

Scottish Identity and Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in Scotland

An introductory review of literature

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1. Introduction

This paper reviews a selection of literature on identity, with a particular focus on Scottish national identity and what this means to the Black and minority ethnic (BME) communities living in Scotland. It includes discussion on some of the key themes in this area in relation to the Scottish Government's agenda on national identity.

The Scottish Government has made a commitment to achieving a strong, fair and inclusive national identity within its national outcomes (National Outcome 13):

“Scotland's national and cultural identity is defined by our sense of place, our sense of history and our sense of self. It is defined by what it means to be Scottish and to live in a modern Scotland in a modern world. It is the tie that binds people together.

A good quality of life and a strong, fair and inclusive national identity are important if Scotland is to prosper and if we are to achieve our goal of sustainable economic growth.

A flourishing economy and a flourishing society depend on ambition and self-confidence here in Scotland and on Scotland's effective integration into the European and global economy. And our reputation internationally will influence the extent to which people see Scotland as a great place in which to live, learn, visit, work, do business and invest.

(Scottish Government website – National Outcome 13

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/scotPerforms/outcomes/natlIdentity>)

Outcome 13 highlights the need for inclusivity in national identity. However, achievement of this is contingent on many factors out with the Scottish Government's control - how people living in Scotland actually identify themselves and others, what they think Scottish national identity means and the extent to which that meaning resonates with them. This paper therefore aims to explore the implications of a 'strong, fair and inclusive national identity' for Scotland's diverse minority ethnic communities.

Key topics for consideration include:

- Basic concepts of identity – social, personal, cultural and national
- The relationships between 'Scottish' identity, a sense of belonging in local community / civic society and the desire to participate in Scottish society
- How BME communities and individuals regard their own national identities
- How the white Scottish majority population regard the national identity of those with minority ethnic heritage
- The identity markers people use to assess 'Scottishness'
- The factors which encourage and discourage feelings of belonging in Scotland

The paper discusses what an inclusive Scottish identity might look like, barriers to achieving this and suggestions for the way forward.

Although this exploration of national identity is inclusive of all ethnic minority communities, recent literature has a significant emphasis on studies within the Muslim community, and this is reflected to a degree in the paper.

The historical context of Scottish national identity

The history of a nation is of some importance to the formation of national identity. As this paper explores identity from the perspective of those from minority ethnic groups within Scotland, this should include a basic understanding of the recent history of immigration to Scotland and social reactions to it. Issues of relevance (with example references) include:

- British imperialism, colonial history and a sense of 'Western' superiority over other nations (McNeil 2007)
- The historically troubled relationship between Scotland and England, and related Scottish perceptions of the English as oppressors (Paul 2009)
- Scotland's links to the slave trade and the abolition movement (Mullen 2009)
- Early waves of immigration from a range of nations and the reactions from the existing Scottish population (Panayi 1994)
- Sectarianism and its links to immigration from Ireland (Bruce *et al.* 2004)
- The Trades Union movement in Scotland and how it reacted to Scotland's increasing diversity, first with hostility but later supporting the rights of immigrant workers (Virdee 2000)

This represents a brief overview only; the historical factors and debates around them are many and too complex to cover in detail here. National identity is not purely rooted in the past, as the evidence presented here will show.

2. Constructs of identity: social, personal, cultural and national

This exploration will include a variety of viewpoints on what identity means to people. Working definitions of concepts such as social, personal, cultural and national identity are therefore needed, to ensure an understanding of how this evidence fits into the broader theories of identity.

What is identity?

Sociologists define identity, at least in part, as the product of social context – political, economic, historical, and cultural (Okamoto & Rude, 2007).

Jenkins (1996) suggests that identity is a dialectic between similarity and difference. He describes social identity as an 'understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us)'.

Due to the influence of social context, evidence suggests that identity is not something that is fixed or static but that it is continually evolving and changing (Gilroy 1987; Bhaba 1990; Schlesinger 1991; Hall 1992; Frable 1997 all cited in Saeed 1999). Bauman (2001) considers identification as 'a never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by necessity or by choice are engaged'.

However, Anthias (2002 cited in Hopkins 2007) asserts that the changing nature of identity is leading to its decline; that 'identity has overrun its limits' because the term is ambiguous and has a number of conceptual problems. Despite this, identity is acknowledged as a necessary part of the understanding and classification of people and societies. It is further noted in this paper that *'even if academics are to abandon the notion of identity, people will still be classified, either by others or by themselves, as belonging (or not) to certain categories. Perhaps the issue is not the use and existence of identity labels, but the way these labels are used, understood, resisted and challenged'*.

Hopkins (2007) concludes that Anthias's ideas are useful in developing a better understanding of identities and what people actually mean when they define themselves as belonging (or not) to certain groups. This is an important point when considering how people in Scotland view their national identity, because without knowing what people mean when they say they are Scottish (or not Scottish) it will be impossible to define the key components of Scottish identity.

Personal identity

Personal identity is the way in which a person defines themselves in terms of their individuality and what makes them unique (see, for example, Parekh 2000).

The way in which identities are formed is a complex process. Personal identity is influenced by many factors, some more important than others – the importance of these factors is shaped by individual life experiences (see, for example, Cote and Levine 2002).

The factors which contribute to the personal identities of those living in Scotland (for example age, religion and language) will have an impact on how individuals relate to Scottish society as a whole and the formation of a Scottish National identity. However, the relative significance of each factor will depend on the context that a person finds themselves in – for example in some situations ethnicity will be the most important element of identity whereas in other situations it may be gender or social class (The Centre for Human Ecology 2000).

Social identity

Social identity concerns how individuals function within many different social situations and relate to a range of other people, based around collective values and norms. Social identity includes ideas of citizenship, participation and belonging in

society; a key part of this is that it creates group behaviours and a sense of solidarity with group members (Ellemers *et al.* 1999).

Saeed *et al.* (1999) cite earlier work (Tajfel 1972; Hutnik 1985 & 1991) emphasising both an individual's knowledge that they belong to certain groups and their attachment to group membership. It is argued that 'when an individual asserts his or her Pakistani identity in Britain, that person is confirming his or her willingness to be categorized with other Pakistanis and is laying himself or herself open to the consequences of the attributions of stereotyped characteristics which Pakistanis may experience at the hands of other ethnic groups'. This suggests that social identity is defined through inclusion within some categories and exclusion from others as well as the values and emotional significance we attach to these categories.

Membership of a minority group often results in being perceived (and/or perceiving oneself) as having a social identity that differs from the majority. Those from minority backgrounds may feel bound together by factors like ethnicity, nationality, religion, culture, common history or social disadvantage, all of which serve to strengthen in group solidarity and to enhance consciousness of their minority group membership (Hutnik 1991 in Saeed 1999). However, this is not a simple process of identification through cultural ties; Nazroo and Karlsen (2003) comment that 'defining who we are, both by name and in experience, is dynamic, relatively ambiguous and will be heavily influenced by wider society'.

Cultural Identity

According to Robinson (2009), cultural identity includes both ethnic and national identity. Research is increasingly exploring the way in which minority ethnic cultural identities link not only with their own ethnic group (ethnic identity) but also with the majority society (national identity). Robinson comments that these identities 'can be thought of as two dimensions of group identity that may vary independently'. This area of research has not always been prominent; as Grossberg (1996) points out, the early years of cultural studies focussed on problematizing minority identities, only later beginning to explore majority identities as social constructs and even then rarely comparing issues around minority and majority identities in this light.

Robinson (2009) discusses how acculturation is an important factor to consider when discussing identities of those from minority ethnic communities. Acculturation describes the way that beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are modified because of exposure to other cultures. Acculturation strategies of those from minority ethnic communities have been described in terms of retention of cultural traditions and establishment whilst maintaining relationships with the larger society. Four acculturation strategies have been identified by Berry (1990): assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation.

- Separation – the rejection of the majority culture and identification with the ethnic group only
- Assimilation – rejection of ethnic culture and identification exclusively with the majority group
- Integration – identification with both the ethnic and majority groups

- Marginalisation – rejection of both groups

Robinson (2005) notes a relative lack of work in Britain using Berry's acculturation model, and states that empirical evidence about how those from minority ethnic groups in Britain think about and handle their relationship with the two cultures in which they live is also lacking.

National identity

Parekh (2000) defines national identity as 'the identity of a political community and refers to the kind of community it is, its central values and commitments, its characteristic ways of talking about and conducting its collective affairs, its organising principles, and so forth'. Parekh highlights that national identity is not a fixed concept. He argues that it is something which needs to be 'constantly reassessed, adopted to changing circumstances and brought into harmony with our deeper self-understanding and ideals'. This is an important point in considering whether Scotland has a truly inclusive national identity – whether the current national identity reflects present society or a nostalgic vision of the past.

Parekh puts forward eight criteria that national identity should meet:

1. It should be inclusive and respect prevailing ethnic, religious, cultural and other diversities.
2. Acknowledge that no statement of national identity can ever capture the immense richness and complexity of the community's history and way of life – it is inevitably partial and even partisan.
3. It should provide a bridge with the past and the future (be sensitive to and, whenever possible, continuous with the community's history)
4. The definition should not only unite but also to inspire members of the community live up to an idealised vision of society.
5. The definition should be self-contained and constructed in terms of what the community is and not how it differs from some other.
6. The rationale behind wanting a clear sense of national identity is domestic – it is not meant to impress foreigners, help promote domestic corporate products abroad or attract tourists (these may be incidental advantages but not the *raison d'être*).
7. It should grow out of democratic debate to represent the widest possible range of views, articulate the deepest aspirations of citizens, and can be enthusiastically endorsed and owned by them all – it should not be given from above by government or intellectual elite.
8. National identity should be defined in politico-institutional rather than ethno-cultural terms. It is the identity of a political community and has a political basis.

Kiely *et al.* (2001) further explain the relevance of national identity in a political context: 'National identity is crucial to the ways much social and political action is organised. Thus, it affects key issues concerning official policies, notably of social inclusion and exclusion'.

