RACISM AND THE SCOTTISH PRESS: TRACING THE CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES OF RACIALISED DISCOURSES IN SCOTLAND

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Contents

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Abstract

There is a claim, articulated by sections of the members of the Scottish press and the political elite, that racism does not exist in Scotland. The aim of this thesis is to draw on documentary evidence and secondary sources in order to demonstrate the myth of 'racial' tolerance in Scotland. Through developing a materialist and empirical method of investigation, which recognises how racialised discourses can articulate with discourses of the nation, a historical and comparative analysis was carried out. Secondary sources and existing research were used to examine the history of racialised discourses during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The examination of the substance of postwar racialised discourses involved the content analysis four Scottish newspapers and their coverage of several key events was examined (the 1958 'race riots', the 1968 Kenyan Asian crisis, and the 1980s 'race riots'). The results were compared with existing research on the English press.

Overall, this demonstrated that there were continuities and discontinuities in the substance of racialised discourses. Continuities in the sense that the substance of racialised discourses in Scotland and England are very similar. This stems from the fact that both Scotland and England are bound together within the common space of the nation-state. By discontinuities, I refer to the fact that there are subtle differences in the expression of racialised discourses. In Scotland's case, the major discontinuity is the myth of 'racial' tolerance. This discontinuity stems from the fact that the British nation state still contains a distinct Scottish national identity as well as a broader English/British identity. Racialised discourses have articulated with different national identities, leading to subtle differences in the expression of racism. In the Scottish case, it includes the myth of 'racial' tolerance. However, through drawing on secondary sources, evidence will be provided that contradicts this myth.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Sometimes you've got to live it to know it

Like so many other pieces of research the roots of this work are closely related to my own personal experiences. Growing up in Glasgow, racism was experienced by myself, my family and friends. We took it as a 'fact' that it was there, something that simply occurred. However, my interest in examining these experiences only grew after I left the city and moved to England as a student. Here I was continually met with common sense assertions articulated by my peers that 'things are better up there' and that 'there is no racism in Scotland'. This led me to increasingly reflect on the issue of racism in Scotland. On the one hand I began to question whether the substance (in the sense of shape and form) of racialised discourses in Scotland were similar to those in England. On the other hand I began to question why there was this belief that there were 'no problems' of racism in Scotland.

Neither of these was straightforward. When I began examining the issue of racism in Scotland I found that this discourse of 'no problems' was not limited to my English peers. It was also being widely articulated in Scotland, especially among sections of the political elite and the 'leaders' of the 'black' communities in Scotland. For example, in the early 1980s one local Scottish newspaper brought together the self appointed 'leaders' of Glasgow's 'black' communities to argue that racism was not a problem in the city. Fateh Mohammed Shaif, President of the Muslim Mission in Glasgow, asserted 'we have a very good race relations record in Glasgow'. Similarly, Bashir Maan, a senior Labour councillor, argued 'of course there are problems, but we can be proud of our [race relations] record' (Evening Times 17/11/1983). Nearly ten years later, Bashir Maan (1992, p.203) reasserted this claim,

"...there is no denying that the Asian Community and other black people have fared comparatively better in Scotland that their kind in England. Scotland has a good reputation, among members of ethnic communities in England, for tolerance and friendliness towards strangers."

My problems were compounded by the fact that there is relatively little material that deals with racialised discourses or divisions in Scotland. For example, all of the Policy Studies Institute's British surveys on racialised divisions have really only dealt with England and Wales (Daniel 1968, Smith 1977, Brown 1984). The material that does deal with Scotland was for my purposes limited. Early work, such as Barker 1968 and Handley (1969a, 1969b) asserted that racialised discourses and divisions were not a problem in Scotland. This assertion was reaffirmed in the work of Maan (1992). However, valuable pieces of research were carried out from the early 1980s onwards that showed the existence of racialised divisions in areas such as housing and social services provision (McFarland, Dalton and Walsh 1987, 1989, Dalton and Daghlain 1989, Bowes, McLuskey and Sims 1991). Yet, the discussions in these works were largely limited to the practices and policies of various housing and social services institutions. Valuable research has also been carried out on the social and economic history of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration to Scotland and the history of racialised discourses in Scotland from early nineteenth century through to the Second World War (Miles and Dunlop 1986, 1987, Dunlop 1990, McFarland 1991, Duffield 1992). However, while they provide important historical hooks to understanding postwar racism in Scotland, there is no systematic coverage of the substance of racialised discourses or of the claim that racism is not a problem.

The roots of this research lie in both the experiences of racism and the myth that racism does not exist in Scotland (which I term the discourse of 'no

problems'). Overall, I want to examine three key questions. Firstly, drawing on documentary evidence, I want to examine the substance and claims of the discourse of 'no problems' in postwar Scotland; secondly, I want to examine the substance of racialised discourses and divisions in Scotland, finally, I wanted to assess the validity of the discourse of 'no problems'. In doing so, I hoped to develop a substantive history in which I could begin to locate some of my own experiences.

The Continuities and Discontinuities of Racialised Discourses in Scotland and England

In tackling the above questions I want to argue that there are continuities and discontinuities of racism in Scotland. By continuities, I want to emphasis that the substance of racialised discourses and divisions in Scotland and England are not that different. By discontinuities, I want to emphasis that there are subtle differences in the way that racialised discourses are generated and reproduced between the two nations. These are born out of the fact that Scotland still retains a strong and distinct civil society. The concept of civil society has had a diverse history (see Bryant 1993, Kumar 1993) however civil society is defined here as the realm of non-state institutions and practices which enjoy a higher degree of autonomy from the central state. When Scotland entered into a political union with England in 1707, it retained many of the institutions of Scottish civil society (the Kirk, financial and legal systems, as well as a distinct educational system) around which Scottish identity has been generated and reproduced. In turn, Scottish and English national identities and nationalism have articulated with other discourses, including racialised discourses, in distinct ways. This, as we shall see, is the root of the discontinuity between the two nations.

Tracing Continuities

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I stated above that there are continuities between Scotland and England. I want to argue that these exist at several levels. Firstly, there is continuity in the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses at a historical level. Numerous writers, such as Fryer (1984, 1988), have shown that racialised discourses were a key component in justifying British colonialism. What is important to note is that Scotland was an equal partner with England in this colonial project. Scotland, under the auspices of the British state, was historically involved in the processes of exploitation. Similarly, sections of the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries were active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses that shaped and sustained this process.

For many in Scotland, who are tinged by a nationalist sentiment, this seems to be an alien idea. There is still a strong common sense idea that far from being 'aggressive' colonisers it was Scotland that was colonised by English. Indeed, this common sense idea is one of the props of the discourse of 'no problems' - the assumption is that Scots cannot be racist because they too have been exploited in the past. The foundations of this belief have been given sustenance by the work of several academic writers, the most prominent being Michael Hechter (1975), who argued that Scotland experienced a form of internal colonialism. Hechter argues that after being brought under the British state through the Act of Union in 1707 Scotland was dominated politically and materially exploited by England, leading to its eventual under-development. This exploitation was accompanied by an 'ethnic division of labour' - the labour of Scots, from all classes, was exploited by the English.

However, I want take a slightly more dispassionate view to show that Scotland did not become colonised. Indeed, if anything, I want to argue that the Union actually *allowed* Scotland (or to be more precise Scottish merchants) to tap the colonial markets and trade. Scotland had previously attempted to colonise Nova Scotia in the 1620s and early 1630s and the

Isthmus of Panama in the 1690s (Inish 1922, 1932, Donaldson 1966, Prebble 1968, Lawson 1993). However, all of these attempts were undermined because Scotland simply lacked the economic, political and military muscle to sustain them, especially in the face of hostile competition from the more powerful European states. It was only when Scotland entered into the Union that its merchants and traders gained any access to the colonial markets under the auspices of the new British state.

The Scottish merchant classes took up the new opportunities that were presented. Previously protected markets in England and the colonies were now opened and this in turn led to a whirlwind of economic activity. Scottish merchants were active in the tobacco and sugar trade with the Caribbean (although they were less involved in the slave trade) (Williams 1964, Dickson 1980, Devine 1978, 1990). They were also well represented in the East India Company as well as the Free Merchants and Houses of Agency in India (Parker 1985, Muirhead and Miles 1986, Miles and Dunlop 1987, Cain n.d.). Vast fortunes were often made. However, these were not simply frittered away on opulent living. Merchants often provided the capital to develop Scotland's industries and infrastructure (Devine 1976, 1978). Indeed, during the nineteenth century, its cities, such as Glasgow, developed into the industrial powerhouses of Britain and the Empire. Essentially, Scotland did not become under-developed during the Union; if anything the Union provided a valuable boost of capital that underpinned the development of its infrastructure and industries.

Similarly, the political structure of the state did not impose an ethnic division of labour. Scots were given a larger number of seats that the nation's population had warranted in the new British Parliament (Devine 1980). Many of the Scottish politicians traded their votes for various advantages, including the power of patronage. This, in turn, was used to secure positions in the administrative and military structures of the colonial system for other

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Scots. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, Scots, mainly coming from the middle classes or lower landed gentry, were often placed in lucrative positions in the structure of colonialism by the power of patronage.

