, as there is no strong return movement except in the form of tourism, and it cannot be said that there has been a sustained group consciousness, since the Scottish heritage movement has only begun in the last half century and gained momentum in the last 15 years (Ray 2005). Members of the Scottish diaspora primarily live in the United States, Canada, Australia and

New Zealand, and they are fully accepted and integrated into those societies.

On the final points of Cohen's criteria, empathy and solidarity may be intended by Scots at home and abroad towards their ethnic kin, but people living in Scotland are aware that members of the Scottish diaspora have a different idea of what being Scottish means which does not match their use of the term, creating difficulty to share that identity. Ray tells us that 'What the Scottish diaspora conceives as Scottish can be excruciating for Scots' (2005, p.6-7). A prime example of this is found on CometoScotland.com (2008), the website directed at the North American market for potential tourists; the website asks its visitors, 'What makes you Scottish?' In one response, Jim MacRae from Toronto proudly states, 'I'm a Scot because my great-great-grandfather gave me his kilt – and it fits!' Such simplified definitions of Scottish identity occur frequently in touristic representations, which may agitate modern citizens of Scotland who wish to move away from such stereotypes of their home nation.

Scottish Heritage at Home and Abroad

Heritage Activities

Definitions of Scottishness differ between native Scots and diaspora Scots, and so do expressions of heritage. In Scotland, Scottish heritage is preserved through the performance of tradition, such as costume, food, drink, dance, music, art and literature, and especially through the conservation of the country's built heritage. For active members of the Scottish diaspora, heritage has an additional emphasis on genealogical research, educational exchange with Scotland, and heritage tourism (Ray 2005). In the absence of built and natural Scottish heritage at home, diaspora Scots depend on methods of

heritage preservation which are necessarily participatory and performative.

Ray (2005) tells us that almost every weekend of the summer and fall, there is a Scottish Highland games event in America or Canada, with the accompanying clan gatherings, *ceilidh* dances, and Scottish music performances with competitions on pipes, harp and fiddle. The largest gathering takes place on Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina, which attracts 50,000 participants annually. These events are well-attended, with the largest events attracting larger crowds than Highland Games events in Scotland.

The United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have formally instituted an annual national Tartan Day to honour Scottish contributions to their history. 6 April is Tartan Day for the United States and Canada. The date commemorates the signing of the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320. Tartan Day has been celebrated with parades, clan meetings, and receptions with attendance by politicians from both America and Scotland. The idea for Tartan Day began in Canada in the 1980s and grew until the day became officially recognized. This contributes validation of Scottish heritage communities abroad and raises the profile of other Scottish heritage events.

Meaning of Heritage

Heritage movements have been developing in the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere since the 1960s and 70s. In the UK, it is centred around the rise of heritage (Hewison 1987), while in the US, it is around the rise of ethnicity which draws from the above heritage. Ray (2005, p.34) tells us that 'In the 1970s, distinguishing oneself as ethnic became not only acceptable in a pluralistic United States but interesting and desirable as well'. The two movements bear

a great many similarities and certainly cross-fertilize one another. For example, Highland Games events in the United States and Canada follow Scottish standards for sport and musical competitions, and bring teachers and judges over from Scotland to judge for accuracy. They also import Scottish speakers, ministers, and adopt new traditions from Scotland. The diaspora in turn influences Scotland, since tourism requires the delivery of certain images and products which come to be expected by visitors.

North American participants in Scottish Heritage gatherings come from quite diverse backgrounds. Their activities are an expression of shared ethnicity, but most people at these events will claim more than one ethnic identity, merging people from Hispanic, Native American, African American, European and other backgrounds together for combined multi-cultural Scottish expressions. Their activities are expressions of ethnicity rather than race. Race refers strictly to a person's phenotype, but ethnicity contains social and cultural aspects of identity.

In Scotland, identity is more focused on heritage rather than ethnicity. McCrone *et al.* (1995) conducted surveys of lifetime members of the National Trust for Scotland to discover what heritage meant to them. The authors conclude that 'All in all, it is clear that the term "heritage" is a cue for articulating a deeper and broader set of social values, a world-view which is both conservative and personal, in which the past has distinct lessons for the future, and in which there are distinct fears that not simply the icons of the past will be lost, but the signposts for the future' (1995, p.167). Participants in their study, being members of the National Trust for Scotland, were concerned with the preservation of built heritage and the landscape. This indicates a different emphasis on the function of Scottish heritage within the country and abroad.