They argue that national identity:

- Concerns the content of identity – what it means to be Scottish – in terms of the kind of policies and projects which are deemed legitimate
- The boundaries of identity – who is included and excluded
- The salience of identity – how important it is to be Scottish

When discussing the national identity of Scotland it is also important to consider how this is defined through publicity and propaganda. Reflections of Scottish national identity can be found, for example, in tourism campaigns, educational textbooks and public celebrations such as St. Andrew's Day. These send varying messages about inclusion and exclusion from Scottish society. On one hand the 'One Scotland: no place for racism' media campaign (2002) is indicative of a nation aspiring to inclusive identity. On the other hand, the public spaces of Scottish towns and cities remain dominated by statues of political, social and business leaders, uniformly male and white, without inclusive representations that reflect the Scottish population (Reicher et al 2010). Gary Nesbit's internet based inventory of Glasgow sculptures (Glasgow – City of Sculpture) illustrates this lack of diversity; the few representations of women and ethnic minority individuals are shown as largely allegorical.

Bechhofer *et al.* (1999) have discussed how many scholars looking at national identity and nationalism tend to focus on the 'national' dimension rather than on 'identity' (Smith 1991, Miller, 1995) and as such focus on what nations are. They argue that it is vital to understand how people within societies define and negotiate their way around national identities because national identities are not fixed – they depend on the claims which people make in different contexts and at different times.

However, it is often the case that national identity appears to have little relevance in the everyday lives of people and only rises in prominence at major sporting events, at times of war or conflict etc. (Kiely et al 2001, McIntosh et al 2004). For most of the time an individual's national identity is something that causes little concern or debate; it is a 'given' in everyday interaction with others within that society. This theory only holds true for those from the majority population who feel that they 'belong' to that nation. For those from minority groups everyday interactions with those from the majority population raise questions of identity and belonging; according to Byrne (2000, cited in Arshad *et al.* 2005), it may actually be easier for people in the ethnic majority to overlook racial differences than it is for ethnic minorities, because they are unaffected by disadvantages and structural discrimination.

Social and national identity are intrinsically linked, because identities are a socially constructed political and cultural entity – the formation of these identities is part of the learned behaviour of collective values and norms (see, for example, Bernstein 2010). These in turn link back to personal identity, where for example stereotypes about Scottishness, when taken as markers of identity, may have an impact on the way people behave as Scots (although these stereotypes can vary widely, see for example Spears *et al.* 1996).

Markers of identity

Markers of identity are the social characteristics shown to others in support of a national identity claim. They are also used to attribute a national identity to someone else or to assess someone's claims to having a national identity. Bond (2006) argues in line with earlier research (Bechhofer *et al.*, 1999; Kiely *et al.*, 2001; McCrone *et al.*, 1998) that the three most prominent markers of national identity are residence, place of birth and ancestry. Kiely *et al.* (2001) added to these markers length of residence, upbringing and education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress and commitment to a place. So for example, someone living in Scotland might emphasize their accent, where they were born and brought up as an indication of their 'Scottishness'. Or someone, may classify another person as not Scottish because of their skin colour, the way they dress, their name.

In trying to understand how respondents used these markers Kiely *et al.* (2001) developed 'identity rules' (guidelines on how identity markers are interpreted) to provide insight into how national identity is constructed. They found that identities were constructed in different ways in different contexts, providing evidence 'of the shifting and negotiated nature of these identities.'

Hopkins' (2007) research found that young Muslim participants drew on a range of traditional markers of Scottish identity, such as birth, upbringing and accent, to emphasize their Scottishness. However, exploring the young men's narratives of national identity highlights that their Scottish identifications vary depending on the circumstances, and are strongly influenced by race, ethnicity and the strength of the young men's religious affiliations. Hopkins noted that although the majority of the young men identified as Scottish Muslims, the meanings and associations of these identity markers varied in strength, nature and meaning, and the young men were also connected with a global network of identifications linking them with family heritages in Asia and Africa.

3. Ethnicity and identity

Ethnicity is an important aspect of personal identity and social identity as well as important in data collection and monitoring statistics for societies. Everyone has an ethnic identity but in Britain this term has come to be seen as referring to 'minority' groups. Some have commented that the term ethnic has become a pseudonym for 'black' or as something that is 'other than western' (Change Institute, 2009).

There is no single universally accepted definition of ethnicity used by academics or others (Song 2003). Generally, ethnicity refers to a collection or nation of people defined by their common origins and shared experience, for example language, religious beliefs, culture, accent, society, country of origin, skin colour, history and ancestry. The Parekh Report (2000) described an ethnic group as 'one whose members have common origins, a shared sense of history, a shared culture and a collective identity'.

Modood *et al.* (1994) take a slightly more structural approach, noting the added importance of social exclusion and stigma and political resistance to them, new forms of culture, and coalition of interests in building a sense of ethnicity.

Nazroo and Karlsen (2003) using data from the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities found a series of underlying dimensions to ethnic identity - importance of nationality and ethnicity/race in self-description, traditional identity (including dress, language and marriage), participation in a BME 'community' and related voluntary work and lastly membership of a 'racialized' group (experience of racism and discrimination). The authors concluded that the structure of ethnic identity is similar across ethnic minority groups in Britain, but that there is diversity of identity within ethnic groups.

Ethnic identities in Scotland and Britain

Saeed *et al.* (2000) point out that most studies addressing the concept of ethnic identity in Britain have been carried out in England and that ethnic minority perceptions of national and ethnic identity have not been as widely researched in Scotland. Since then, a growing body of evidence has emerged considering the identities of those from minority ethnic communities in Scotland (for example Hopkins 2004 & 2007, Millar & Hussain, 2003). The majority of these studies, however, have been with young South Asians and have tended to concentrate on two locations - Glasgow and Edinburgh. The work undertaken so far does not encompass all minority ethnic communities living in Scotland. To gain a clearer picture of minority ethnic identities in Scotland further work is needed, covering a wider range of ethnicities and also reflecting differences related to issues such as age, gender, urban or rural environment and social class.

The discussion below provides some examples of research on identity in various minority ethnic communities. It is not intended as an exhaustive exploration. Data is included from Scotland where possible and where data is limited information is presented from other parts of the UK (most notably England).

Two of the key issues considered here are how important 'ethnicity' might be as an identity marker to those from minority ethnic communities in Scotland/Britain; and secondly, which 'ethnicity' labels people commonly identify with.

Asian/South Asian

A study by Hutnik (1991) which compared South Asian and English adolescents found that the South Asian adolescents were more aware of their ethnicity than the English adolescents. More recent work by Robinson (2003) echoed the relatively higher importance of ethnic identity for Indian and Pakistani adolescents in comparison to the majority population.

There have been a number of studies in Scotland which have considered the identities of young South Asians (Hopkins 2004 & 2007, Saeed 1999, Millar & Hussain 2003). This research has shown that ethnic identity is important but that religious identity is often more important. From these studies, Saeed *et al.* (1999) found that 97% identified themselves as Muslim and Miller and Hussain (2003) found that 98% of the Pakistani population they consulted identified themselves as Muslim.

Research has also explored the acceptability of commonly used ethnicity labels for South Asian groups. Saeed *et al.* (1999) also found that only 8% of their respondents

used the 'Asian' category to identify themselves. They concluded that this suggests that the term 'Asian' is an externally imposed term of identification used by the majority culture.

Modood *et al.* (1994) came to similar conclusions, noting a generational difference. They found that most South Asians, especially amongst the first generation, identified with their specific regional ethnic or religious identity rather than with a pan-Asian ethnicity or British nationality. In this research the South Asians were as conscious of differences as of similarities between 'Asians'. Again, the term 'Asian' is not one which participants readily identify with. Rankin and Bhopal's (1999) study also supports this.

It would seem, then, that ethnicity labels imposed by those out with the communities themselves are not readily acceptable. Religious or national/regional identities appear more acceptable and relevant.

Chinese

There is a limited amount of published research on the identity of the Chinese population in Britain, and even less Scottish based research. Furthermore, the existing body of work is largely outdated and often concentrates on young people (see, for example, Bagley 1993, Verma *et al.* 1999, Song 1997).

The available evidence paints a complex picture. Parker (1994 & 1995) found six different forms of identity amongst young Chinese in Britain, this ranged from those who saw themselves strongly as British, through several levels of mixed identity, to those who drew strength and pride from being definitely Chinese.

These results seem to contradict the much more unified responses to a Scottish study of Chinese women aged between 22 and 52 living in Glasgow by Ang-Lygate (1996). In this case, all respondents said that they were definitely Chinese, however they did think of Scotland as 'home' and reported having little contact with other Chinese people – this goes against the popular stereotype of a 'self-contained' Chinese community raised by Wei (1994).

There is some evidence to suggest that regional identities within China are also of importance to Chinese people in Britain; for example, interviews in Spencer (2006) noted a participant explaining how she felt specifically Hong Kong Chinese. These interviews suggested that some Hong Kong Chinese people are seen to align themselves more willingly with Britishness due to the lasting impact of British colonialism. They also stressed the tensions experienced by second generation Chinese individuals in managing 'hybrid' identities and raised a sense of neither belonging fully in British or Chinese culture, and specifically of not being accepted as equals by either Chinese or British people.

There is very limited evidence on the acceptability of ethnicity labels for people who would be termed 'Chinese'. In the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities only 1 out of 118 Chinese people surveyed considered themselves to be Black (Modood *et al.* 1997), suggesting that this label at least is widely rejected. The Scottish Government's (2008) research into the acceptability of ethnicity classifications in preparation for the 2011 Census does not mention any responses from people who identified as Chinese; 'Chinese' is included within the 'Asian' category and all

responses detailed concerned South Asian identities. No explanation was given within the published results as to why Chinese individuals had not been consulted.

African Caribbean / Black British

No specific studies of African and Caribbean identities in Scotland have been noted in this literature review, suggesting that if such research does exist, it is not widely published. This represents a significant data gap.

A recent study from England by Lam and Smith (2009) examined ethnic and national identities of British African and Caribbean young people aged 11-16 using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and Britishness questionnaire. This study found that the young people ranked ethnicity as more important than age, gender or nationality. They also derived more pride from ethnicity than nationality and they viewed Caribbean/African people more positively than British. There were differences between gender in that the girls reported stronger ethnic identity than the boys. There were also differences between the African and the Caribbean participants – more of the younger Caribbeans said England in answer to a question about where they were from than the Africans; and the older (teenage) Caribbeans described themselves as more British than the older (teenage) Africans.