Scots were not only involved in the economic and political structures of colonialism, but were also involved at the ideological level. Various writers, such as Fryer (1984, 1988) and Miles (1982, 1987, 1989), have argued that racialised discourses often shaped and sustained colonial relations of production. Scotland was no different in this process. While there is no work covering the early history of racialised discourses in Scotland, Muirhead and Miles (1986) note that during the nineteenth century sections of the Scottish intelligentsia such as Robert Knox, Thomas Carlyle and George Combe were instrumental in generating 'scientific racism'. As Miles (1993, p.59) notes,

> " Scientific racism claimed, first, that the human species could be divided into a number of discrete biological types which determined the endowment and behaviour of individuals, and which therefore explained the cultural variation of the human species. It followed that conflict between individuals and groups was a consequence of their biological constitution. Second, it was argued that the 'races' of which the world's human population was composed could be ordered hierarchically; certain 'races' were destined for biological and cultural superiority over the other, inferior 'races'."

These beliefs, it should be noted, were not limited to the Scottish intelligentsia. Rather, they were disseminated through various means and taken up by sections of all classes in Scotland during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For example, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century there is evidence to show that sections of the Scottish working classes racialised South Asian, African-Caribbean and Irish migrant workers. Specifically, migrant workers were racialised as the supposed cause of social

problems ranging from unemployment to misceganation. A similar process was also occurring in England (see Fryer 1984, 1988, Jenkinson 1985, Holmes 1988). This is one of the first continuities I wish to emphasise - continuity in a historical sense. The history behind the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses in Scotland and England is not that different.

I also want to emphasise continuity in a second way. There was, and continues to be, a continuity in the substance of racialised discourses. By this I mean the substance of racialised dicourses in Scotland and England are similar. I have already mentioned how the history of racialised discourses in both Scotland and England was forged out of a common experience of Empire, with sections of the intelligentsia and missionaries in both nations justifying exploitation through the various theories of 'scientific racism'. Similarly, in the postwar period, there were several key site's in Scottish society that were still generating and reproducing racialised discourses, which in substance were similar to those being articulated in England. For example, in 1958, both the Scottish and English press argued that the disturbances in London and Nottingham were 'race riots'. Both pushed for discriminatory immigration controls against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the solution. The underlying motif of 'keep them out' was repeated again in 1968 during the Kenyan Asian crisis and was reinforced by the extensive coverage given by both national presses to the speeches of Enoch Powell. During the 1980s both the English and Scottish press were also active in racialising and criminalising inner city disturbances in that decade.

I want to emphasise a final continuity - there is continuity in a theoretical sense. Obviously, there is no consensus of how we can explain racialised discourses and divisions. The existing theoretical debates are intense and complex. I do not want to resolve these debates (if they are resolvable at all). Rather, I want to layout the method of analysis and investigation that will be

used through out this. This method draws its inspiration from Western Marxism at two levels. Firstly, the work of Thompson (1978) and Miles (1982, 1987a, 1989), in order to explain the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses. Secondly, the work of Foster (1989) and Miles (1987b, 1993), in order to explain how racialised discourses articulate with nationalist discourses. This method of investigation emphasises a materialist and empirical approach to the analysis of racialised discourses and their articulation with discourses around the nation. Specifically, it will be argued that while Scotland and England are bound within a political union, Scotland still retains a distinct civil society and Scottish national identity while England has a broader English/British identity. On the one hand, this means that, because there is a common political grounding in the British state, there can be continuities in the expression of racialised discourses. On the other hand, because of the existence of distinct civil societies, racialised discourses can articulate with discourses around the nation in differing ways.

There is a danger that any analysis of racialised discourses in Britain will be inadequate unless they take into account the distinct nature of Scottish civil society. For example, Stuart Hall (1978) argues that we can understand the process of racialisation in the post war period in the context of economic decline and the presence of 'black' migrants. The process of migration grew out of the initial demands for labour in certain parts of the economy. However, as the economy began to plummet into decline sections of the economic and political elite as well as ordinary working people began to understand this process as a result of the presence of black migrants. Hall uses the concept of 'moral panic' to explain this process, arguing that the material fears and anxieties generated amongst sections of all classes were not challenged at their root, the capitalist mode of production, but were projected and displaced onto an identifiable social group,

"...the moral panic crystallises popular fears and anxieties which have a real basis by providing them with a simple, concrete, identifiable, social object, seeks to resolve them . Around these stigmatised groups or events, a powerful ground swell of opinion can often be mustered."
(S.Hall, 1978, p.33)

The fears and anxieties around economic decline were projected onto the presence of 'black' migrants and articulated through racialised discourses. This saw previous and historically specific colonial racialised discourses being reworked with the idea of British culture and society and superimposed onto the 'white race'. The 'flip' side of this process was to argue that the British nation, its culture and traditions were being slowly eroded through the presence of 'alien' cultures. As Joshi and Carter (1984, p.66) argue,

" What we began to see during the 1950s is the further reworking of these notions, in which cruder, historically specific ideas of inferiority and lack of civilisation are replaced by feelings of cultural difference, of 'Britishness', of 'whiteness', embodied in certain political and cultural traditions. White colonial and cultural supremacy was being threatened 'on the streets' in Britain as well as in the former colonies. In response, the black person was identified as 'alien', a threat to 'Britishness', a person with no right to be here. It was the perception that black people threatened 'British culture' rather than simply British power overseas, that 'they' could take 'our' jobs and live in 'our' streets, that provided the impetus for 'indigenous racism' and its nascent obsession towards the end of the 1950s with the 'numbers' game."

The processes in Scotland however were slightly different. Miles and Dunlop (1986, 1987) argue that England's reaction to economic decline was to

internalise the problem in the 'alien wedge' with the consequence that English political discourses became racialised. In Scotland, though, the political reaction to economic decline was different. Drawing on the memory of a separate Scottish nation-state, sections of all classes began to understand the economic malaise in Scotland as the end result of English rule from Westminster, and began to advocate devolution or independence as a political solution. This was a major discontinuity between the two nations. In Scotland, politics drew on the national question, concerning devolution or independence. In England, politics became racialised. As Miles (1982b, p.293) notes, when examining working class racism,

"...sections of the working class have reconstructed their political consciousness to explain their experience of economic and social decline in, to them, phenomenally adequate terms: in England, 'race' appears to sections of the working class to be an adequate explanatory idea, while in Scotland the idea of 'nation' is appropriated for similar reasons."

However, although nationalist politics and discourses were dominant, this is not to say that racialised discourses were absent. Rather, racialised discourses were hidden under the cloak of Scottish nationalism. In England, however, we could argue that, because racialised discourses are woven into the cloak of English nationalism, its existence was more visible. Coming back to our original point, it is clear that racialised discourses do not play themselves out in Scotland in the same way that they do in England. Unless we work within a method that recognises the divisions of civil society in Britain, and how these articulate with racialised discourses, we will not develop an adequate explanatory framework for Britain as a whole.

Using this method, I want to explore the discontinuities as well as the continuities. While Scotland and England may be intertwined in many ways the two nations still retain distinct patterns - this is why I want to emphasis discontinuities as well as continuities. By discontinuities I want to argue that there are distinct discourses within Scotland that break the pattern of continuity, such as discourses around nationalism and 'no problems'. It should be noted that I am not arguing that discourses around the nation and 'no problems' do not exist in England. Rather, my emphasis is that there are relatively clear differences in substance and emphasis between Scotland and England concerning these discourses. In England, for example, it has often been claimed that the nation is 'tolerant' (Homes 1988, 1991, Cohen 1994). However, the validity of this discourse is undermined because of the phenomenal conflict that exists around the question of 'race' in English society. In Scotland though, the discourse of 'no problems' seems to be more pervasive, sustained by the fact that there is no real political conflict around the question of 'race'. Indeed, the discourse of 'no problems' has become so prevalent in Scottish society that it has stifled even the most rudimentary forms of political action against racism. The popular claim is that 'if there is no racism what is the point of fighting it'?

The roots of these discontinuities, as we have noted above, stem from the distinct nature of Scottish civil society. Scotland has always retained a strong and distinct sense of national identity since the Act of Union in 1707. The roots of this strong national identity can be found in the retention of key institutions within Scottish civil society after the Union, which through their mutual interactions, have maintained a strong sense of national identity. For example, Scotland was certainly an equal partner in the British colonial project. However, there seemed to be no 'buying' into a British imperial

identity. Indeed, Scotland's role in the British Empire was expressed in very Scottish ways - we see the emergence of a distinct Scottish imperial identity as opposed to an English/British imperial identity. This Scottish imperial identity, amongst other things, was peppered by racialised notions of Scots as a 'hardy race of empire builders' (Finlay 1997). In contrast, the English imperial identity, amongst other things, drew on notions of Germanic origins to racialised the English as a superior Anglo-Saxon 'race'.

There are also discontinuities between Scotland and England at a substantive level, notably the discourse of 'no problems'. As we noted above, during the postwar period, in the face migration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan and economic decline, English politics became racialised. In Scotland, however, discourses around Scottish national identity were reworked in the process of making sense of economic decline. These identified English control from Westminster as the root of Scotland's economic malaise. This in turn led to Scottish demands for political devolution or independence. In the absence of any political conflicts around immigration a 'common sense' idea was formed that there were 'no problems' in Scotland. The same conditions that produced this discourse also nurtured it. In the absence of any phenomenal political conflict around the question of 'race' sections of the political elite and 'leaders' of the black communities simply assumed that racism was absent.