Criticism of Scottish Heritage

The Scottish heritage movement has been fiercely criticized for its touristic representations of Scotland, overemphasizing stereotypes such as the use of tartan patterns, bagpipes, whisky, and the Highlands, to name a few. For example, Richard Zumkhawala-Cook (2005) describes Scottish heritage as 'commodity nationalism' and warns against its inherent chauvinistic ideas harking back to clan associations. He writes of Scottish-American activities: 'Devoid of any notion of a contemporary existing collectivity in Scotland, Scottish heritage identity links itself instead to a fantasy of early Scottish life, one that is profoundly mediated and enabled by commodities and "auld" Scottish culture, historical reenactments, and the ever-widening commerce of tourism' (2005, p.111). However, both heritage participants in America and in Scotland focus on the past when they think of heritage. In McCrone *et.al.* (1995), part of the meaning of heritage in the minds of members of the National Trust was 'emigration from the present'. The commodification of Scottish symbols does not imply that everyone who consumes heritage takes it at face value, nor can it be assumed that their more inclusive definitions of Scottishness are merely the result of passive consumption of products being accepted as expressions of identity. However, heritage representations routinely exclude contemporary life in Scotland and do overemphasize tartanry. The focus is oriented towards the idea of 'tradition' and draws its lessons from struggles of the distant past, to the detriment of those who wish for more modern branding of Scotland to emerge.

The past is emphasized in heritage and can easily become distorted. Heritage is like history through a looking glass, exaggerating claims for emotional content and personal significance.

One dramatization of history can be seen with Scottish-Americans regarding the Highland Clearances. Paul Basu (2005) studies tourists visiting Scotland who are of Scottish Highland or Island descent. There is a common misconception that most emigrants from the Highlands were victims of the Highland Clearances, similarly as many descendants of Ireland assume their ancestors' migration was caused by the Irish potato famine (Wonneberger 2004). Basu (2005) observes that 'roots-tourists' of the Highlands will compare the experience of the Highland Clearances to that of the extermination of the Native Americans or even the Jewish Holocaust. He also points out that the people making such comparisons may not even be descendant from victims of the Highland Clearances, or, at least, the Clearances had little to do with their ancestors' eventual choice to move overseas.

Euan Hague (2002) discusses an especially perilous permutation of Scottish heritage pride in the United States, which has been developed by white supremacist organizations. The League of the South is one such organization in the southern United States. They believe that the southern states of the country were founded by people who were Celtic, the northern states were founded by people who were English, and the same tensions battled over in medieval Britain were carried over into America, lasting over the centuries into the current era. In this instance, the positive ethnic celebrations of other Scottish heritage organizations have been converted rather into ideologies of exclusive racism. Organizations such as League of the South have led to undeserved criticisms of other Scottish heritage expressions which are not racist, but are confused as such for celebrating ethnic tradition.

Homecoming Scotland 2009

Heritage Tourism

Diaspora populations have become an emerging tourism market worldwide. From the United States, Jews are travelling to Israel and Eastern Europe, African Americans are travelling to Africa and the Caribbean, and people of Irish descent make up almost half of Ireland's overseas visitors. The internet now forms the primary point of contact for information retrieval for these journeys. With the increasing availability of information records, it is possible to trace one's genealogy with growing ease. This information begins the process of research which may eventually turn into travel in search of more detailed local records, or personal contact to develop family connections. Coles & Timothy (2004, p.14) describe this process:

First and perhaps most predictably, members of diasporic communities make trips in search of their roots and their routes with aims of reaffirming and reinforcing their identities. [...] These trips, which often take the form of secular pilgrimages, are practiced by diaspora members in the vain hope of discovering more about themselves, their ancestry, their heritage, their families and their extended communities.

This is the market which VisitScotland is appealing to, but this government organization cannot manufacture or organize meaningful personal experiences of this nature. The only element of this journey that VisitScotland can organize for its visitors is heritage attractions, as well as access to resources for genealogical research.

In light of this growing international pattern of travel, it is no surprise that VisitScotland wishes to develop a stronger relationship with the Scottish diaspora. VisitScotland is now the primary government body which coordinates marketing and communication for tourism in Scotland. It has grown in scope and influence over the years and has only in recent decades developed the ability to run a

large international campaign like Homecoming. This organization developed from the Scottish Tourist Board (STB), which was first created in 1969. In 1984, the STB was granted permission to market directly overseas. In the 1990s, the organization expanded their marketing responsibilities and in 2001 began officially trading under the name VisitScotland (VisitScotland 2008, 'Organisation History'). Tourism has grown increasingly important to Scotland's economy over the last few decades, as the Scottish economic base of heavy industry has now been replaced by service industry employment. In 2007, tourism provided 9.2% of the total employment in Scotland, around 218,000 jobs (VisitScotland 2008, 'Research and Statistics').