Again, questions have been raised about the acceptability of these ethnicity labels. Earlier studies from England (Modood et al 1994) looking at how those of Caribbean origin identified themselves found that the main term of self-identity among Caribbean respondents was 'Black'. There were slight differences between some first and second generation respondents with first generation respondents more likely to say West Indian and second generation preferring terms like 'Afro-Caribbean' and some saying 'Black British'. Modood et al commented at the time that 'Black is now firmly established as a term of positive self-identification, colour having replaced specific island-origins, and being allied to a pan-Caribbean identity'.

Similar findings arose from the Scottish Government's (2008) research into ethnicity classifications in preparation for the 2011 Census. Respondents were, overall, happy with the classifications 'African, Caribbean or Black'. However, use of the term 'or black' caused some controversy – although most African and Caribbean respondents were relatively happy to describe themselves as Black, they preferred to focus on their area of origin rather than skin colour. One recommendation made by the Scottish Government suggested considering the removal of the category Black, Black Scottish or Black British for this reason. However another recommendation to consider including this category as the heading for the classification is worded in a way that suggests the researchers would rather that white Africans and Caribbeans do not use the African or Caribbean tick box. This raises the question of whether the Census is focussed on self-identification of ethnicity, or measuring 'visible difference' whereby minority ethnic identities are to be defined in terms of skin colour.

Refugees and asylum seekers

Again, there has been comparatively little published in Scotland or Britain in relation to refugees and identity. The majority of the Scottish research has been led by the Scottish Refugee Council (for example 2005, 2011). The identities of refugees in Scotland will be difficult to define at any given time as these are likely to be multiple and changing – refugees are likely to construct their identity with reference to the culture of their home country, but also with reference to Scottish culture (Scottish Refugee Council 2005). Scotland's refugee and asylum seeking population is diverse in itself and will vary over time depending on political and social situations worldwide; in the years 2001-2011, China, Iran, Iraq and Eritrea were the most common countries of origin (Mulvey, 2011).

A paper presented at an International Housing Conference in Glasgow (Netto, 2009) discussed refugees interaction with the housing system in Scotland and found evidence of multiple layers of identity being ascribed to this group. This included the sudden transition from asylum seeker to refugee identity. Unfortunately many also experienced being ascribed an additional identity marker - 'homeless'. Additionally there was the experience of being viewed as a 'minority group', 'black' or 'foreign' coupled with the fear of racial harassment.

Research among young Somali Refugee children in Sheffield by Sporton *et al.* (2006) found that religion had become a powerful determinant of their identity. The authors note that for these children their forced history of migration had left them with a rootless identity and no strong attachment to a place. For the children being Muslim was 'the most important and consistent way that they have of identifying who they are'.

The impact of forced migration was also a factor for participants in research detailed in a 2011 report by the Scottish Refugee Council and University of Strathclyde (Stewart and Mulvey, 2011). For some participants, the abuses perpetrated in their country of origin meant that they could no longer identify with that nation and felt themselves either to be Scottish, British or belonging to no nation, identifying simply as Black or as a refugee. Others still associated with their previous nationality, even after a long period of settlement in Scotland and gaining British citizenship. In some cases, gaining legal status such as leave to remain or citizenship was the defining moment of identity change; describing a shift from 'feeling' Scottish to 'being' Scottish.

White minority ethnic communities

Identities amongst Scotland's white minority ethnic communities have historically been under-researched. For example, studies on both indigenous and non-indigenous Gypsy/Traveller communities (some of the more widely researched groups) has largely focused on experience of exclusion, accommodation needs and attempts to gain a statistical count of the population (e.g. the Scottish Government's biannual count of Travellers; Poole and Adamson's 2008 study in the Roma community of Govanhill for Oxfam). Nevertheless, a small amount of widely published information on identity has been identified for some of these communities.

Research undertaken for the Scottish Executive (Lomax et al 2000) underlined the importance of ethnic identity differences within the Traveller community, with

respondents from traditional Traveller backgrounds being keen to disassociate themselves from the New Age Traveller communities. This vital difference was underlined in the 2008 MacLennan employment appeal tribunal decision which confirmed Scottish Travellers as a distinct ethnic group.

According to the Scottish Traveller Education Project (www.scottishtravellered.net), although many of Scotland's Travelling Communities identify themselves as having a specific ethnic identity such as Roma (comprising a diverse range of communities with many national origins), Scottish Traveller or Gypsy, New Age and Occupational Travellers do not make claims to a specific identity – the shared cultural history and tradition of the other communities does not apply to these families. They also describe a reluctance to openly self-identify as a Traveller for some people, in fear of prejudice or official interference (ibid).

In the Scottish Executive survey (Lomax 2000), Scottish Traveller was the preferred identity of 49% of respondents, followed by Other at 23%, Gypsy Traveller at 15%, Romany at 8% and Irish Traveller at 5%. This shows a strong diversity of identity amongst the Traveller population in Scotland. McKinney (2003) elaborates that, despite self-identification as Gypsies by some of Scotland's Travellers, many find the term Gypsy offensive. Official classifications use the term Gypsy/Traveller, with the slash intended to mean 'or' (ibid), however whether this is widely understood by those completing monitoring information is not known. McKinney also highlights concerns amongst some Gypsy/Travellers that official acceptance of their distinct ethnic origin may result in them being seen as 'foreign' and no longer Scottish.

Although a sizable number of new migrants from Accession Eight nations in Central and Eastern Europe have settled in Scotland (joining existing communities with similar origins), research amongst these communities has again focussed not on identity but on issues such as migration patterns and living conditions (for example Trevena 2009).

Irish identities in Scotland have been widely researched but largely in the context of sectarianism and football rather than belonging or social cohesion (for example Bradley 2004). Walter et al (2002) cited research showing that for people of Irish descent living in Scotland, fear of anti-Irish discrimination and particularly sectarianism lead to them downplaying or hiding their self-identification as Irish in favour of a mainstream Scottish public identity.

The historic tensions between England and Scotland mentioned elsewhere in this paper were explored in terms of English identities in Scotland by Miller and Hussain in 2005, looking at English people living in Scotland as being "...in the unaccustomed role of being a minority, indeed an 'immigrant' minority, in Scotland." The English participants interviewed felt at home in Scotland but had a territorial, English national identity, viewing the Scottish national identity as something separate and inaccessible to them. This sentiment was echoed in research by McIntosh et al (2004). The border between the two nations, however, seems to be a point where notions of Scottishness and Englishness become more flexible, particularly in the long-contested area of Berwick-Upon-Tweed (Kiely et al 2000).

Mixed heritage

There is a lack of widely published information on how people of mixed heritage / mixed origins living in Scotland prefer to identify in terms of national identity. By definition, this is the most diverse ethnic categorisation of all and it has been argued that in some ways the category is so diverse as to limit its usefulness in statistical studies (see, for example, Ifekwunigwe 1997).

At a UK level, research by Aspinall (2008) examined preferences for ethnic classifications amongst mixed heritage individuals. This found that respondents largely identified themselves according to the origins inherited from their parents, but overall preferred the term 'mixed race' if a generic descriptor was to be used (diverging from common academic useage of 'mixed heritage' or 'mixed origin'). They appreciated the simplicity of this option but also valued the option in monitoring exercises such as the Census to use an open field to better record their preferred ethnic identity.

Despite the extreme diversity involved in mixed heritage, Caballero (2007) points out that external views of individuals of mixed heritage still hinge on stereotypes of dysfunctionality and being caught 'between two worlds', despite qualitative evidence to the contrary from families themselves. As with other ethnic categorisations, external perceptions are likely to have an impact on inclusion within a Scottish national identity.

4. Ethnicity in data collection

One of the key applications for ethnic identity has been in the collection and classification of data on minority ethnic communities. Ethnicity is usually described according to the broad classifications used in official statistics, research studies and other documentation – however, these categories are not used consistently and often do not reflect people who have more than one culture, language, 'ethnic group' etc. In addition, broad categories do not reflect differences between members within the category.

Aspinall (2002) has argued that such terms are limited in their usefulness and often require qualification. Nazroo and Karlsen (2003) also comment that 'the allocation of people into such broad undifferentiated categories is of limited use if we seek to understand the processes that actually produce a sense of their own and others' ethnic affiliation'. They suggest going beyond 'tick list' assessments of ethnicity so as to explore what being a member of a particular ethnic group means –and so find the influence ethnicity has as a form of identity.

Rankin and Bhopal's (1999) study with a 'South Asian' population in South Tyneside discusses how using census categories is an insufficient way to capture self-identification as there are too few categories offered to reflect the true heterogeneity of ethnic groups. They further state that similar issues apply to labels like 'black' and 'white' and argue for 'fresh thinking' if identity and self identification are to be the basis of ethnic grouping. Aspinall (2002) also argues for the use of terminology which is 'precisely defined and acceptable to those being described'. The varying identity preferences across ethnic groups present a significant challenge in following this approach (for example Modood 1994, Spencer 2006).

Ethnicity in data collection in Scotland

Research carried out for the (then) Scottish Executive (Macdonald et al 2004) looked at the collection of data on ethnicity in Scotland with particular reference to the Census. This research found that respondents generally related ethnicity to nationality rather than 'race' or 'colour'. In addition, the inclusion of 'colour' as part of ethnicity was found to be contentious for some respondents – some saw 'colour' as part of their ethnic identity while others felt strongly that this should not be linked to ethnicity. In this research, the respondents also described themselves in terms of multiple ethnic identities with various reference points – their parents' ethnicity and country of origin, where they were born or brought up, where they currently lived, their passport and religion.

Defining ethnicity is therefore not a straightforward process. Peach (1996 quoted on Madge 2001) commented that 'while birthplace in an unambiguous category, ethnic identity is more mercurial. Critically, ethnicity is contextual rather than absolute'. So a person may be Pakistani by descent but born in England and then brought up in Scotland, they may also define themselves as 'black' in relation to 'white' racism – how they then choose to fill in their ethnicity on a census form depends on their current situation and is not a fixed independent category. In addition, the way in which ethnicity information has been collected has changed over time. This is reflected in the changes in Census definitions over time. The Scottish Government planned changes coming into effect in the 2011 census through a consultation process which included explorations of minority ethnic individuals' views on the ethnicity question (Scottish Government 2008), which was revised to include a more comprehensive range of identities including Polish and Gypsy/Traveller (two of the more common white minority ethnic identities).

Despite the challenges involved, ethnicity classifications in data collection and research are vital to the process of gathering information to illuminate and challenge inequality. It is therefore important to use categories which are meaningful and acceptable and which are consistently used in all areas of data collection and monitoring statistics.