It should be noted, however, that I wish to place the discourse of 'no problems' firmly within the orbit or racialised discourses. In other words, the discourse of 'no problems' has had much of its substantive form shaped through an articulation with racialised discourses. Although it may seem different, the discourse of 'no problems' draws many of its rationalisations from wider racialised discourses. For example, in the late 1960s one of the arguments used by the Scottish press to explain why Scotland did not suffer racism was because of the relatively low number of immigrants. This,

however, was drawn from wider racialised discourses that identified the supposed large scale presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in Britain as causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems as well as problems of integration. In a sense, there was an formula, designed by the state, which equated large numbers of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration. The Scottish press used this same equation to explain the supposed absence of racism in Scotland: low numbers of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants = few socio-economic problems + few problems of integration.

This same equation was also generated and reproduced in the 1980s. Many English inner cities experienced what were termed 'race riots' during 1981 and 1985. However, Scotland was untouched. For members of the Scottish press and the so-called leaders of the 'black' communities in Scotland this was a reaffirmation that Scottish 'race relations' were harmonious. This claim was rationalised in two ways. Firstly, it was argued that Scotland had a relatively small 'black' population. In 1981, only 0.93% of heads of households in Scotland was born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, compared to 4.2% for Britain as a whole (1981 Census). Because of this small population it was argued that Scotland did not suffer any of the social problems and antagonisms supposedly caused by a 'large' black presence. Secondly, it was claimed that Scots were somehow naturally more tolerant and welcoming of strangers than others. An indicative example of these arguments can be seen in The Scotsman editorial commenting on the 'race riots' in England,

" In Scotland we have yet to experience large-scale or dramatic manifestations of racial tensions. Indeed the subject of race relations hardly figures as a matter requiring either public or private thought, and the prevailing attitude is comfortably full of praise about the

democratic nature of Scottish society and its traditional welcome to foreigners. Further comforting thoughts come from comparisons with England. Our black population is small and untroublesome and thus it can safely be concluded that all is well." (Scotsman 3/4/1981)

Thus, when we examine the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses in Scotland we have to recognise the existence of certain discontinuities. At a historical level, we have to recognise how the retention of a distinct Scottish national identity through the various institutions of Scottish civil society meant that Scotland's role in colonialism was often expressed in very Scottish ways. We also have to recognise substantive discontinuities, such as the discourse of 'no problems' in Scotland.

The Thesis Organisation

The main concern of this thesis is to examine the substance of racialised discourses, the discourse of 'no problems' in postwar Scotland, and ultimately, to challenge this discourse. The thesis is split into three broad sections in order to clarify the theoretical, methodological, historical and substantive elements of this work. Section one focuses on theoretical and methodological concerns (chapters two and three), section two focuses on the historical substance of racialised discourses (chapters four and five) and section three examines the substance of racialised discourses and the discourse of 'no problems' in postwar Scotland (chapters six, seven and eight). Throughout all of these sections the key theme of continuities and discontinuities will be highlighted.

Chapter two develops the explanatory framework within which must of the substantive material sits. The framework that is developed here draws its inspiration from what Anderson (1979) has labelled Western Marxism. Now, even here one has to recognise that the internal divisions within Marxism

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means that there is no real consensus on what a Marxist approach is. However, I do not wish in any sense to 'resolve' this debate (if that is at all possible). Rather, I want to emphasis the approach or method that will be taken throughout the thesis. This method moves away from cruder and reductionist forms of Marxism to a more 'open' analysis which on the one hand recognises the complexity of social relations whilst on the other hand also recognises the subjectivity of the social actor.

This chapter also begins to examine how we can understand discourses around racism and nationalism within the framework. The reason for examining racialised discourses here is clear enough - one of the central aims of this thesis is to understand the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses in Scotland. The reason for examining nationalist discourses should (hopefully) also be clear. I argued above that unless take account of Scottish nationalism and civil society we will not develop an adequate explanatory framework to explain racialised discourses or the discourse of 'no problems'. By the end of this chapter, I want to suggest a method through which we can begin to understand how racialised discourses articulate with nationalist discourses in Britain.

Chapter three examines methodological issues. Much of the substantive work in this thesis on the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses in postwar Scotland deals with the press. There were several reasons for examining the press. Firstly, it would allow us to examine whether at least one institution in Scottish society was generating and reproducing racialised discourses. Secondly, it would allow for a historical analysis of the changing substance of racialised discourses (at this moment there has been no work on the substance of racialised discourses in postwar Scotland). Thirdly, it would allow for a comparative analysis with the English press, hence highlighting continuities and discontinuities in the articulation of racialised discourses. The bulk of this chapter will deal with

some of the problems involved, and research techniques available for, the examination of documentary evidence.

Chapters four and five will examine the history of racialised discourses in Scotland. This is important to examine for several reasons. Firstly, one of the common sense ideas that supports the discourse of 'no problems' is the claim that Scotland was itself colonised by the English, hence how can Scots be racist, how can the oppressed become the oppressors? However, I want to argue that both were equal partners in the colonial project. Secondly, although Scotland was an equal partner in the British Empire, I want to emphasis that Scotland expressed this involvement in very 'Scottish' ways. In other words, Scottish civil society was not subsumed under some grand imperial identity. Rather, it was still alive and vibrant, although now it had transformed itself into an 'imperial Scotland'. Thirdly, this history of racialised discourses is important to examine because it provided much of the substantive content of early postwar racialised discourses.

Chapters four and five cover the history of racialised discourses in Scotland. However, they are both far from complete. Compared to England, relatively little work has been done on the history and substance of racialised discourses in Scotland. There is neither the time nor the space to rectify this gap. Hence, the focus will be on drawing the available material together. This invariably means that our coverage us patchy and fragmentary. Chapter will examine the development of Scotland's involvement in colonial exploitation and the generation of 'scientific racism' by sections of the Scottish intelligentsia. Chapter five will carry on this analysis by examining how racialised discourses were reproduced and taken up by sections of the Scottish working classes in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Chapters six, seven and eight will go on to examine how these discourses were generated and reproduced in the post-war period by the Scottish press.

They will also attempt to bring out the continuities and discontinuities in the substance of racialised discourses between the Scottish and English press. This will be demonstrated through a comparative study of the various discourses that were being used to report on three key events; firstly the 1958 'race riots' in London and Nottingham, secondly the 1968 Kenyan Asian crisis and finally the 1981 and 1985 'race riots'. These events were chosen because they represent key markers in the articulation of racialised discourses in the post-war period. It was after the 1958 'race riots' that the state finally began to openly push for racist immigration controls. 1968 saw the discourses that underpinned immigration controls being reaffirmed in the face of the Kenyan Asian crisis, while new 'twists' were added as Powell raised the spectre of growing 'alien wedges' of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in Britain. The 'race riots' of the 1980s were chosen because these events were often 'made sense' of by sections of the British political elite, as well as sections of all classes, through racialised discourses around criminality and the 'alien wedge'. In these chapters I want to demonstrate that the Scottish press was active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of these key events. Indeed, substantively it was much the same as the English press. However, there were discontinuities. The Scottish press was much more active in generating and reproducing the discourse of 'no problems', claiming that there is no racism in Scotland. However, racism does exist in Scotland. In this last chapter, I want to draw on secondary sources to contradict the myth and demonstrate what many ordinary people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent knew simply through their day to day experiences, that racism exists in Scotland, and indeed that it is a chronic problem.

Chapter 2: Developing an Explanatory Method

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is fourfold. Firstly, I want to begin to develop a method through which we can understand the social world. This method, as I mentioned in the introduction, draws its inspiration from what Anderson (1976) had labelled Western Marxism. In particular, I wish to emphasise the work of Thompson (1978) and his call for a Marxist analysis that is both empirical and allows for the subjectivity of the social actor. Secondly, I want to suggest how we can apply this method to understanding the generation and reproduction of racism. In doing so, we also have to quickly address several points: what do we mean by racism, racialised discourses and racialised divisions; why do social actors generate and reproduce racialised discourses, and what is its relation to material relations. Thirdly, I want to argue that, within the boundaries of this empirical approach, we have to account for nationalism and how it can articulate with racialised discourses. This is because Scotland still maintains a strong and distinct civil society that has acted as the basis for differing political and ideological trajectories. Finally, I want to argue that while racialised discourses and discourses on the nation are separate, they can overlap and articulate together. It is this interplay that is at the root of the discourse of 'no problems'. I want to argue that in England notions of 'race' and nation have overlapped, leading to the racialisation of English politics. However, in Scotland, notions of 'race' and nation have remained largely separate. With the resurgence of Scottish nationalism in the late postwar period we have seen an absence of a political discourse around 'race' (unlike England). This in turn has led many to assume that because there is an absence of political conflict around 'race', there is also an absence of racism, which leads to the view being articulated that there are 'no problems' around 'race' in Scotland.

Developing a Marxist Method

While the method that will be used in this thesis draws its inspiration from the work of Thompson (1978) I want to begin with the work of another Marxist writer Althusser (1969). This is because many of the points of concern and emphasis developed in our framework come from Thompson's criticism of Althusser.

Structural Marxism: the work of Althusser

Althusser's approach is deceptively attractive at first sight, not least because of its rejection of reductionist forms of Marxism and its recognition of the complex interplay within and between economic, political and ideological levels in a social formation. However, as we delve more into his work we encounter serious problems. One of the main problems is Althusser's attempt to re-read Marx. Now, it is not my intention to go into how Althusser claims to speak for Marx and the problems surrounding this project, rather, I believe that more mileage would be achieved if we delve into Althusser's own development and interpretation of Marx. As Craib (1984, pp. 128 - 129) notes,

> " [Althusser] does not claim, like other modern Marxists, to be developing or interpreting Marx, but rather to be presenting what Marx really said. This gives much Althusserian work the air of biblical exegesis, the attempt to discover the real truth. Althusserian social theory to an extent rests its claims to validity on the grounds that 'this is what Marx said', but there is no reason to take this too seriously. We can regard Althusser as a developer and interpreter of the Marxist tradition and thereby get more out of his work than we could in engaging arguments about sacred texts."