As the STB's reincarnation, VisitScotland has taken a more direct and competitive approach to marketing and development. Scotland is rated as a secondary destination after England on the international scene, but the organization wishes to change this (Pritchard & Morgan 1996). This has been partially achieved by the recent establishment of direct international flights from the United States to Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Domestic tourism from the United Kingdom still comprises the majority of visitors to Scotland. In 2007, almost 16 million people took overnight trips to Scotland, of which 82% were from the UK. The majority of overseas visitors come from Europe, but the United States provided more visitors and the most expenditures compared to any other country. This far exceeded the other top visitors, which are the Irish Republic, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, and Poland. American tourists accounted for £257 million, 19% of all overseas tourism income earned (VisitScotland 2008, 'Research and Statistics'). VisitScotland's website comments about Scotland's American visitors; 'The US has long been Scotland's most valuable overseas market, and this situation is likely to remain'

(VisitScotland 2008, 'Quick Facts and Insights: USA'). Considering that the United States is already the strongest foreign market, the aim of the Homecoming 2009 campaign appears to be to boost an already popular constituency.

Part of VisitScotland's role in attracting tourists is developing a cohesive national brand to be recognized by the international community. National branding is not only essential for attracting tourists, but for the sale of all exports. Simon Anholt (2002, p.42) explains that product brands interact with country brands, holistically increasing the value and prestige of both: 'Just like manufacturers' brands, nation brands evoke certain values, qualifications and emotional triggers in the consumers' mind about the likely values of any product that comes from that country'. He identifies Scotland as having developed a well-known nation brand throughout the world in a relatively short period of time. Pritchard & Morgan (1996) discuss the different marketing images used by Ireland, Scotland and Wales in advertising in the United States. They explain that the countries have very similar products to offer, with images drawn from Celtic heritage, comparable landscapes, and similar cultures. In order to compete, the manufacturing of a brand is essential.

Diaspora Strategy

Seeds of this campaign can be seen before the year 2009 in other marketing examples in the British Isles. Wales, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland depend on the United States for their most frequent international arrivals and largest expenditures, which are often drawn from their respective descendants living in the USA. In 1996, Pritchard & Morgan observed that Ireland was heavily dependent on people of Irish descent in the United States, comprising 46% of their foreign visitors. Since then, the Wales Tourist Board tapped into its

diaspora market with its campaign entitled '*Mae'n Bryd I ddod Adref – It's Time to Come Home,*' run from 1998 to the year 2000.

In their 2002 article, Morgan *et al.* explain the marketing tactics employed by the Wales Tourist Board for their homecoming campaign, designed to coincide with millennium celebrations in the UK. The Welsh campaign's objective was to build its Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) base and to launch a distinctive image onto the international scene. Welsh citizens were asked to provide contact information for friends and relatives abroad. 11,000 names and addresses were collected, and Homecoming packs were sent which included 'an emotive video' about visiting friends and family in Wales, with information packets and a personalized letter from the First Minister of Wales. Three-quarters of the people from the collected database were in the United States, 14 per cent from Canada, 6 per cent in Australia and New Zealand. The authors summarize the success of these marketing techniques:

In the spring of 2001 evaluation questionnaires were posted or e-mailed to 11,000 people and some 1,200 were returned. [...] Just under half (44 per cent) actually visited Wales during 2000, and of these some 54 per cent thought that the WTB material had influenced their decision to visit the country. An overall 82 per cent of all respondents planned to visit Wales in the future... Based on these figures, the WTB calculates a return on investment of 77:1, with £21.2m of revenue being generated from a campaign budget of £276,684. (2002, p.77-78)

The marketing impact of the campaign was slighted by the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the UK, but overall the campaign was successful in attracting visitors (Morgan *et al.* 2002).

Homecoming Scotland 2009 uses the same marketing tools of the Welsh campaign, but on a much grander scale with its own branding imagery and a thorough year-round itinerary of events.

Morgan *et al.* tell us that Scotland began conceptualizing its current scheme several years ago; by February 2000, the Scottish Tourist Board had categorized its potential ancestry markets into three segments: 'amateur enthusiasts', 'Scots aficionados' and 'homecomers', each with their own distinct levels of motivation, knowledge and emotional attachment to Scotland (2002, p.71). This may have been the conception of the current Homecoming campaign. While Wales designed its homecoming around the millennium, Scotland needed its own excuse: 2009 seems to have been enough time to prepare for a full campaign, and the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns is as good an excuse as any. As a result Robert Burns is a central icon for the homecoming year of 2009, symbolizing Scottishness through poetry which commemorates the use of the Scots language, flavouring the campaign with images which draw upon an agrarian tradition. Another date which potentially could have been used for Homecoming would have been the 700th anniversary of William Wallace's death in 2005, but perhaps this did not fit in with a cultured imaged of Scotland due to the movie *Braveheart's* clan-like medieval associations.