'Black' as an ethnicity label

Some of the viewpoints considered in the previous section on ethnic identities raised questions as to whether 'Black' is an acceptable or useful ethnicity label (e.g. Scottish Government 2008, Modood et al 1997). The term 'Black' was widely used throughout the 1970s and 80s to refer to people of African, Caribbean, and South Asian origin in Britain. The term was seen as conveying a sense of common interest and ethnic mobilization based on the politics of anti-colonialism and anti-racism. In Scotland the term 'Black' has also been used to embrace all of Scotland's minority ethnic population – in research terms and by a number of community groups.

In the 1990s there was growing debate on the legitimacy of 'Black' as a collective term. The focus of research could be seen to shift towards diversity of experiences among minority groups living in Britain – in education, employment etc. Modood (1994, 1997), for example, argued that the term 'Black' can obscure particular forms of racial oppression suffered by South Asians in Britain (in particular working class Muslim Asians). Saeed et al (1999) also question whether the term 'Black' is of relevance to Scotland's minority ethnic communities.

In a paper on classification of African Identity in Britain, the Ligali Organisation (2005) state that they are 'opposed to the institutionalised usage of 'Black' as a racial epithet to describe African people.' They also add that this term is ineffective in espousing the diversity within minority communities. They argue for a new way of collecting data based on ethno-geographic identity (e.g. African, Asian, European), National identity (e.g. British, Scottish) and family heritage (e.g. Caribbean, Nigerian, Jamaican, Pakistani).

The inclusion of 'colour' as part of an ethnicity label/marker is contentious – for some it has been used as a positive political statement; for others it is a meaningless concept which does not reflect those being described.

5. Intersectional identities

The importance of diversity within ethnic groups and of the intersections of identity is widely understood, and was reflected throughout the preparatory work for Britain's current discrimination law structure, the Equality Act 2010 (see, for example, the final report of the Equalities Review [2007] which focussed on cross-cutting themes, life stages and specific topics in order to broaden its exploration beyond previous strand-based approaches). This paper therefore considers a selection of viewpoints which reflect the impact of intersectional issues on identity in Black and ethnic minority communities.

Male minority ethnic identities

A number of writers have suggested a link between ethnic minority masculinities as a form of resistance to racism, whereby attempts to assert patriarchal power may be a response to the powerlessness engendered by racist discourses. For example, Wetherall (1993) suggests that the construction of black (ethnic minority) masculinity entails a constant, delicate negotiation between power and powerlessness, and the 'hyper-masculinity' of working class African Caribbean male cultures has been explained by Ross (1998) as primarily a defensive mechanism to white racism. The interconnection between masculinity and racialized identities is also noted by Brod (1994), who discusses the 'tensions and tradeoffs' in Jewish men's construction of male identity by using (racialized) sexism and patriarchy to resist racism.

Alexander (1996), however, has challenged constructions of 'black' masculinity as merely reaction/resistance to white racism. In her study with British African Caribbean men she argues that Black male identity should be seen as an extension of male power. It is best understood as an articulated response to structural inequality 'enacting and subverting dominant definitions of power and control, rather than substituting for them'. It has further been suggested that masculine identities are constructed through the negotiation of various power relations, with regard to both women and other men (Archer 2001).

Studies that have addressed issues of identity among young people with Indian, Pakistani and other subcontinental ethnic backgrounds have predominantly considered young men at the level of 'Asian' identity – glossing over linguistic, religious and cultural differences. The 'Asian' young men are often portrayed as 'either aggressive and patriarchal or effeminate and academic' (Hopkins, 2009). However, studies that have specifically considered Muslim pupils suggest that

teachers have particularly negative stereotypes of Muslim families, assuming pupils to have particularly repressive, authoritarian home lives. Furthermore, Muslim males have been found to report suffering the highest rates of racism at school. Thus Asian and Muslim young men have been positioned both in strong contrast to the stereotypical view of young men in Britain and as 'problems' needing to be 'solved' (Archer, 2001).

Archer (2001) discusses how 'race', gender, religious and cultural discourses were all important factors in young Muslim men's identity constructions. In her research she found that the young men drew on a wide range of changing identities when positioning themselves in relation to others – including a shared site of solidarity against racism, a resistance to whiteness, distinguishing between black groups, asserting masculinity.

In further research,, Archer (2003) found that young men performed and inhabited a range of masculinities according to specific circumstances and experiences: '...whereas the boys asserted powerful Muslim masculinities within the political sphere, and patriarchal 'Asian' identities in relation to issues of gender, these were both resisted (in favour of black identities) within the sphere of 'youth culture'. Dwyer (2000, in Hopkins 2007b) also found that 'local patriarchal gender relations were reinforced by young men' and this was seen as a means of maintaining their own adolescent masculine ethnic identity.

For some young Muslim men, however, their religious identity acts as a positive model when compared with the local challenges of unemployment, street and drug cultures (Glynn, 2002; Archer 2001, 2003).

Female minority ethnic identities

A recent study from England by Lam and Smith (2009) examined ethnic and national identities of 11-16 year old British Africans and Caribbeans and found that the girls reported stronger ethnic identity than the boys. There was discussion around whether this could be down to gender-specific ethnic role modelling – the 'strong black woman' – being more available to black girls than black boys though, for example, the involvement of women in the creation and running of ethnic community organisations.

Other research has shown that for some women religious identity is seen as more important than ethnic and cultural identities. Ali (1992) found that, for young Muslim women, Islamic teaching was an important source of resistance to parental and community restrictions on behaviour – they could reject their parent's views set within ethnic tradition in favour of the global appeal of intellectual Islam which opened up possibilities on ways to live. Later research by Glynn (2002) with Bangladeshi Muslim women also echoed this sentiment.

In research by Dwyer (1999a) with young Muslim women, Muslim identity was again seen as a way to resist parental discourses and challenge family prohibitions – through for example by showing themselves to be 'good Muslims' and thus gaining greater freedom to pursue other interests. By evoking Islamic authority they could argue that not only should they be able to dress in a style which was both 'western' and 'Islamic' but that they should have greater freedom to socialise or go on to higher education.

In a study of British Pakistani women aged between 20 and 65, Rizvi (2007) questions the weight of assumed family and cultural norms, noting that 'these particular Muslim women do not seem to be oppressed by patriarchal systems. British Pakistani women appear very capable of constructing and asserting their identities, gaining support and security from religion and family'.

Other studies have suggested that Asian women are 'mixed up' because of 'double oppression' of race and gender and the (assumed) restrictive patriarchy of Asian culture. Criticism has been made of these theories for their pathologizing and restrictive conceptualizations of Asian women (Archer 2001). On the contrary, there has been considerable work showing that young Muslim women form their identities through a 'challenge to dominant representations' of what it means to be a Muslim woman (for example Dwyer 1998, Tyrer and Ahmad 2006), which reflects the sources discussed previously on how Islamic cultural discourse is used by women to push traditional boundaries.

Nevertheless, negative depictions are frequently reproduced through media institutions, portraying Muslim women as 'passive victims of oppressive cultures' and as the 'embodiment of a repressive fundamentalist religion' (Dwyer 1998). As pointed out by Tyrer and Ahmad (2006), '...these representations rely on reductionist stereotypes about the alleged 'backwardness' of Muslim families and the incoherence of gendered Muslim identities'.

Age and identity

For young people the search for identity is part of the process of defining their relationship with the world.

'One of the primary tasks during adolescence is the self-conscious search for and development of one's identity. The issue of cultural identification has particular relevance during adolescence when, as part of the identity formation process minority youths examine their ethnicity and its implications on their lives as they seek to establish a secure identity. In addition to examining their ethnicity, adolescents are likely to consider their role and position in the wider society. As they engage in this process, they are faced with the differing demands and possible conflicts among alternative cultural frames of reference and the reality of minority status and discrimination'. (Robinson, 2005)

In research carried out by Ipsos MORI (2006) with young people looking at British identity it was found that:

- **In England**

Young white people in England tended to see Englishness and Britishness as interchangeable.

Black and Asian participants tended to see themselves as black British or British Asian and consider 'English' to refer only to the white community.

- **In Scotland**

Participants in Scotland felt a strong emotional connection and pride with being Scottish. Participants from all backgrounds felt they had a much stronger, emotional affiliation with Scottishness than with Britishness (Britishness being almost exclusively associated with the English).

Both Black and Asian participants in Scotland experienced a complex layering of national and ethnic identities which became important in different circumstances.

Young Muslim participants tended to see themselves as 'Scottish Muslim'. They did not see Scottishness as an identity exclusive to the white population.

Black African participants said that while they had been raised in Scotland and identified themselves as being Scottish, there was also a strong connection with their African roots. There existed for them a dual identity where the different layers of ethnic identity were played out in different situations.

Participants chose to assert their minority ethnic national identity in some situations (and be 'other') or a Scottish identity in others (and 'blend in'). The choice of identity and the strength with which 'otherness' was asserted depended on the context and the company – and was not always a conscious decision.

This duality was also impacted by external perceptions, for instance when in London one participant was perceived by others to be Scottish but when in Scotland he was considered Ugandan.

As previously discussed, some young people have indicated that their Muslim identity can be used for internal empowerment (Glynn, 2002; Archer 2001, 2003). This also echoes the trend among young people for rejecting traditional ethnic identities in favour of a more pan-Muslim one. For example:

'Asian identities, particularly those of young Muslim men, have also been identified as problematic, both in academic theory and public discourses...it has been argued that Muslim young men are increasingly being constructed as militant and aggressive, intrinsically fundamentalist 'ultimate Others'. These views have been strengthened through media reporting of 'fundamentalists' and 'extremists'.' (Archer 2001).

Generation and identity

Hussain & Bagguley (2005) found differences in citizenship identities between first-generation migrants and those born in the UK (second generation). The first generation spoke as if they were temporary economic migrants, they did not express feelings of belonging in Britain and felt they were living in a 'foreign country'. It was felt that this was in part due to feelings of insecurity in Britain from their experiences of migration, increasingly restrictive immigration laws and their identities as denizens as opposed to citizens (Britain as a place of residence rather than a society where they could fully belong). There was talk of return to Pakistan although none had definite plans to do this. The second generation, however, did speak in terms of belonging because they had been born in Britain. They had adopted hybridized identities comprising South Asian culture, Islam and Western culture within their British identity. It was noted that this came through clearly in their enthusiasm for English football, their pride in Islam and as Pakistanis while asserting their rights as British citizens.