Here I am more interested in the end results of Althusser's own interpretations of Marx, not least his structural Marxist model. In his work Althusser (1969) attempts to move beyond crude and deterministic forms of Marxism. As Craib (1992) notes, economic Marxists have always tended to write as if the economy were a thing with a simple linear causal influence on political and ideological relations. Althusser, however, steps away from this crude causal relation. Firstly he draws attention to the fact that the economic, political and ideological are three levels in a structure. These different levels contain their own distinct elements and have a real existence of their own. They are however related to the other levels in complex ways. Each level has its own autonomy in the sense that they each have their own conditions of existence and development. However, this autonomy is relative. Although the political and ideological levels may have their own conditions of existence and development they are still ultimately shaped in the last instance by economic relations. Craib (1992, p.158) provides a useful analogy of a building, in order to bring out the relationships described by this model,

" We can look at the relationship between the floors of a multi-storey building: it would be nonsense to say that the first and second floors are caused by the ground floor, even though they rest upon it, have some sort of dependent relationship. Each is separate from the floor above and below it, and what goes on on each floor is not determined by what goes on below it. The first floor might be the shop, the second floor offices, and the third floor living quarters. Althusser's term for describing this relationship, where there is a causal connection but not complete dependence, is 'relative autonomy'. The political and ideological levels are neither completely dependent on the economic nor completely independent of it. If we take the building as a single enterprise, the office work which goes on on the second floor obviously depends on the sort of trading that goes on in the shop, but there are various ways in which this might be organised, and the work

relationships might develop in ways that are not influenced by the economic activity below. Similarly, if the owners live on the third floor, their standard of living and way of life have limits set by the nature of the business they run, but there are choices within these limits, and the development of marriage and family life has its own dynamics."

Secondly, Althusser argues that the causal relationships are not simply shaped by the economic level. The ideological and political level can 'impact' back onto economic relations. Again, using Craib's (1992, p.158) analogy,

"...decisions based on administrative criteria in the offices may have an effect on the trading in the shop - a 'streamlining of the management structure', for example, might lead to an increase in turnover. Similarly, if the business is jointly owned and marriage fails, the settlement between the partners might have an important effect on the nature of the business."

Indeed, Althusser asserts that the political or ideological levels may be dominant in particular social formations. However, Althusser asserts that the economic is determinant in the last instance. Without this assertion his model would destroy everything distinctive about a Marxist approach.

What roles do social actors have in this structure? The answer is simply very little. The minimal constituents of the social structures are positions and relationships, for example, positions between workers and managers, relations between employers and employed. It is at this level that we must examine a social formation. Actual individuals are of no significance because they are merely the occupants of their positions and relations. Indeed, Althusser argues that social actors are simply supports and 'puppets' of the whole social structure and have little in the way of human agency. Here,

Althusser's arguments take on a functionalist tempo. We are all socialised into blindly carrying out the roles that are expected of us within positions and relations, through various I.S.A..s (ideological state apparatus), that rise up as a functional requirement of the whole social formation.

Whilst Althusser's work moves away from the crude causal relationships evident in economic Marxism to a more subtle form of analysis there are still problems. Firstly, Althusser denies the subjectivity of the social actor. There is no room given for individual freedom and creativity. 'Real' people are of secondary importance to the functions they serve in the social formation and it is these functions and social relations that should be the focus. In essence, social analysis must be about the objective distribution of power and functions within society, not the subjective thoughts, feelings and intentions of free individuals. But as Giddens (1987) notes this is an inauthentic picture, as human beings we actively engage in a creative understanding and interpretation of the world around us, of our position in it and our relations with others. Furthermore, we can impact back onto and shape positions and relationships on the basis of this understanding. In other words there is an intricate interplay between the objective and the subjective, one cannot be understood without the other.

Secondly, Althusser cannot adequately account for change. He presents a framework in which there is a complex mutual reinforcement of economic, political and ideological levels. The social formation becomes a durable structure that is highly resistant to change. Even if this structure were open to change, what would be the dynamics? Althusser cannot fall back on economic relations because this would lead him back to a form of economic determinism. Similarly, he cannot point to the active role of the social actor because of he basically rules out human agency.

Putting people back into Marxism

The picture that Althusser presents us of ourselves is not one that is easily recognisable. However, there is a rich vein within Marxism that does emphasise the agency of human actors (for fuller discussion see Ritzer, 1996, pp.142 - 157, Cuff at al, 1998, pp. 183 - 202). One of the most passionate advocates for human agency within this tradition, as well as one of the fiercest and most eloquent critics of Althusser, was Thompson (1978).

Thompson moved against a Stalinist Marxism that sought to dissolve actual conditions and peoples into its own theoretical structures. In doing so, he emphasised the subjectivity of the social actor, of history as an unmastered process that cannot simply be dissolved into theoretical moulds, and of resistance and change carried out by real people in real historical circumstances. As McNally (1993, p.76) notes,

" Against an abstract, mechanical system of thought and politics which paraded itself as Marxism, Thompson sought to restore to Marxism its commitment to the concrete struggles of actual men and women, flesh and blood working people, their self activity, their resistance to oppression, their victories and defeats - all of these were to be reinstated as the heart and soul of socialist theory and politics. Precisely this - commitment to the actual struggles of real people - was what Stalinist policies had buried under the dead weight of dogma and bureaucratic edits."

For Thompson, Althusser's position was an academic version of Stalinism. Indeed, as McNally and Thompson both note, the Althusserian project was defined by an effort to render Communist Party's immune to the criticisms that were emanating from libertarian communist and socialist humanists.

The easiest way to do this was to eliminate human beings from the project of Marxist science and to reconstruct Marxism as the philosophy of structures. It was this process that Thompson moved against.

There is no way that one can match the passion, depth and elegance of Thompson's critique of Althusser. However, what we can briefly point to some of his key criticisms. Firstly Thompson was critical of Althusser's idealist approach. Althusser wanted to develop Marxism as a science, purifying it of any ideological contamination or empiricism, and constructing it to the level of a philosophy by means of the pure refinement of concepts. However, in doing so, Thompson argues that Althusser indulges in the worst excesses of idealism. Althusser constructs an abstract conceptual model which imposes itself on reality, imposing its own print on the social formation, without actively investigating the real nature of the social and material existence of people. As Thompson (1978, p.13) notes,

> " This mode of thought is *exactly* what has commonly been designated in the Marxist tradition as idealism. Such idealism consists, not in the positing or denial of the ulterior material world, but is a self generating conceptual universe which imposes its own ideality upon the phenomena of material and social existence, rather than engaging in continual dialogue with these. If there is a 'Marxism' of the contemporary world which Marx and Engels would have recognised instantly as an idealism, Althusserian structuralism is this. The category has attained to primacy over its material referent; the conceptual structure hangs above and dominates the social being."

Thompson goes on to accuse Althusser of constructing an orrery (a clockwork model of how the solar system works) that is supposed to reveal the workings of the social formation. In this 'social' orrery the economic, political and ideological levels of the structure motor around in their own

relatively autonomous way, driven by class relations. It is on this 'social' orrery that we hang empirical material in order to understand the nature of a particular social formation. However, for Thompson such a model in essentially false. The intricate nature within any social formation cannot be understood by simply imposing and imprinting the dynamics of the social orrery. This would to damage to both the 'real' relations that exist in the social formation as well do the experiences of 'real' people. It is these real people in real material relations that need to be studied. As Thompson (1978, p.97) argues,

> "...Althusser's constructions are actively wrong and thoroughly misleading. His notions of 'levels' motoring around in history at different speeds and on different schedules is an academic fiction. For all these 'instances' and 'levels' are in fact human activities, institutions and ideas. We are talking about men and women in their material life, in their determinate relationships, in their experience of these, and in their self consciousness of this experience. By 'determinate relationships' we indicate relationships structured within particular social formations in class ways - a very different set of 'levels', and one generally overlooked by Althusser - and that the class experience will find simultaneous expression in all these 'instances', 'levels', institutions and activities."

This fits neatly with the second main criticism of Althusser - his denial of human agency. Althusser's model has no place for social actors - they are simply located within the different functions and relations of the 'social' orrery. However, as Thomposon argues, the social world is made up of real human beings, who consciously experience this world, and who have the ability to act back on it. It is this 'subjective' process that must also be examined.

In his key work, *The Poverty of Theory*, Thompson draws on these criticisms to reassert his own 'Marxist' approach. Thompson suggests a method (as opposed to a model) through which we examine the social world. The starting-point of the method is the fundamental 'Marxist' proposition that there is some correspondence between a given mode of production and a social formation. By correspondence we mean that the mode of production is determinant in the sense of setting limits or exerting pressures. This moves away from reductionist and economic versions of Marxism to recognise how there is, to borrow a phrase from Althusser, a relative autonomy between the mode of production and other aspects of the social formation. Relative autonomy suggests that although economic relations may set limits and place pressure on the nature of political and ideological relations, within these limits and pressures political and ideological relations can develop relatively autonomously. Importantly, this relatively autonomous relationship also means those political and ideological relations impact back onto economic relations.