VisitScotland's website lists the following tactics to reach all potential visitors from North America:

- “I am a Scot” campaign across North America. This will reach audiences of nearly 95M through our best responding travel media; 40% print and 60% online. The campaign will run in two bursts: *Autumn 08* (targeting mainly ‘ancestral’ Scots) and *Spring 09* (with emphasis on both ancestral and affinity or ‘heart’ Scots). This campaign has been planned in partnership with VisitScotland’s airline and travel trade partners and sees unprecedented levels of participation from the trade.
- Direct mail campaign across US targeting people of Scots descent with high household incomes.
- A major advertising partnership with National Geographic will run in Canada, US, Australia and New Zealand reaching affluent, travel oriented audiences of

around 25 million. (2008, 'Briefing Note on Current Economic Situation')

Elements of the campaign

Marketing for Homecoming Scotland is a combination of a television commercial, the Events Guide, and the HomecomingScotland2009 website scheme. The campaign materials try to advertise as many places and products as possible while still attempting to convey a sophisticated image. In the television commercial, Scottish celebrities beckon to their audience by singing the song 'Caledonia', with Sean Connery professing his love to the viewer. Scenes of popular tourist attractions are placed in the background, including Glencoe, the Glasgow Science Centre, Orkney, a whisky distillery, the Robert Burns statue in Dumfries, a golf course, the beach, and Edinburgh castle.

The Homecoming Scotland 2009 Events guide reads like a loud montage of images passing on a screen. The cover (EventScotland 2008, see Appendix) is a swarming image of a parade on the streets of Edinburgh, led by a young man in full traditional tartan attire, playing the bagpipes. Behind him in the procession are followers, both young and old. There is a man reading a book of Robert Burns' poetry, a chef carrying a platter of haggis, a waitress with a tray of glasses of whisky, and the Saltire flag waving above the crowd. There are people in traditional Scottish garb as well as people in casual dress, but there are also young characters dressed in tartan casually, such as a girl who is wearing a tartan-pattern scarf as an accessory. All people featured in the crowd are Caucasian. The Saltire flag and tartan patterns are the most easily recognizable themes, and they unify the image. This is all a combination display of cultural tradition, products available and Scottish branding representing the nation as a whole.

The year-round events schedule in the Events Guide encourages tourists to come at any time and to all parts of the country. One of VisitScotland's goals is to space out tourists temporally and spatially, since all too frequently Scotland's tourists will only visit in the warmer months and will concentrate their stay in Edinburgh, Glasgow and the Highlands. The brochure describes 101 events, including Burns cultural events, music festivals and concerts, book and poetry festivals, agricultural events, whisky festivals, family clan meetings, and sporting events, to form a well-integrated and diverse schedule for visitors as well Scottish citizens. No prices are included in the Events Guide.

Many events are geared towards Scots abroad and refer to them as members of the Scottish diaspora. The EventScotland brochure writes that the Royal Highland Show in Edinburgh 'will encourage Diaspora Scots to re-connect with their rural past at Scotland's largest outdoor event' (EventScotland 2008, p.14). The International Genealogy Festival and Conference says, 'If you have an interest in Scots at home and abroad, if you're part of the Scottish Diaspora, or if you would like to discover more about family records in Scotland and overseas, then join us for a worldwide celebration of Scots Genealogy, Family History, Heraldry and much more!' (EventScotland 2008, p.17). The description for a photographic exhibition focusing on Scots in Canada, entitled 'This is Who We Are', reads: 'This exhibition demonstrates the strong influence of Scots abroad when they travelled and named 1000 Canadian towns after their homeland. This photographic exhibition will add a new dimension to the cultural and historic links between our two countries by pairing 12 of these towns and facilitating a photographic project between them' (EventScotland 2008, p.32). There will be an exhibition of art at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh

about the Scottish Diaspora as well: 'This free exhibition will focus on the ordinary Scots who left their homeland in search of a better life abroad and how this experience shaped new communities which still retained a strong Scottish identity' (EventScotland 2008, p.36). Obviously, the diaspora is the target group throughout the Homecoming campaign. The language focuses on people who are direct Scottish descendants, but also remains inclusive. 'If you have an interest in Scots at home and abroad' clearly speaks to affinity Scots without necessitating relations to Scotland.