The Change Institute (2009) also point to differences between generations in their ethnic and faith identities. For older generations in particular, affiliations relating to

nation, clan, tribe, location of origin can all play as significant a part as faith identity and links with countries of origin remain strong. For the younger generation they found indications of a growing religiosity and a more pan-Muslim sense of identity that rejects other ethnic boundaries and practices seen as specific to a cultural group rather than to Islam. They do note, however, that this qualitative finding needs further substantive research.

A 2007 report by Frondigoun et al in Scotland for Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police on minority ethnic youth underlines the importance of Scottishness to young people from BME communities in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The study comments that in Britain 'it has also been suggested that, in contrast to their elders, minority ethnic young people are increasingly articulating a home grown Asian-British identity, which amounts to a fundamental generational change, and this may also relate to a growing 'Scottish' identity'.

Religion and identity

The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (Modood et al 1997) found that religion was, in general, most important for Asian groups and least important for 'white' members of the population and Chinese groups. This was reflected in a consultation project carried out by Centre for Human Ecology (2000) in Scotland, with 108 people from BME communities, found that references to religious identity were rarely made with the exception of participants who were Muslim. The comparative lack of studies of identity focusing on other religious identities as an aspect of ethnicity has created a focus on Muslim identity in this section of the paper.

The finding that religion is an important marker of identity for South Asians living in Scotland has been widely established through research. For example, in research by Hussain and Millar (2003) with participants from the Pakistani and English population in Scotland, 98% of the Pakistani population they consulted identified themselves as Muslim. In Saeed *et al.*'s study (1999) with Glasgow Pakistani teenagers, Muslim identity was chosen by 97% of the sample, this was more than double those choosing Pakistani identity (46%).

Other examples of research supporting the importance of Muslim religious identities include Hopkins (2007), Department for Communities and Local Government (2007), Change Institute (2009) and the Home Office (2001).

Research suggesting that identity formation among young British-born Muslims has undergone a notable shift in focus from ethnic identity to religious identity has been published by Robinson (2003), Archer (2001) and Tyrer and Ahmad (2006). Tyrer and Ahmad's study with female Muslim students found that 'almost without exception, respondents emphasised 'being Muslim' when discussing their identities'.

Although religion has become a more prominent marker of identity for many Muslim people, it is important to remember that in Islam, as in all religions, there is a broad spectrum of religious practice ranging from the devout, to 'cultural' Muslims, to the secular (Change Institute, 2009). Using the term 'Muslim community' will include those who do not see religion as the most important marker of their identity alongside those who do.

Hopkins' research in Scotland (2004) highlights this complexity, finding that the levels of religiosity of young men from diverse Muslim backgrounds varied greatly – with some able to discuss the various teachings of their religion, whilst others struggled to remember the five pillars of Islam.

Research has also examined the impact of Muslim religious identification on feelings of 'belonging'. Analysis of the 2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey which explored the relationship between religion and a sense of belonging found that Muslims, as a group, were only slightly less likely to feel that they belong to Britain than Whites and more likely to belong than African Caribbeans (Maxwell, 2006 cited in Choudhury, 2007).

A survey by MORI in 2001 (cited in Learning Teaching Scotland's Resource for Anti-Sectarian Education) showed that 87% of Muslims felt 'loyal to Britain'. Another poll by MORI (2005) on attitudes of British Muslims found that the vast majority of Muslims living in Britain feel strongly that they belong to Britain, feel part of British society and believe that Muslims make a valuable contribution to British society.

However, views on this are not the same across Scottish society. A recent study conducted by Ipsos MORI in Scotland indicates that whilst Scottish Muslims believed that integration in Scotland is largely one-way, with Muslims making the effort to adapt to Scottish life, non-Muslim communities believed that Muslims have to make more of an effort to interact and should completely adopt Scottish customs (Holmes *et al.*, 2010).

One of the major issues facing Scottish Muslims is one of 'identity'. What does it mean to be a Scottish Muslim? What does it mean to be a Muslim in Scotland? There is an important distinction on these two ways of defining identity. The former implies a sense of citizenship and belonging, but the latter could be seen as representing a sense of 'otherness' in a nation where Muslims are not accepted as part of 'normal' Scottish society (Learning and Teaching Scotland: A resource for anti-sectarian education). Looking at the attitudes of the white majority population in Scotland to those from minority religious communities, in a recent study (Holmes *et al.*, 2010) Muslims were viewed less favourably than any of the other major religious groups, although Scots held more positive views of Muslim's loyalty to Scotland.

6. National Identity: Scottish, British or something else?

Scottish versus British

There has been much written about the construction of a Scottish national identity and Scottish national identity versus British identity (for example McCrone, 2001; Kiely, 2001 & 2005). Much of this work has explored the views of Scottish-born nationals and English-born migrants to Scotland. This work has been important in a number of ways, for example: developing markers and rules of Scottish identity; looking at how people construct Britishness in different ways; assessing relative importance given to a Scottish or British identity; the importance of birth, ancestry and residence in relation to Scottish identity.

Research has shown that people in Scotland are more likely to identify themselves as Scottish rather than British when asked to choose between statements that best describe them (for example McCrone 2001, 2002a). This survey data uses the simple 5-point Moreno scale below:

'Which of these best describes how you see yourself?'

- Scottish not British
- More Scottish than British
- Equally Scottish and British
- More British than Scottish
- British not Scottish

McCrone points out that although this question can be criticised on methodological grounds (e.g. do respondents interpret the categories in the same way/people may feel different depending on the circumstances etc.) the measure is robust in that it correlates well and consistently with social variables (social class, age, gender, educational achievement). McCrone further argues that people in Scotland understand that the question is asking about the relationship between national identity (Scottish) and state identity (British) and are able to distinguish between the two. However, in a 2009 study by Hickman et al, some respondents from minority ethnic backgrounds living in Scotland were unable to see the relevance of Britain to their lives at all.

Do those from minority ethnic communities identify themselves as Scottish, British or something else?

According to analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2004, in most non-White ethnic groups in Britain the majority of people described their national identity as British, English, Scottish or Welsh. This included almost nine in ten people from a Mixed (88 per cent) or Black Caribbean (86 per cent) group, around eight in ten people from a Pakistani (83 per cent), Bangladeshi (82 per cent) or Other Black (83 per cent) group, and three quarters (75 per cent) of the Indian group. People from the White British group were more likely to describe their national identity as English (58 per cent) rather than British (36 per cent). However, the opposite was true of the non-White groups, who were more likely to identify themselves as British. More recent releases from the Annual Population Survey do not provide analysis at this level of detail.

These results appear to be at odds with the previously cited research by IPSOS Mori (2006) where BME young people in Scotland and England routinely saw 'British' as a euphemism for 'English'. However, research by the Scottish Government (2008) into ethnicity and national identity classifications offers a possible explanation. This found that many people from BME backgrounds viewed the national identity question as linked to nationality, or as a test of loyalty to their place of residence. This made them inclined to answer with a UK based national identity even if this did not reflect the full picture of how they identified themselves personally. This could at least partially explain the high levels of UK identity amongst BME people in national surveys.

Ipsos MORI's 2006 research for the Camelot Foundation with young people in Britain looked at the meaning of Britishness as a national identity. This research found evidence that 'ethnic minorities living in England find it hard to adopt an English identity'. This was not the case in Scotland where 'young people of Pakistani origin feel comfortable saying they are Scottish Asian'. The authors note that this may be the result of official forms in England not having an English Pakistani box as a descriptor and therefore people have no choice but to adopt a British Pakistani identifier.

In this research, the young people from minority ethnic communities questioned whether a single universal identity like being British can coexist with their multiple identities. 'They see local identities, such as being a Glaswegian, and national identities, such as being a Scot, and any ethnic identity as more important and emotionally relevant than the 'supra' British identity' (Ipsos MORI 2006). These findings are echoed strongly in work by Modood et al (1997), Hopkins (2006) and Miller and Hussain (2003) which all emphasised the importance of Scottishness over Britishness in identity preferences of young South Asian research participants.

What does it mean when someone says they are 'Scottish'?

National identity does not mean the same thing to all people and using questions which simply ask people to choose a statement which best describes them is therefore limited in its usefulness. It tells us very little about what people mean when they identify themselves as Scottish. Scottishness can vary in relation to ethnicity, geography, religion, among other factors (Bradley, 2003).

Research suggests that for some people, legal status is the determinant of a Scottish or British national identity. Stewart and Mulvey (2011) detail refugees' and asylum seekers' views on national identity, which for some was highly linked to leave to remain and citizenship. For some, national identity and nationality seem largely one and the same. Receiving citizenship was also seen to legitimize their claims to Scottish national identity in the eyes of others. The same study showed evidence that the term 'British' is sometimes associated with unpleasant experiences with Home Office bureaucracy, with England and with legal structures. When contrasted with positive experiences of welcoming local Scottish people, this can lead to a greater identification with Scottish identity than British for some refugees and asylum seekers.

Perceived tensions between Scotland and England also appear to have an impact on assertions of national identity in the wider Scottish population. For example, Scots may choose to describe themselves as Scottish rather than British because the term 'British' is so closely associated with 'English' (Bechhofer and McCrone 2010). McIntosh et al (2004) assert that not being English is a key defining factor of Scottish identity for many people. Of course, there is more to Scottish national identity than a rejection of Englishness or Britishness; Bechhofer and McCrone found that a sense of pride in Scotland's educational and law systems and also community spirit were the most important factor for many – more important than having been born in Scotland, for example.

Hopkins (2007) draws on the fact that national identity is not a clearly defined concept, asserting that being a Scottish Muslim 'actually tells us very little about the young men unless we are more fully aware of their understanding of what it means to be both Scottish and Muslim. This is where 'markers of identity' become important in helping to define what people actually mean when they describe themselves in terms of national identity.

Reflection: Can markers of identity help create an inclusive diverse society or are they perceived as markers of difference/not belonging?

Most of the studies of national identity explored here rely on self-identification using markers of identity. However, the usefulness of markers of identity such as place of birth, accent and citizenship is limited when considering whether Scotland itself has an inclusive national identity. This would presumably entail strong levels of social cohesion and a shared sense of Scottishness by all of Scotland's communities. To reach that level of inclusion, acceptance of BME Scottish identities by the white majority population would be needed as well as a sense of belonging amongst the BME populations.