The role of social actors is also emphasised in this method. At one level, the role of the social actor is emphasised in the generation and reproduction of the social formation. The social formation does not stand independently of 'us'. Rather, it is the end product of human social interaction. At another level, social actors consciously 'make sense' of their material position and the social formation around them. On the basis of this 'understanding' they can act back onto social relations, either sustaining or changing them. However, social actors are totally 'free' - they operate within the limits and pressures that the material realm imposes on them, but within these limits they are 'free' to shape social formation. This emphasis begins to give this method a dynamic and dialectical feel - social actors are both shaped by, and actively re-create, the social formation. By shaped I mean that we all occupy objective class positions which mould our experiences of the social world. By re-create I mean that we actively make sense of these class experiences and act back on

the world, either sustaining or changing existing social relations. Indeed, human agency may be one of the ways that 'relative autonomy' is mediated because of this ability to act back on social relations (for example, the rise of class consciousness in capitalist societies may lead to revolutionary upheavals in which economic relations are changed).

The last element of this method is its empiricism. Rather than constructing grand models that we impose onto the social world, we should begin to investigate the substance and dynamics of 'real' social relations. We should take care to examine the historical evidence, to bring out the real historical relationships, rather than impose our own version of reality onto this substantive material. Overall, I am arguing for a method which is: couched in economic relations (in the sense that economic relations exert pressures and limits on the social formation); which recognises the interplay between the objective material conditions and subjectivity, and which recognises the need to test out assumptions empirically.

The 'Method' and Racism

What I want to do in this section is to begin to suggest how this method would play itself out in the analysis of racism. However, before we do this we need to define what we mean by the concept of racism and racialisation.

What is racism?

Racism is a contested concept (for several examples of how racism has been defined see Miles 1982, 1989). As above, the aim is not to resolve these debates but to give the working definition that will be used throughout this thesis. Racism, in this thesis, refers to a discourse. By discourse, I mean ways of thinking and talking about the social world. Racism, however, refers to only those discourses that attributes,

"..meanings to certain phenotypical and/or genetic characteristics of human behaviour in such a way as to create a system of categorisation, and by attributing additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics to the people sorted into these categories. This process of signification is therefore the basis for the creation of a hierarchy of groups and for the establishing criteria by which to include and exclude groups of people in the process of allocating resources and services." (R.Miles, 1989, p.3)

By defining racism as a discourse I am making the distinction between racialised ways of thinking and talking about the social world and racialised actions. To confine or deterministically link racism to actions means that racialised discourses, that are not acted upon, cannot be counted as racism (this is the classic problem with Rex's definition of racism (Rex 1970, 1973, for a critique see Miles 1982)). Hence, throughout this thesis I use racialised discourses to refer to those discourses that categorise or construct populations on the basis of phenotypical or genotypical differences, and then attribute negative/positive attributes to these groupings is a deterministic manner. Racialised divisions, on the other hand, refer to those end results of those moments when racialised discourses 'impact back' on the material world in order to discriminate against racialised groups that have been negatively signified. This definition, it should be noted, stems from our concern to trace the substance of racialised discourses from documentary evidence. In examining documentary evidence, we can say whether racialised discourses are present or not. However, what we cannot say with any guarantee whether they have been acted upon in order to structure racialised divisions.

However, to describe a discourse 'racist' however does not simply entail 'checking off' conceptual criteria. As Wetherell and Potter (1992, p.16) argue,

" ...from a critical social scientific perspective [it] usually involves a moral and political judgement. It is crucial that we not only note the negative characterisation of certain groups but also go on to oppose and resist such characterisation and describe the ways in which it is offensive, oppressive and wrong headed."

In other words, we can argue that racialised discourses are ideological. Like racism, ideology is also a disputed concept (for an overview see Larrain 1979, 1983, Sayer 1979, Billing 1982, Macdonnell 1986). Like the debates above, I do not wish to resolve these disputes. Rather, I simply wish to give a working definition. Following on from Miles (1989, p.42), ideology is defined as,

" ...any discourse which, as a whole (but not necessarily in terms of its component parts) represents human beings, and the social relations between human beings, in a distorted and misleading manner. Thus, ideology is a specific form of discourse. The discourse need not be systematic or logically coherent, nor be intentionally created and reproduced in order to deceive or mislead, even though that is its consequence."

Miles points to several additional characteristics. Firstly, individuals, occupying different class positions or class fractions, do not necessarily articulate ideologies in the same form and manner. Secondly, this definition does not presuppose that any particular element in an ideology is necessarily false, but in its totality an ideology is either incomplete and/or inaccurate. This does not mean that an ideology cannot nevertheless be articulated successfully to make sense of the social world.

In examining the ideological 'nature' of a discourse we have to compare and contrast the substance of the discourse against 'scientific' analysis of the

natural and social world. To understand the real social world we have to go beyond 'surface' perceptions to underlying the material relations that shape the social world. As Wetherall and Potter (1992, p.17) note, Miles,

"...suggests the accounts of the social sciences can be distinguished from the account of ideology to the extent that social science concepts and theories eschew the domain of misrepresentation and are based on real relations of economic production."

Racialised discourses and the method

Unlike economic Marxists, I do not wish to argue that racialised discourses are a mere function of the capitalist mode of production (Cox 1948, Williams 1964). There is evidence to show that racialised discourses and divisions existed before the rise of the capitalist mode of production in the eighteenth century (Jordan 1968, Fryer 1984). Furthermore, there is evidence to show that racialised discourses were being generated and reproduced in non-capitalist modes of production that used 'unfree' labour as opposed to wage labour (for example the slave and colonial modes of production). Racialised discourses, then, are not a mere reflection or function of the capitalism mode of production. Indeed, such an approach brings us back to deterministic models that force empirical evidence into certain structural relationships, whether it be a base-superstructure model or structural Marxism, as opposed to investigating the substance and dynamics of 'real' social relations (Miles 1987a, 1989).

The starting point for this method is the basic correspondence between a mode of production and a social formation. When we talk of the mode of production, we mean the way in which people materially produce their means of subsistence. This mode of production includes the means and relations of production. By the means of production, we refer to the

technologies and raw resources used by people in order to materially sustain themselves. By relations of production, we refer to the social relationships that are established in the course of exploiting these raw resources or in material production. Correspondence means that the material patterns of production exert pressures and limits that shape political and ideological relations. However, within the spaces provided by these limits and pressures, political and ideological relations have their own autonomy. This autonomy extends to the point that ideological and political relations can act back on to the material realm in order to reshape the mode of production. Thus, what I am arguing for is a method that recognises the relative autonomy of political and ideological relations.

Having defined racism as an ideological discourse, I want to argue that it has its own relative autonomy. Racialised discourses are autonomous is the sense they have an existence of their own - they are not functional products of economic relations. However, this autonomy is relative. Racialised discourses are shaped by limits and pressures exerted by economic relations. Nonetheless, racialised discourses can act in a relatively autonomous way, and can often 'act back' onto economic relations in the process of sustaining, reproducing or changing modes of production. Importantly, I am not suggesting that racialised discourses somehow exist at some distance from material relations. Rather, racialised discourses can become a relation of production in order to shape how production is carried out as well as the whole nature of the social formation.

Following on from Miles (1987a, 1989), I want to argue that the interplay between racialised discourses and material relations has to be investigated empirically. Because material conditions are continually changing, the form and substance of racialised discourses will also change. It can also occur as social actors attempt to 'make sense' of their own changing material circumstances and aspects of the phenomenal world around them. In both

cases, extant racialised discourses can be drawn upon in order to shape both process, and in doing so, also reshape racialised discourses. However, as we have noted, this process needs to be investigated empirically. We have to examine the material and political terrain on which racialised discourses are being generated and reproduced. We also have to investigate the different ways in which social actors that occupy distinct class positions articulate racialised discourses.

Finally, the role of the social actor is emphasised in this approach. As we argued earlier, the social formation is the end product of human interaction. In our method, we have to be aware of how racialised discourses are used by social actors to both 'make sense' of their own material experiences and aspects of the phenomenal world as well as shaping the social. However, unlike economic Marxists, we should be aware of the contradictory nature of racialised discourses. By this, I mean that racialised discourses are not simple functional products of the capitalist class. For example, racialised discourses have been used by sections of the working classes to limit the size of the labour market. This is not necessarily in the interests of those employers experiencing labour shortages. Similarly, through this century racialised discourses and divisions have led to riots and inner city disturbances. Again, this will not necessarily be in the interest of capitalists whose business activity has been disrupted or whose property has been destroyed. It would also not be welcomed by a state that has to increase expenditure in order to maintain social order.

As Miles (1987, 1989) argues, we have to analyse racialised discourses as a contradictory phenomenon. While racialised discourses may be produced by dominant classes, the way that other classes, from fractions of the dominant class to sections of the working classes, draw on this discourse and potentially act upon it is far from functional for the dominant classes. Ultimately, sections of all classes draw upon racialised discourses in order to

'make sense' of their own material experiences and aspects of the phenomenal world around them. These will reflect different interests, and in turn, racialised discourses will be drawn on in different ways. As we have already noted, these may not necessarily be synonymous with the interests of the dominant classes.

What I am suggesting is a method of investigation as opposed to a model. The starting point for this model is the correspondence between economic relations and political and ideological relations. When examining racialised discourses we should, on the one hand, recognise that they have their own autonomy. On the other hand, we should recognise that economic relations can shape racialised discourses, as well as how racialised discourses shape material relations. We should also recognise the contradictory ways in which racialised discourses play themselves out. Social actors, occupying distinct class positions, can draw upon racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of their own material experiences and aspects of the phenomenal world around them. If acted upon, these can work against the interests of other classes, including, as we have seen, sections of the bourgeoisie. Finally, any analysis of racialised discourses has to be carried out empirically. We must not impose theoretical models onto social world. Rather, we should begin to investigate the historically situated and lived substance, dynamics and interactions of real social relations.