Many websites affiliated with VisitScotland are linked to one another to handle different aspects of the campaign: HomecomingScotland2009.com (for the campaign), VisitScotland.org (for information about the head organization), AncestralScotland.com (for people looking for genealogical connections), CometoScotland.com (for specific marketing to America), and ScotlandisthePlace.com (for people looking to work, live, or study in Scotland). It is interesting that the last website is included in this network and linked to from the VisitScotland website, because this extends the potential reach of the current campaign beyond intentions of just attracting tourists to Scotland and begins to connect the concept of 'homecoming' with people who may choose to move to Scotland for some period of time.

A message from Alex Salmond, the First Minister of Scotland, is available on the home page of ScotlandisthePlace.com (2008), which interlaces the message about the homecoming campaign with an appeal to move to Scotland:

With a dynamic and enterprising economy and a strong and flexible labour market, Scotland offers so many opportunities to succeed. Our economic strategy aims to deliver sustainable economic growth through key sectors, including energy, the life sciences, financial services, food and drink, tourism, and the creative industries. So if you have the skills and the drive to succeed, Scotland is the place for you.

We are inviting Scots worldwide to return for the Year of Homecoming. Homecoming2009 celebrates the 250th anniversary of Robert Burns' birth with a year-long programme of events across the country. We're also celebrating Scotland's outstanding contributions to the world: golf, whisky, great minds and innovations and Scotland's rich culture and heritage.

We aim to attract more people to our country. We encourage bright, talented and hard-working individuals to come and live and work with us to achieve our vision of a wealthier and fairer Scotland for everyone. (Scotlandistheplace 2008, 'Foreward by the First Minister')

It should not be assumed that the homecoming campaign really has a deeper intention of drawing people to live in Scotland; rather, it is more likely that it made sense for Scotlandistheplace to add a plug for the Homecoming Campaign, in case those already interested in long-term movements to Scotland could be persuaded to visit first or sooner than they may have otherwise. Absolutely no Homecoming images or icons are included on the Scotlandistheplace website, since this could be interpreted as a racist preference for those of Scottish ancestry to come to work. However, in an indirect way, the letter acknowledges the interconnectedness between tourism and long-term migration. It also reminds us that Scotland's descendants abroad do not have connections close enough to the nation that any preference could justifiably be shown in the extension of economic opportunities.

Conclusion

I am an American of Scottish descent who has moved to Scotland in order to pursue my education. I have experienced the gradual process of learning that in Scotland, a surname of Scottish descent or knowledge of a few place names usually accomplishes little to convince Scottish citizens of my Scottishness. Having called myself

Scottish in the past without having contemporary knowledge of the nation nor the ability to understand most Scottish accents, this now feels false and even comical. However, this is not because my American definition of 'Scottish' is inherently wrong. Rather, it is clear that there are two very separate ideas of what a Scottish identity means between Scotland and countries with members of the Scottish diaspora.

Most people of Scottish descent living abroad are not involved in any Scottish heritage communities, but those who are can assert their identity by engaging in Scottish heritage festivals, Highland Games events, St Andrews societies, clan gatherings, and by researching their genealogy and visiting Scotland as tourists. VisitScotland, the Scottish government's tourism board, is attempting to boost Scotland's tourism industry using its largest existing constituency of foreign visitors: people from the United States, frequently those of Scottish descent. In order to achieve this, Homecoming Scotland 2009 campaign materials have emphasized the interpretations of Scottish heritage which are dominant among Scottish diaspora populations, a more inclusive definition of Scottishness which may be disputable or even distasteful among Scottish citizens.

It is yet to be seen how effective the Homecoming campaign will be in bringing in visitors from abroad. The economic recession has reduced the capacity for long-haul travel from constituencies of Scottish descent in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, but the weaker pound against foreign currencies could also work favourably towards the Scottish tourism industry. Domestic tourism has risen in the UK as people are vacationing shorter distances from home to save money, and so tourism in Scotland may survive or even improve on this basis rather than increasing foreign

arrivals. With or without the encouragement from programmes such as Homecoming, members of the Scottish diaspora will continue to visit Scotland because it is a status symbol within their own community. Scotland is still developing a strong touristic brand for the country, even if that brand is based on commodities and stereotypes, such as tartan and bagpipes. Regardless of what separates the Scottish perspective on Scottishness and the diasporic definition, these transatlantic relationships are supported through the maintenance of difference in order to facilitate communication, exchange and business.

Appendix



Cover of Homecoming Scotland Events Guide.

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