The evidence presented here shows how complex and at times contradictory concepts of national identity can appear. It would be highly challenging, if not impossible, to identify a single set of markers of Scottishness which could be used to assess progress on Outcome 13. An understanding of multiple and plural identities is therefore central to the debate on an inclusive national identity for Scotland.

7. Multiple and plural identities

The evidence detailed here clearly shows that, rather than a static and easily labelled concept, there are multiple conceptions and layers of identity for BME individuals in Scotland.

The Change Institute (2009) have commented that:

'Respondents from all communities highlighted the changes that people have had to make in order to integrate their religious, linguistic and ethnic characteristics alongside a British identity. A recognition of multiple identities is a norm in all these communities, and different aspects of identity may come to the fore depending on the contexts and environments individuals face on a day to day basis.'

It seems, then, that plural/hyphenate identities (e.g. dual ethnicity labels, ethnicity/religious labels) are commonly understood and experienced by BME individuals. Historically, in Britain there has perhaps been less mainstream familiarity with plural identities as opposed to in the USA where terms such as Irish American and African American are used as standard. Nevertheless, as previously explored here, several studies have shown that when asked to choose identity labels, many young South Asians in Scotland prefer plural identify labels such as Scottish Muslim and Scottish Pakistani (Saeed et al 1999; Miller & Hussain 2003). Work carried out in the classification of ethnic minority coding for the national Census also revealed that many people find it difficult to assign themselves a single identity (MacDonald et al., 2005).

Some refugees and asylum seekers in Stewart and Mulvey's (2011) research felt that a plural identity was unavoidable for them. Some had lived so long in their country of origin that they could not let go of that part of their life, even if the thought of it was very painful. Others viewed their identity in relation to their interaction with others – that they must retain their original national identity because the white Scottish majority viewed them that way; or that they would identify as Scottish in interactions with other Scottish people but regain their original national identity when with people who shared those origins.

In a scoping exercise carried out when developing an anti-sectarian education resource (Learning and Teaching Scotland www.ltscotland.org.uk) respondents were asked how they viewed their identity. Some highlighted the difficulties faced with having dual or even triple identities, and making these work together.

Based on this evidence, recognition of plural Scottish identities seems vital to the process of fostering feelings of belonging for minority ethnic individuals in Scotland, leading towards the strong, fair and inclusive Scottish national identity outlined in National Outcome 13.

8. Social and political context of an 'inclusive' national identity

Robinson (2005) has argued that British policies towards immigrants and ethnic minorities tend to be exclusive rather than inclusive and that such publicly expressed attitudes will have an impact on the identities of ethnic minority individuals in Britain.

Concerns about 'integrating' new immigrants, asylum seekers/refugees and 'settled' minority groups are prominent on the British political agenda, as illustrated by Government rhetoric on citizenship, immigration policy and tackling 'extremism' (debate on 'extremism' largely ignoring threats such as the rise of the far right and concentrating instead on Islamic groups) – see, for example, Grayson 2011.

It could be said, however, that more positive attitudes are expressed by the Scottish Government:

“Scotland is a nation of many cultures and beliefs; we have a reputation for being a rich and vibrant place to live, work and visit. However, even today, sadly, racism still occurs and lets us down as a nation. That's why the Scottish Government has developed a new phase of activity under the award winning One Scotland anti-racism campaign... We must stand together as One Scotland to tackle the challenges which we face as a nation; only by working together can we all prosper in an equal modern Scotland.”

- Alex Neil MSP, Minister for Housing and Communities, November 2009

Since devolution the Scottish administration has established two prominent initiatives which relate to, and have important implications for, greater ethnic and cultural diversity in Scotland. The One Scotland campaign seeks to highlight the positive features of this diversity and ameliorate racism and discrimination. The New Scots

initiative (also known as 'Fresh Talent') inspired in large measure by the long-term decline in the population of Scotland and well-established problems with its economy, aims to create conditions whereby more people from outwith Scotland can be attracted to work and live there (Bond, 2006).

Any comparison in tone regarding state policies in Scotland and the UK, however, must take into account the fact that the Scottish Government has no devolved control over immigration and also has more need for inward migration due to population aging than many other areas of the UK (Equality and Human Rights Commission Scotland 2009). It may therefore be less vulnerable to anti-immigration pressures.

Citizenship and identity

Citizenship is an important aspect of identity as it impacts people's sense of belonging, the way others perceive them and their rights (see, for example, Stewart and Mulvey 2011). Citizenship is often (but not always) connected with country of residence, and so plays an important role in how people identify with the nation they live in (Hopkins 2007). For some, their legal status as a citizen is the main driver behind a British or Scottish national identity, legitimizing feelings of belonging (Stewart and Mulvey 2011).

However, as well as providing confirmation of rights and belonging, citizenship can also be seen in terms of integration, uniformity and commonality (Hussain & Bagguley 2005). This suggests that citizenship brings greater obligation to 'fit into' British or Scottish society, thus limiting people's perceived rights to maintain their own cultural differences.

Views on citizenship and identity amongst BME groups appear to vary according to generation. Research in England among first and second generation Pakistanis (Hussain & Bagguley 2005) found differences between these generations' citizenship identities. Those from the first generation expressed identities of living in Britain but not 'belonging' whereas those from the second generation had strong identities as British citizens which included equal rights. There was a demand for recognition of differences (e.g. in religion) rather than integration and that differences within British society should be accommodated within the idea of equal rights.

A study of Pakistani Muslim women in Britain (Rizvi, 2007) found that there was a strong sense of belonging to Britain and attachment to their British citizenship. When discussion focussed on the situation of Muslim women in France and Pakistan, Britain was seen as a place where there was freedom from the problems which confronted Muslim women in these countries. Their attachment to British citizenship related to the freedom of Muslim women to wear headscarves, go to mosques and have access to education and employment. So, rather than suppressing cultural difference, British citizenship for these women protected their rights to maintain their solidarity with traditional communities and ways of life.

In Britain the introduction of Citizenship Tests brings a whole new level of meaning to citizenship, linking it closely to Government rhetoric around integration as mentioned in the previous section. A 2011 speech by Prime Minister David Cameron to the

Institute for Government outlined plans to increase the emphasis on British history and culture as opposed to the current civic structural focus, suggesting that the Government wishes to see new citizens adopt identity markers which focus more on what might be seen as 'inherited' elements of indigenous culture; a potentially divisive policy (Cameron, 2011).

Ethnic segregation

As previously mentioned, denizenship (the state of living in a place) is also of importance to BME groups in Britain (Hussain & Bagguley 2005). It could be inferred that minority ethnic concentration in neighbourhoods (sometimes termed ethnic segregation or ethnic clustering) has an impact on the development of social identity. However, analysis of the 2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey found that both religion and ethnic concentration of neighbourhood were statistically insignificant to a sense of belonging and identity with Britain across all groups. More recent analysis of this survey, which is now discontinued, has not explored these issues.

Maxwell (2006) argues that 'ethnic minorities can simultaneously live in an ethnic community and reach out to mainstream society and that ethnically segregated communities and religious practices can coexist with diverse ethnic interactions and significant attachment to the broader British community' (cited in Choudhury 2007). This echoes the views provided in the research cited previously on multiple and plural identities; that a strong minority ethnic community identity and a strong Scottish national identity are not mutually exclusive, but complimentary.

Phillips (2006) notes 'concerns about levels of minority ethnic concentration and segregation have thus long been integral to debates about "race" and immigration, social deprivation, urban decline and social unrest. Yet research about minority ethnic segregation has paid less attention to the negotiation of identities, senses of belonging and constructions of in/exclusion played out in the local communities that such work focuses on'. In other words, minority ethnic concentration cannot be assumed to indicate either full inclusion of the individuals within that community, or exclusion of those individuals from the 'wider' Scottish community.

It also cannot be assumed that minority ethnic concentration occurs as a choice. Phillips (2006) considers young people's experiences of ethnically clustered communities and challenges ideas of Muslim self-segregation:

'Although it emerged that British Muslim families value residential clustering, for reasons of culture and tradition, familiarity, identity and security, the desire for separation from others is not self-evident. Their spatial segregation in poorer neighbourhoods largely reflects bounded choices, constrained by structural disadvantage, inequalities in the housing market (past and present), worries about racism and...racial harassment.'

In Archer's (2003) research about Muslim boys and education, she also makes reference to racism, highlighting that the young men see Asian, 'black' areas as 'friendly' and that the 'white' areas 'were associated with racism and antagonism'.

Further research has been carried out in Scotland looking at residential dispersal and preferences of South Asians (Mir, 2007, McGarrigle and Kearns, 2009) which challenges the notion that 'clustering' is preferred by minority ethnic communities. Mir focuses on the suburbs of Glasgow, exploring the dispersal of Scottish-Pakistanis to prosperous areas on the periphery of the city, highlighting in particular how such movements are often accompanied by the adoption of middle-class professional identities. McGarrigle and Kearns (2009, also with participants from Glasgow) found that 'actual residential preferences found among the interviewees showed a general readiness to live in more mixed areas'.

On the strength of the limited evidence available, it appears that minority ethnic concentration in some Scottish localities is unlikely to have much bearing on Scottish national identity within BME communities. What is not known, however, is what assumptions are made by the white Scottish majority population about the identities of those within clustered communities (for example, whether clustering is widely seen as a form of deliberate segregation or understood as relatively incidental to wider participation in Scottish society).

Ethnic identity, political and civil life

Research suggests that the disadvantages imposed on BME individuals through discrimination may have an impact on levels of political activism and awareness. Externally imposed constraints which limit opportunities for those with a certain ethnic identity may result in that group developing a politicised group identity. Nazroo and Karlsen (2003) cite Modood (1997) as an example of this effect: *'Ethnic identity, like gender and sexuality, has become politicised and for some people has become the primary focus of their politics. There is an ethnic assertiveness arising out of the feelings of not being respected or lacking access to public space, consisting of counterposing 'positive' images against traditional or dominant stereotypes. It is a politics of projecting identities in order to challenge existing power relations; of seeking not just toleration for ethnic difference but also public acknowledgement, resources and representation.'*

In a study of refugee and asylum seeker integration, Mulvey (2011) explored attitudes to voting and discovered that (despite a lack of awareness of political rights, with almost a quarter not knowing whether or not they were eligible to vote) 78% of the sample group would vote if they had the right to do so. This is considerably higher than the actual voter turnout at the 2011 Scottish Parliament election, which stood at 50.7% (BBC, 2011). He surmised that this high level of interest in voting may be related to negative experiences of undemocratic political regimes in their countries of origin. The study also found that large numbers of respondents were involved in some form of community activity, such as attending local events or regular volunteering, even although only 40.8% reported feeling that they were 'part of the local community.'