Racism and Gender

When examining racialised discourses, we also have to be aware of how they are articulated with discourses on gender and sexuality in order to produce specific effects. Brah (1996) notes that racialised discourses and discourses on gender are both similar. Both are forms of signification that serve to naturalise ascriptive differences. Racialised discourses construct social collectives on the basis of real or supposed phenotypical or genotypical

differences and attributes them with a range of deterministic attributes. Discourses on gender also signify biological differences between the sexes with a range of deterministic attributes and represents social relations between men and women as natural. Because of this both can articulate together. In other words, while the process of racialisation constructs social collectives on the basis of phenotypical differences, we have to be aware they are articulated with discourses on gender. In practice, this has thrown up complex set of relationships and qualitatively different experiences across class, gender, 'race', and sexuality.

However, 'white' feminists for much of the postwar period ignored the articulation of racialised discourses with gender. In the early 1980s this led to an attack on the work of 'white' feminist theory and political action by 'black' feminists. There are three main criticisms. Firstly, there is the ethnocentric and class nature of western feminism in positing certain priorities for struggle (for example the family and demands for abortion) that do not take into account the experiences of 'black' women across the world. The assumption here is that there is a unity of women's interests (where in reality it only reflects the interest of 'white' middle class women). Secondly, 'white' feminism is regarded as racist. It fails to integrate anti-racist struggles, which should be included in a movement concerned with the way that women are oppressed. This includes a failure to recognise that 'white' women can, and have been in positions, where they have exploited 'black' women. Thirdly, it implicitly and explicitly pathologies the sexuality of 'black' women and the 'black' family, for example, constructing South Asian women as passive and submissive (Carby 1982, Parmer 1982, Feminist Review 1984, Mama 1989, Lewis 1990, Anthia and Yuval-Davis 1992). In essence, the argument is that we must account for the articulation of racialised discourses and discourses on gender. Unless we do this there is a danger that erroneous assumptions will be made or that the experiences of women, who become the objects of racialised discourses, will be hidden

under the concepts of 'black' and 'white', which in practice, have simply conveyed the experiences of men of all classes.

For example, feminist theorists have argued a key site of women's oppression is the family because of the financial dependency on men, the ideology of the family and of femininity (Barrett 1989). Yet, this ignores the fact that for many 'black' women the family provides support in the face of a racist society (Carby 1982, Parmer 1982, Brah 1996). Historically, it ignores how racialised discourses have often been articulated with discourses on gender in order to undermine the position of women. In colonial South Asia, members of the British ruling elite often presented women as oppressed through archaic family structures. In turn, it was argued that British colonialism would be a liberalising force for Asian women. Indeed, this was often used as a justification for the maintenance of colonialism in South Asian. However, as Liddle and Joshi (1986) show, colonial policy was shot through with contradictions. Between 1772 and 1947, the British introduced nine major laws that sought to secure the rights of women against archaic practices. This legislation included forbidding female infanticide, sati and child marriage and allowing widow to remarry. However, the British support for these issues was often ambiguous and their actions in other areas revealed their contradictory approach. For example, the British introduced laws that undermined matriarchal societies in South Asia and imposed patriarchal relations, removing numerous material and sexual rights from women and handing them to men. Similarly, in the postwar period, many feminists have also ignored how the family can be an important site of support and struggle against a racist society.

There are numerous other areas in which the experiences of 'black' women have been shaped by the articulation of racialised discourses and gender: immigration legislation (WING 1985, Gordon and Klug 1985, Klug 1989, Sandera 1993, Brah 1996), sexuality (Said 1978, hooks 1982, Bryan et al 1985,

Alloula 1986, Klug 1989, Ware 1992); the labour market (Phizacklea 1983, WING 1985, Brown 1984, Beechley and Witelegg 1986, Mitter 1988, Visram 1986, Bruegel 1989, Brah 1996), and education (Deem 1980, Spender 1982, Parmar and Mirza 1983). Although coming from a range of traditions, all of the above writers recognise that when we analyse racialised discourses we must take into account their gendered nature. Coming back to our method of investigation, we should also be aware of how racialised discourses articulate with other divisions in order to shape both the substance of racialised discourses and racialised divisions.

Factoring in Nationalism

I argued in the introduction that unless we add in Scottish and English nationalism we would not be able to develop a method for examining racialised discourses in Britain. In this section I want to address how we can 'factor' in the question of nationalism into our method. I also want to examine the relationship between racism and nationalism. Although the two ideologies are different there is the potential that they can overlap. Indeed, this is one of the sources of the discontinuities between Scotland and England. In post-war England racism and nationalism have overlapped leading to the racialisation of English politics. In Scotland, however, racism and nationalism have remained relatively distinct. This, as we shall see later, created the space in which the discourse of 'no problems' was generated and reproduced.

Understanding Nationalism

It has been argued that although racism and nationalism are two discrete ideologies they can often overlap and fuse. However, in the Scottish case they have largely been discrete and this has lain the foundations for the discourse of 'no problems'. In this section I want to step back and begin to

develop a set of assumptions through which we can on the one hand begin to understand the generation and reproduction of nationalism in Scotland, while on the other hand explain why racism and nationalism have remained relatively distinct.

In examining the dynamics of nationalism I want to side step the debate between Gellner (1983) and Brueilly (1982) (who see the national as a social construct forged within the context of modern industrial society) and Smith (1986) (who has sought to reassert the historical universality of national identity as a political form). This is mainly because, as Foster (1989) notes, such arguments cannot adequately account for the 'rise and fall' of the Scottish nation. For example, Scottish nation was constructed from various linguistic groups between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, long before the rise of modernity. Contrary to Smith there has never been an essentially ethnic Scottish group and contrary to Gellner and Bruelly the formation of the Scottish nation was not an immediate expression of modernity. Indeed quite the opposite is true. When Scotland entered into the modern period during the early eighteenth century it gave up its political sovereignty, submerging itself into a new British state. There are additional problems with the work of Gellner, Bruelly and Smith. None of them can evaluate or account for the content of Scottish nationalism, why does it take the form that it does and how true a representation is it of the interest of the nation?

Foster however develops a 'Marxist' approach to understanding the 'rise and fall' of the Scottish nation as well as the content and persistence of Scottish nationalism. This approach starts out with the concept of ethnicity, defined as the 'expression of the basic social identification needed to permit a sharing of skills and resources that could be historically cumulative' (Foster, 1989, p.38). Ethnicity means that the skills and knowledge that are required to materially sustain the community are culturally retained and passed on from one generation to another. Since ethnicity is a social construct it can change

over time: it is not primordial and instinctive in nature. This process of generation and reproduction for Foster is largely shaped by the 'ethnic social carrier' - defined as the specific social/historical carrier of an ethnic group at a particular moment - which may or may not take the form of the state, dependent on the level of social development. In the lifetime of any ethnic group the ethnic social carrier will often be transformed, changed, merged many times over. At the same time, the ethnic group will also be transformed, changed and merged, and new identities will be forged and reforged.

The dynamics behind this transformative process can be traced to class forces. Here it is important to note that not only will the 'ethnic social carrier' be forged anew as a result of class interests but that within this new carrier a new 'ethnic group', with a new identity, will be constructed that also reflects class interests. Now this is not to reduce ethnicity and nationalism to class as such, rather it is to pose a relationship. In the process of the generation and reproduction of ethnicity and nationalism, class and class fractions play an active role. The dominant definitions of ethnicity and nationalism will often represent the perspectives or interests of the dominant class or class fraction. This may be expressed through the state, which will define the interests of the nation as synonymous with the interests of the dominant class. Correspondingly, those with different class interests, whose aspirations are expressed in class struggle against the existing order, will contest this meaning. Consequently, there will always be different class trends in any national identity, with the state as one of the main battlegrounds.

Scotland, the Union and Britain: the formation of a fractured ethnic carrier

I want to try and demonstrate how we can play this method out when examining the 'fall and rise' of Scottish nationalism. Firstly, drawing on the work of Foster (1989), I wish to argue British state is a 'fractured' ethnic

social carrier that has allowed for the generation and reproduction of Scottish civil society. Secondly, I want to argue that class forces are instrumental in understanding the 'fall' of the Scottish state as well as the rise of Scottish nationalism and the demands for devolution and independence. Finally, I want to examine how racist discourses and nationalism overlap. This, in a sense, 'factors' in the question of nationalism in the examination of racist discourses.

Britain: a fractured 'ethnic social carrier'

Scotland merged politically with England under the Act of Union in 1707, giving up its sovereignty as a nation-state. However, the new 'ethnic social carrier' that was produced was a strange beast. On the one hand political power and sovereignty had moved to Westminster. On the other hand, the treaty was negotiated in such a way that it ensured Scotland maintained many of the institutions of civil society. For example, the Kirk, financial and legal systems, as well as a distinct educational system were also maintained under the Union. Importantly, the institutions of Scottish civil society have been the sites around which Scottish identity has been reproduced. In other words, if Britain was a new 'ethnic social carrier' it was one where there was a fundamental fracture between the political centre in Westminster and civil society in Scotland; state and society are not synonymous.