There has been some work showing that activism around Muslim identity in Britain encourages integration and civic and political participation. Such campaigns show a commitment to Britain in Muslim communities and a desire to demonstrate that Britain is their home. Analysis of the 2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey suggests that political activity by Muslims positively contributes to their sense of identification with Britain. Choudhury (2007) also notes that Muslim identity in Britain can, in most

instances, play 'a positive role in supporting and facilitating integration and greater participation in Britain's civil and political life'.

Solomos (1998, also cited in Nazroo and Karlsen 2003) has further argued that ethnic identity is 'essentially a political resource' that can be used to progress a group's interests. This suggests that having a strong sense of 'ethnic' identity could encourage people from BME backgrounds to engage with Scottish society through political participation, community activism etc.

Reflection: Can a strong sense of 'ethnic' identity amongst minority ethnic groups encourage participation in society in Scotland?

Much of the focus of the Scottish Government's National Outcome 13 is on creating a 'flourishing' economy and society. National identity is portrayed as crucial to this, as 'the tie which binds people together'. The evidence provided here, however, raises questions as to the importance of national identity - whether actual participation in community, in public life and social structures may be more important to the achievement of Outcome 13. It may be possible to have a strong Scottish national identity but make little contribution to Scottish society, or to have a completely non-Scottish national identity but make a very valuable contribution.

Global identities, globalization and transnational ties

In the context of globalization, people today are much more able to maintain a variety of transnational ties that reflect their heritage. Global internet use and travel, for example, have been cited as forms of social capital for this purpose (Parker 2006).

Hopkins (2007) found evidence of the importance of shared global national and ethnic identities amongst young Muslim men in Scotland. For many Muslims their identity is shaped by global identity, which is the connection with the global 'ummah' (Muslim community). This is the spiritual connection shared through common faith, beliefs and social practices.

Similarly, Nazroo (2003) looks at traditional community and national ties in light of the complexities brought about by globalization:

'...the process of globalization...has had the effect of exposing and contesting the supposedly unified and trans-historical boundaries of national identities. The challenge of globalization might then lead to a strengthening of local identities (including white or majority identities), and the revival of cultural traditionalism, perhaps in response to the experience of racism and exclusion. Alternatively, globalization might lead to the production of new 'hybrid' identities, where identities are adapted or become incorporated with aspects of other (not necessarily ethnic) identities.'

These sources indicate again the importance of plurality of identity in Scotland's BME communities, and the difficulties inherent in a concept of Scottish national identity which may indicate a declaration or demonstration of 'belonging' to Scotland over and above other cultural identities.

Impact of the media on an inclusive national identity

Research suggests that the media has a powerful impact on perceptions of ethnic minority groups, with a knock-on effect on the willingness of the majority population to accept these groups as part of a cohesive national identity. Saeed et al. (1999) comment that media interest in 'extreme/fundamentalist' aspects of political Islam and associated terrorist activities has adversely affected the Muslim population in the UK, with Muslim communities in Britain being represented as a 'threatening enemy within'.

In Hopkins research (2004) with young Muslim men in Scotland, many felt that 'media was the main culprit in misrepresenting Islam'. It was felt that a negative or slanted view of Islam and Muslims portrayed by the media influenced the views and attitudes of the general public. One regularly used phrase mentioned by the young men as a particular problem was 'Muslim terrorist'; the young men argued that this was contradictory, as a true Muslim cannot be a terrorist. In contrast to this Alexander (2000) explains how the media portrays young Asian women in Britain as 'constantly depicted in the setting of the domestic, "private" sphere, as victims of oppressive expectations that they enter into arranged marriages' (cited in Song, 2003).

Studies in the decade after 9/11 and the London bombings of 7/7 citing media influence on Islamophobia are too numerous to explore here in detail, but include work by the Change Institute (2009), Feteke (2008) and Masud (2005), Peek (2003), Noble (2005) and Rizvi (2007). In Masud's research (2005), participants felt that those from non-Muslim communities were also experiencing this type of abuse – they gave examples of Indians who might have beards; people with the same skin colour or people looking 'Asian' or 'Arab'.

The impact of the media on perceptions of minority ethnic identities is not restricted to the Muslim community or to 'terrorism related' issues, however. Scotland's Travelling Communities are frequently subject to negative media portrayals (see, for example, Morris, 2000). Controversy around negative portrayals of Roma and Gypsy/Traveller communities has surrounded television programmes such as Channel 4's Big Fat Gypsy Weddings in early 2011, for example. Asylum seekers and refugees are also subject to media distortions and sensationalism; Buchanan *et al.* (2003) provide an outline of the negative, misinformed and one-sided media coverage commonly applied to asylum seekers and refugees, whose stories of courage and survival through horrifying ordeals generally remain untold.

The agenda setting role of the media in forming public opinion is well established (see, for example, McCombs 2004). It appears likely, then, that a 'strong, fair and inclusive' Scottish national identity may be difficult to forge without more responsible reporting on Scotland's BME communities and individuals.

9. Racism and identity in Scotland

Racism, religious intolerance, discrimination and identity

Bond (2006) notes that debates around 'race relations' which were prominent in England from the 1950s were largely absent in Scotland. This was attributed to the

low numbers of those from minority ethnic communities living in Scotland and the myth of Scots being a welcoming, tolerant people. Racism was therefore seen to be an English problem. Some research (for example Miller and Hussain's 2005 research on Islamophobia) suggests that minority ethnic people living in Scotland do feel racism to be less of an issue than it is in England, and that in some cases this increases feelings of belonging to Scotland.

However, the treatment and discrimination of those of Irish descent, the major problem of sectarianism and the anti-English discrimination against Scotland's largest 'minority' group suggests that the Scottish population is not always as welcoming or tolerant as the popular stereotype suggests. Historically, antagonism directed at Irish people derives from racial prejudices that view 'the Irish' as less equal, a threat to local harmony and jobs as well as sectarianism against those Irish immigrants of Catholic religious background. Examples of the remaining anti-Irish Catholic discrimination in Scotland can be found, for example, in Walter *et al.*, 2002 and McAspurren, 2004. Although this discrimination is now less visible in most areas of Scotland, being concentrated in and around Glasgow and linked strongly to 'Old Firm' football rivalry, the treatment of the earlier generations of Irish immigrants in Scotland remains important today because current expressions of bigotry, racism and sectarianism against those of Irish descent are rooted in Scotland's recent past.

Clayton (2005) describes how the failure to recognise racism as an issue in Scotland extended to Parliament. He quotes former Scottish First Minister Henry McLeish's assertion in 1999 that 'Scotland does not suffer from major racial problems'. A more proactive view was demonstrated with the launch of the One Scotland campaign in 2002 which aimed to tackle racism. This was later rebranded as 'Scotland Against Racism', running in 2011 with the strapline 'No us. No them. Just we. No place for racism' (<http://www.scotlandagainstracism.com>).

Despite the efforts of the Scottish Government, statistics on racist incidents in Scotland indicate that racism remains a very real and rising problem within Scottish society. Over 2009/10, 4,952 racist incidents were recorded by Scottish police forces (Scottish Government Justice Analytical Services, 2011). Although this represents a drop of 4% on previous years, the figures nevertheless demonstrate that racism remains a barrier to an inclusive Scottish national identity. Analysis of the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey from 2011 also showed significant evidence of racism, for example that 37% of Scottish people would be unhappy about someone from a Gypsy/Traveller background marrying into their family (Ormston et al 2011).

Why is racism important in relation to identity?

Racism and religious intolerance can be an important influence on a person's sense of identity and belonging in society. Robinson (2005) has noted that there is 'evidence that perceived discrimination has a strong negative effect on the general well-being of young immigrants'. She suggests that feeling of being negatively viewed by others may lead to young people rejecting being part of the host society and preferring separation rather than integration. Conversely, Walter et al (2002) cited research showing that for people of Irish descent living in Scotland, fear of anti-

Irish discrimination and particularly sectarianism lead to them downplaying or hiding their self-identification as Irish in favour of a mainstream Scottish public identity.

Nazroo and Karlsen (2003) argue that the experience of racism itself may become an important aspect of 'ethnic minority identity' in light of the broadly similar experience of racism and its effects across different minority ethnic groups. Robinson (2005) brings a structural perspective to the debate, stating that 'there is an urgent need to understand how racism affects the everyday lives of Asians in Britain even when they do not experience overt racial abuse or physical harassment. This includes a knowledge of the way in which racism is structured in British society in key areas such as education, employment and housing.'

It is therefore important to consider how experiences of racism, religious intolerance and discrimination affect feelings of belonging in Scotland and having a Scottish identity. A consultation project carried out by Centre for Human Ecology (2000) in Scotland found that the experience of racism prevented a sense of belonging for many people. Likewise, the 2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey showed that for Muslims, perceptions of discrimination affect their sense of belonging and attachment to Britain to a greater extent than, for example, socio-economic status. The most recent Citizenship Survey release (Communities and Local Government, 2011) does not explore belonging at this level of detail. but does show very similar levels of belonging to Britain in the white and BME communities, with an overall difference of only 2% overall (86% compared to 88% for white respondents). It should be noted, however, that the Citizenship Survey only covers England and no comparable resource is available for Scotland. The Citizenship Survey is now discontinued.

Miller & Hussain (2003) found some evidence of racial conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland; 39% of Pakistanis rated this as fairly serious. Hopkins (2004) further suggests that the 'racialisation of what it means to be a Muslim corresponds with the events and the aftermath of September 11th 2001'. He further argues that the subsequent harassment of Muslims in Scotland has 'acted as a catalyst, or a key moment in the (re)formulation of Scottish racism'. More than a decade after the bombing of New York's Twin Towers on '9/11', research has not fully established the longer term impact of this catalyst for racism on internal and external perceptions of 'belonging' in Scotland's Muslim communities.