The 'fall' of the Scottish state, the (re) production of Scottish nationalism

As we have already noted, Scotland's entry into the Union was driven partly by sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie who wanted access to England's colonial markets. Although Scotland's sovereignty was surrendered it still retained many of the key institutions which acted to reproduce a Scottish identity. There was a fear though, especially amongst sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie, that this identity could be used to push Scotland back to an

independent nation-state, divorcing them from the colonial markets. As Nairn (1977) goes on to argue, for sections of the bourgeoisie as well as the middle classes, Scottish nationalism had to be politically 'sterilised', unable to support any demands for independence, in order for them to maintain their place within the Union and the colonial markets. As Nairn (1977, p.150) notes,

> " What mattered in Scotland itself...was to render this awareness *politically* null - to make certain that it would not be felt that contemporary Scotland should be the independent continuation of the auld song. The whole emotional point of national*ism* was to feel just that: our future development must spring out of this, *our* inheritance from past generations, with its special values, etc. Hence, what the new British-Scots middle class had to do was separate the inevitable new popular-national consciousness from action. One might say, very appropriately: separate its heart from its head."

The content of Scottish nationalism from the eighteenth century onwards was shaped by class interest. At a cultural level space was given for those writers which stressed that the 'heart' of Scotland lay in the past, and that the nations 'head' must endorse a Union that maintained Scotland's prosperity. This is evident in the work of Sir Walter Scott, a man who did much to shape Scotland's image of itself during the eighteenth century onwards. Scott's own work ossified Scotland's identity in the past. Jacobites and nationalists were

> "...all figures of a bygone age, isolated anachronisms abandoned on the shores of progress by the receding saltires of history's tide. In a version of the myth of the fated nation, Scott outlines a future where for Scotland to retain its identity at all, it must do it on a local and not a national level.' (Pittock, 1991, p.34)

In doing so Scott emphasised the break between the head and the heart. The heart may be in Scotland's past but the head should be in the here and now: we should be rational and forward-looking within the Union. As such, Scottish nationalism and a Scottish identity lost aspects of their contemporariness and were ossified in the past. Other key writers who also ossified Scottish nationalism and national identity included James Macpherson, who packaged Scotland's nationhood in a safely fictive form of Ossain. Scotland was presented as a strange, remote, exotic world, peopled by grand heroic characters that moved through barren highland landscapes. Even Robert Burns' work was drained of its political content. Although Burns sought to popularise a radical and subversive Scottish national culture in his poetry, it was hijacked and localised, sentimentalised by removing the politics from the lyrics (see Pittock 1991, Chpt. 3).

There are several important elements to note from this brief coverage. Firstly, although the Scottish state had been dissolved, Scottish nationalism was being generated and reproduced from the eighteenth century onwards through Scottish civil society. This arose because, as we have already noted, of the fractured nature of the ethnic social carrier. Secondly, the interests of the dominant classes in Scotland shaped the substance of Scottish nationalism. In its substantive form it was emptied of much of the political elements that could be used to push for an independent Scotland. However, it was kept alive. Finlay (1997) notes, a distinct national identity seemed to be an important element in emphasising that Scotland was a partner in the Union as opposed to another colonial possession. Sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the political elite throughout the nineteenth century were vociferous in defending what they saw as the imperial *partnership*.

By the same token we can understand the rise of a postwar Scottish nationalism that demanded the reinstatement of the Scottish state or some form of devolution. Nairn (1977, p.131) identifies three main triggers for the re-emergence of Scottish nationalism in the twentieth century. Firstly, economic decline and possibilities of recovery. The Scottish economy had developed in such a fashion that there was a heavy reliance on heavy industries. In the post-First World War era, with the absence of any reinvestment in technologies or machinery as well as increased world competition, Scottish heavy industries went into a long and terminal decline. This process accelerated in the post-second world war era. However, the possibility of a reversal of this decline was literally discovered. North Sea oil promised to create a new material basis for Scottish society. Yet, for sections of all classes in the nation 'Scotland's oil' was being squandered in England rather than being used to underpin Scottish development. It was this perceived injustice that helped give to the rise of nationalist sentiments.

The second factor was the decline of the British political system. Both Conservative and Labour parties had been unable to reverse the decline in Scotland. Indeed, both political parties have been caricatured (rightly or wrongly) by sections of all classes as either indifferent to the needs of Scottish society or incapable of dealing with Scotland's problems. The final factor is the maintenance of Scottish identity. In the context of economic decline and political crisis many drew upon the memory of an independent Scotland to understand the present crisis and project a future solution. This has manifested itself in many ways, not least the growth of the Scottish National Party (S.N.P.). The development of this party has been traced elsewhere (see Finlay 1994, Brown, McCrone and Paterson 1996) and I do not want to repeat it here. However, it is worth noting here that the S.N.P.'s vote is not an

accurate barometer of nationalism or an adherence to a Scottish national identity. In 1992 the S.N.P attracted just under 25 per cent of votes in Scotland yet 73 per cent of Scottish voters advocated some form of devolution or independence (see Brown, McCrone and Paterson 1996, pp. 150 - 156). In May 1999, with nationalist fever gripping Scotland in the face of the first democratic Scottish election ever, the S.N.P. only managed to poll 29 per cent on their first vote and 28 per cent on their second (the Scottish election was decided through proportional representation). The Labour Party, however, managed to secure 39 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. Scottish nationalist sentiments run deep and are not limited to those who vote for the S.N.P.

As with the case of the 'fall' of the Scottish nation, we see that the 'rise' of the demands for a Scottish state being forged out of material relations. Although sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie may have been behind this move, Scottish nationalism was nonetheless as 'supra-class' movement, uniting sections of all classes in a more towards political independence or devolution. This goal, nonetheless, was driven by the desire to gain economic independence for Scotland.

Racism and nationalism

Although racism and nationalism are two different ideologies there is the potential for them to overlap. This arises because both have functional roles of inclusion/exclusion. As Miles (1982b, 1987, 1993) notes, both the ideas of 'race' and 'nation' have been used as a means of inclusion/exclusion on the basis of some supposed natural identity. Within the context of 'race', inclusion/exclusion can occur around certain signified biological characteristics (most notably phenotypical differences). In the context of 'nation' inclusion/exclusion can occur around signified cultural criteria such as language or notions of common descent. It is because there is this

overlapping role of inclusion/exclusion that there is the potential for racism and nationalism to fuse.

Miles goes on to note that there are at least three additional factors that 'facilitate' this fusion. Firstly, the systematisation of the two ideologies occurred coincidentally in Western Europe at approximately the same time. We have already seen above that the idea of 'race' was constructed by sections of the intelligentsia in order to understand physical and cultural diversity during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Similarly, the idea of nation went through a period of theorisation in the same period (see Miles 1993). Secondly, both purport to identify a natural and inevitable social classification. We have already seen that the idea of 'race' divided the world population on the basis of phenotypical differences. Similarly, the idea of the 'nation' shows that the human species is divided naturally into 'nations', each of which had a distinctive character. These naturally occurring units were defined as the ideal location for forms political organisation that allow the full realisation of that nation's specific qualities. Thirdly, both ideologies were structured in such a way that there were crucial overlaps in their content, if not their presuppositions. Because nations were identified as naturally occurring groups on the basis of cultural differences it was logically possible to assert that these symbols of the 'nation' were themselves grounded in 'race', not least because the idea of 'race' has both a biological and cultural referent.

Miles (1987) however, notes that there are key differences between racism and nationalism. Firstly, the ideology of nationalism carries with it a political project of sovereignty within a defined geographical space. In this sense the idea of nation carries with it a political project that 'race' does not. Historically there has been little agreement about the boundaries of supposed 'races', and scientific racism did not have a single coherent political project. Secondly, other forms of natural differentiation, in addition to 'race',

can be used as a means of distinguishing populations deemed to constitute nations. Finally, nationalism is an ideology which has as a constituent element an explicit political objective - the formation of a supra-class political unit within which political organisation and representation can occur. There is no similar political objective that constitutes a defining feature of the ideology of racism.

This difference helps us to begin to understand the continuities and discontinuities of racism in Scotland. As we noted in the introduction, Scottish nationalism did not become racialised in the postwar period. At a phenomenal level, there seemed to be an absence of any political conflict around the question of 'race'. Sections of all classes in Scotland took this to mean that there was an absence of any deeper conflicts. This assumption was strengthened when the Scottish nation was compared to the racialisation of English nationalism and politics.

But why did Scottish nationalism not draw on racialised discourses in order to justify demand for independence or devolution? There are several reasons for this. Firstly, nationalism always draws on a memory of the past to understand the present and project a future political solution. In the Scottish case, a memory of an independent Scotland before the Act of Union in 1707, and its involvement in the British Empire, was drawn on. As such, we can suggest that much of the substance and memories that sections of all classes draw upon effectively skips nearly 250 years of colonialism, and amongst other things, the racialised discourses that sustained the colonial mode of production. This is not to say that there were no racialised discourses in Scotland before the Union, only that they have been erased as part and parcel of a broader movement to erase Scotland's involvement in colonialism.