Research suggests that the national identity of the white majority population in Scotland also has an impact on discrimination. Miller and Hussain (2005) found that, whilst anti-minority sentiments were often interlinked, when correlated with a strong sense of Scottish national identity there was hardly any link to Islamophobia but a marked link to Anglophobia. McIntosh et al (2004) conducted interviews with English people living in Scotland where discrimination was identified as a barrier to 'belonging.' One participant commented:

"I got pissed off with all the put-downs...I didn't want to actually sort of participate in you know being part of the Scots, being part of the culture that wants to put me down and not assimilate, just put me down you know."

Some papers have indicated that the Muslim community feels safer in Scotland compared with England (Masud, 2005; Miller & Hussain, 2003). However, experiences of abuse and harassment are still relatively common and there is evidence of under reporting due to fear of repercussions, belief that police will not act, and acceptance that racial and religious intolerance is an aspect of everyday life (Masud, 2005).

10. Does Scotland have an inclusive identity?

From the 1970s onwards, the campaign for a Scottish parliament stressed an inclusive, residence based civic sense of being Scottish. Scotland is often seen as a good example of this civic rather than ethnic nationalism (Kiely, 2005).

A point of particular importance when considering an inclusive national identity for Scotland is how this may be reflected in social cohesion and associated behaviour. For example, a small but practical study at the University of Dundee (described in Reicher et al 2010) first introduced one group of students to a definition of Scottishness which demanded that people be Scottish born, with Scottish parentage, and another group to a civic definition of Scottishness focusing on choice and commitment. They then asked students to imagine a scenario in which a young woman of Chinese appearance wearing a Scotland football shirt dropped a bunch of pens. Those given the civic definition of Scottishness chose to pick up significantly more of the pens than the others. This may suggest that a civic definition of Scottish national identity would make it easier to foster genuine inclusion.

Research by McCrone (2001) gives some idea of the extent to which ethnic and civic notions of Scottishness are supported. Respondents were asked to rank how important or unimportant birth, ancestry and residence were to being truly Scottish on a 4 point scale from very important to not at all important. They found that for most people living in Scotland birth, ancestry and residence were the main markers of Scottishness; 82% said birth was very or fairly important, 73% said ancestry and 65% said residence. This shows a higher level of support for ethnic factors. McCrone, however, emphasises that 'over half accept a very liberal criterion for citizenship – residence alone – which would make Scotland one of the most open societies in western Europe in terms of citizenship.'

This linking of 'Scottishness' with citizenship is echoed in the feeling amongst some refugees and asylum seekers that formal citizenship marks the shift to belonging (Stewart and Mulvey 2011). However, it is important to bear in mind two factors that impact this. Firstly, residence does not necessarily translate to legal citizenship, so many BME individuals who are residents but not citizens may be perceived by many in the majority population as having a claim to Scottishness when they themselves do not feel this. Secondly, the evidence from McCrone given above suggests that 35% of people would not accept someone as Scottish based on residence alone, so for that significant minority, claims to residence based Scottishness would presumably fail regardless of legal status. This illustrates the complexity of asserting a 'strong, fair, inclusive Scottish national identity.'

Kiely et al (2005) add to this complexity by exploring the relative importance of place of birth and ancestry. This study looked at the importance of 'blood, birth and belonging'. For Scottish nationals, Scottishness was a pragmatic matter of birth-place rather than birth-blood – this finding was in line with earlier research by the same authors which found that for Scottish nationals 'blood' was relatively unimportant as a marker of identity.

Other research in 2005 found that Scottish identity had more to do with a person's accent and place of birth than their race (Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, 2005). In this survey, most people believed that having the right accent made you Scottish - not the colour of your skin. The most recent release from the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Ormston et al 2011) does not explore this issue.

Bond (2006) using secondary data analysis of the 2003 Scottish Social Attitude Survey discusses whether respondents would consider a person to be Scottish if they were 'a non-white person living in Scotland who spoke with a Scottish accent and said they were Scottish'. 23% of respondents said they themselves either definitely would and 47% probably would. However, only 42% felt that 'most people' would think this – 5% definitely would and 37% probably would. When compared with the other findings presented above, this seems to suggest that accent and personal claims to Scottishness are given less weight in assessing national identity than place of birth or ancestry.

Belonging or not?

The evidence throughout this paper demonstrates that even although many BME individuals see themselves as Scottish, many in the majority population of Scotland will not accept those from 'visible' minority ethnic groups as Scottish (Arshad, Connections Winter 1997-98). The inclusion of 'non-white' in Bond's (2006) survey question above may suggest that skin colour prejudice is a significant factor here - only 23% said they definitely would consider the non-white person with a Scottish accent to be Scottish and only 5% thought that others definitely would.

Research suggests that claims to a given identity are often circumscribed by the actions and reactions of others (Bechhofer *et al.* 1999 quoted in Bond 2006). Bond explains how 'national belonging for those who lack one or more of the key markers of national identity can be undermined by the perspective of the majority who are more likely to have a more straightforward sense of identity...Of particular concern is the relative reluctance to wholeheartedly accept the Scottishness of those from 'visible' minority ethnic groups, even when they may have other identity markers (such as residence and accent) important to being Scottish'.

The power of the Scottish majority population to prevent someone from feeling Scottish is echoed by participants in research by the Scottish Refugee Council and University of Strathclyde (Stewart and Mulvey 2011). For example:

"I cannot dissociate myself from my background and, you know, people will...even at work, yeah, you know, I'm obviously black [laughs]...my accent is not local accent, it's not like British accent, so in a way they have constantly reminder that, you know,

yes, you are a citizen but you are not...but you are still...your background as a refugee is still with you."

This feeling was echoed by participants of English origin living in Scotland who took part in 2004 research by McIntosh et al, one of whom commented that they "...would never be accepted as a Scot, that's quite clear." This participant had Scottish heritage, but was perceived as English by others. Accent was the key factor believed to result in external identification of participants as English in this study.

Bond (2006) also points out that those from minority groups may choose to exclude themselves from the identity of the majority but that there may be a number of underlying reasons for this. There may be feelings that they cannot claim to belong because of anticipated negative reactions; or even when strong claims to the national identity exist the way that the national identity itself is socially constructed excludes them from belonging to it. Research by Hussain and Bagguley (2005) and Hopkins (2007) emphasizes the importance of plurality of identity in 'belonging' to Britain or Scotland; that perceived differences generally mean that BME individuals will choose (whether freely or through a feeling of necessity) a plural identity.

Research by the Centre for Human Ecology (2000) and Hopkins (2004) in Scotland found a number of factors associated with a sense of belonging:

- Birth and upbringing in Scotland
- Length of residence in Scotland
- Presence of family and children in Scotland
- Scottish accent
- Being educated in Scotland
- Knowledge of Scottish culture
- Valuing Scottish democratic processes

However, these studies also noted a richness of discussion around things that prevented a sense of belonging (which may be a more salient aspect of daily life for many than the sense of belonging itself). These factors included:

- Racism and discrimination based on appearance and dress
- Lack of understanding of other cultures / religion in Scotland
- Uneasiness in sharing or practising religious beliefs and lifestyle
- Detachment from alcohol related aspects of Scottish culture

These responses suggest a degree of tension between the necessity for plural identities and the desire to build a cohesive Scottish national identity; a tension largely created by racism and lack of acceptance of cultural differences.

11. Conclusions

What should Scottish national identity look like?

Scotland has a diverse population and arguably therefore requires a diverse national identity. As previously discussed, the way that individuals describe their national

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identity is complex and personal. This makes it considerably challenging to describe the Scottish identity in terms of a single label.

The evidence presented previously suggests a number of barriers to achieving an inclusive Scottish identity, particularly:

- Individuals excluding themselves from being defined as Scottish (because they don't recognise themselves in this identity or fear negative reactions from others if they should claim this identity)
- The majority population refusing to accept BME communities and individuals as having a Scottish identity
- Racism and discrimination underlying both of the above barriers and affecting wider social perceptions of Scottish society and national identity

Modood (1994, cited in Saeed, 1999) argues that a new kind of Britishness needs to be created - a new national identity with a diversity of forms which allows minorities to make a claim upon it without having to conform to all cultural norms. Saeed (1999) asserts that promoting plurality of identity, for example in terms such as Scottish Pakistani or Scottish Muslim, may be key to this process as these plural identity labels strengthen identification with Scotland as a nation while preserving pride in other elements of heritage.

In consideration of the evidence presented here and in light of Parekh's (2000) criteria for national identity (see p.7), it is suggested that a strong, fair and inclusive Scottish national identity would need to:

- Promote and encourage the egalitarian, democratic character of Scottish society, rejecting prejudice and discrimination
- Be flexible in the types of identity marker it relies on
- Accept ethnic, cultural and religious differences
- Welcome plurality of identity
- Respect Scotland's historical background without rooting itself in the past
- Concentrate on what makes 'Scottishness' positive rather than comparisons with 'Englishness' or 'Britishness'
- Unite the people of Scotland in a democratic shared loyalty and commitment to its future

It is important to note that the evidence presented here demonstrates that involvement in Scottish society is not wholly linked to 'Scottishness'. This suggests that assessment of National Outcome 13 should not necessarily hinge on Scottish national identity. Many of the factors it outlines in terms of creating a 'flourishing' Scotland could be accomplished by people who do not feel Scottish but nevertheless have the drive to contribute to and participate in Scottish civil, economic and social life.

Further discussion and research

The limited evidence available is arguably insufficient to allow the Scottish Government to assess current or future progress towards achieving National

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Outcome 13, especially in terms of a strong, fair, inclusive Scottish national identity. Further discussion and research is particularly needed regarding:

- What people actually mean when they describe themselves as Scottish
- How people use 'identity markers' to ascribe a Scottish identity to others
- How people in the less well-researched communities, for example those of Chinese, African Caribbean and Eastern European origin, feel about their identities in Scotland
- How plural identities can be more widely accepted as part of a cohesive Scottish national identity
- Key ways to achieve an inclusive Scottish identity that is accepted by the population in Scotland as a whole
- Means of measuring and evaluation progress on National Outcome 13

For further information, please contact:

Carol Young
Policy and Information Officer

CRER
78 Carlton Place
Glasgow G5 9TH

Tel: 0141 418 6530

Email: carol@crer.org.uk

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Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights
78 Carlton Place
Glasgow
G5 9TH
0141 418 6530
mail@crer.org.uk
www.crer.org.uk