Secondly, the political content of Scottish nationalism was still divorced from other cultural notions or ideas of 'belongingness'. As we have noted above,

Scottish nationalism is split between a lovesick (and politically ineffectual) 'heart' and a rational (and politically effective) head. The heart still sees Scotland through the eyes of eighteenth century caricatures. As such our romance is with a Scotland of mythical places, times and heroes. Although this mythical past can help underpin the content of Scotland's nationalism (as is evident by the resurgence of the legend of William Wallace) it is not sufficient in itself to drive nationalism. For this we have to point to material conditions, something which the rational 'head' of Scottish nationalism is willing to identify. For example, it was initially in the interest of sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie to remain within the Union because of the material prosperity it brought through the access that they were granted to the British Empire. However, Britain lost its empire in the post-war period, the Scottish economy began to plummet. As well as this, new avenues of prosperity were opened up such as North Sea oil but these were not used to sustain Scotland's economy. It was no longer rational to stay in the Union. This provided the dominant drive for Scottish nationalism. It is less about cultural or 'racial' patterns around which inclusion/exclusion can occur and more to do with the political autonomy of the nation. It is politically driven separatism. As Nairn (1977, p.71) notes,

" Politically speaking, the key to the neo-nationalist renaissance lies in the slow floundering of the British state, not in the Celtic bloodstream...[the Scottish Case]...is overwhelmingly a politically oriented separatism, rather concerned with the problems of power, and infrequently indifferent to the themes of race and cultural ancestry."

This nationalism eschews questions of 'race' and ethnicity focusing instead on a political separatism based on a loose definition of the nation. For the S.N.P. Scottish citizenship would be defined territorially; all living within Scotland would be Scottish. Similarly, in March 1992, an opinion poll for the

Scotsman asked who should qualify as a Scottish national. Of those who replied 58 per cent said anyone born in Scotland would qualify, 39 per cent said anyone living in Scotland, whilst only 18 per cent said someone with Scottish parents should be counted as Scottish. It is important to note that as they stand the first two are 'natal' and territorial definitions, as opposed to 'racial' and ethnic, while the final definition mirrors notions of patriality (which have been used to exclude people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent).

What we see then is a politically sterile nationalism that eschews the question of. In the absence of any political conflict around the question of 'race' it has led many to assume that this is indicative of the absence of wider 'racial' conflicts in Scotland. This has created the 'space' in which members of the Scottish press and the 'leaders' of the South Asian and African-Caribbean communities have began to generate and reproduce the discourse of 'no problems'.

These assumptions are strengthened when Scotland was compared to England, where racism and nationalism had overlapped. In the postwar period economic decline had generated material fears and anxieties amongst sections of all classes in England. These fear and anxieties were 'made sense' of through racialising South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, constructing 'them' as a threat to the 'racial' and cultural character of the nation as well as its prosperity. In essence, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were identified as alien elements within England/Britain, destroying what it meant to be English/British. They had to be removed if the nation was not to lose it cultural and racial integrity. Indeed during this period we see that racist discourses were being widely articulated within English/British politics by sections of the political elite as well as sections of the working class. In other words, in the immediate postwar period English/British politics became racialised around the

question of 'black' immigration (Joshi and Carter 1984, Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

Here then lies the root of the major discontinuity between England and Scotland. In England nationalism and racism have overlapped as is evident in the racialisation of English politics. In Scotland nationalism has become the dominant political force and this has eschewed questions of 'race' and ethnicity, which in turn has created a space in which the discourse of 'no problems' has been generated and reproduced. In the absence of political conflict around the question of 'race' similar to England it has led sections of the Scottish press and 'leaders' of the South Asian and 'African-Caribbean communities to generate and reproduce the discourse of 'no problem'. However, this does not mean that racism is absent in Scotland. It is still being generated and reproduced in order to understand the processes of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration and settlement into Britain, the only difference is that it has not become a political issue in Scotland and it has not overlapped with Scottish nationalism. In effect, it is hidden under the nationalist cloak.

Continuities and Discontinuities

I have suggested an approach here which placed an emphasis on a material 'method' which has 'factored' into it the issues of nationalism. This will be used to examine the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses in Scotland as well as Scottish nationalism. In doing so, it will help us highlight the continuities and discontinuities of racialised discourses in Scotland.

In chapter four I want to pick up the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses from Scotland's entry into the Union in 1707. I want to argue here that Scotland was not colonised by the Act of Union. Rather, the Act allowed Scotland, or to be more precise the Scottish political elite and

merchant classes to become equal partners with England in the colonial project. This project, in turn, brought in a massive injection of capital and wealth into Scotland, which was used to invest in the Scottish infrastructure and industries. This wealth, however, was ultimately achieved through the use of 'unfree' labour in the colonies, including slave and indentured labourers. It is on this material terrain that we see the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses. Scots began to understand its own economic development, and the exploitation of others, through the idea of 'race'. Indeed, sections of the Scottish intelligentsia, such as Robert Knox, George Combe and Thomas Carlyle were active in generating the idea of 'race'.

During this period Scottish nationalism was still very much alive - it had not be subsumed into a broader English/Imperial identity. Rather, a Scottish imperial identity was forged, one which was seen to be in partnership with England. As Finlay (1997) notes, the Union with England was referred to as the imperial partnership, Glasgow was referred to as the second city of Empire, while Scots were seen as a 'race' of Empire builders. Nonetheless, within this imperial identity there seems to be a general acceptance of broader racialised discourses. However, there are some twists. Firstly, as we have already mentioned, Scots themselves are racialised as a nation of Empire builders. Secondly, racialised discourses and Scottish nationalism overlapped in response to the arrival of one particular migrant group - Irish Catholics. As we shall see Irish Catholics were represented as a threat to both the Scottish nation and the Scottish 'race'.

In chapter 5, I want to examine how the working classes took up and reproduced racialised discourses. Here I want to argue that sections of the Scottish working classes took up racialised discourses in order to understand their own material experiences in the capitalist relations of production, from poor wages to slum housing and unemployment. Indeed, evidence shows

that from at least the middle of the nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century sections of the working classes were racialising South Asian, African-Caribbean and Irish migrants as an inferior 'racial' group who were undermining the pay and conditions of 'local' workers.

During the 1920s and 1930s period a Scottish national identity was still being generated and reproduced. However, it had now moved away from the Scottish imperial identity. This, as we shall argue, arose because of several reasons. Firstly, as Finlay (1997) notes, the Reform Act of 1918 had expanded the electorate and now included working class men and women over the age of thirty-one. For many sections of the working classes the attractions of belonging to a 'race' of Empire builders was not so obvious as the attention paid to the more tangible aspects of their own lives, from jobs, housing to social conditions. Secondly, the Scottish economy was in a state of collapse, and the claim that it was the workshop of Empire had a hollow ring. From the 1920s onwards, demands for Scottish independence or some form of devolution begin to be articulated by sections of all classes in Scotland.

In chapters six through to eight, I want to demonstrate that racialised discourses were still being generated and reproduced in post-war Scotland through examining the press. Specifically, I want to show that there was continuity in the substance of racialised discourses between the Scottish and English press. However, I also want to emphasis discontinuities. Scottish nationalism cascaded into the postwar era as a reaction to Scotland economic decline. This, as we have argued above, created the 'space' in which the discourse of 'no problems' was generated and reproduced from the late 1950s onwards. As it will be demonstrated, one of the arenas in which this occurred was the Scottish press.

Conclusion

Our analysis starts with the basic correspondence between a specific mode of production and the social formation. In relation to racialised discourses, I argued that they have their own relative autonomy. As such, we have to take care to examine the ways in which racialised discourses are shaped by, and also shape, economic relations. Furthermore, when examining this process, we also have to recognise not only the contradictory nature of racialised discourses but also how they articulate with other discourses, including discourses on gender. Unless we recognise how social actors draw on both racialised and gendered discourses, there is a danger that we obscure the specific substance of racialised discourses under supposedly universal categories, as well obscuring how they impact across class, gender, 'race' and sexuality.

We also have to be aware of how social actors can draw on racialised discourses and discourses of the nation. The content of nationalist discourses are shaped by economic relation, and often emanate from the state, in order to secure a 'space' in which the process of accumulation can occur. This space can be marked off by various discourses, however, racialised discourses can be used in order to create an imagined community through the state. Yet, at times there is no necessary connection between the state, nation and culture. Britain, as we noted above, is a fractured ethnic social carrier. It contains several distinct civil societies. This, as we have suggested, is the root of the continuities and discontinuities in Britain. The boundaries of England's imagined community had been marked by racialised discourses, leading to the racialisation of English politics. In Scotland, however, the imagined community is much more is not bound by any notions of 'race' or ethnicity. Indeed, the main driving force behind Scottish nationalism is a political separatism. All who buy into this project are considered to be Scottish.

Although Scottish politics has not become racialised, it does not mean that racism is absent. Rather, racism exists independently of nationalism in Scotland. Furthermore, Scottish nationalism acts to obscure the existence of racism. This, in turn, led to the emergence of the discourse of 'no problems' in the postwar period.

Chapter 3: Methods and Methodology

Introduction

There are three broad issues that this piece of research is concerned with. Firstly, I want to examine the substance of the discourse of 'no problems' and how it was generated and reproduced in Scotland; secondly, I want to examine the substance of racialised discourses and divisions in Scotland, and finally I want to assess the validity of the discourse of 'no problems'. These questions, I argued, can be answered through a historical and comparative analysis (see chapter 1 and chapter 2). However, how do we go about investigating and answering these questions? There are several levels at which it can be done. Derek Layder's (1993) 'research map' provides prompts and suggestions to the development of research processes (see figure 3.1). At the micro level we can examine whether individuals articulate racialised discourses. Such an examination would of course need to locate the individual within the broader set of social relations and processes to see how these influence the social actor's particular interpretation and understanding of the social world. At another level we can examine the various interactions between groups within specific social settings. Again this would involve some form of analysis of individuals as well as an examination of the social setting. At the broadest level we can examine the society at the macro-level, bringing out social and economic forms of organisation and the power relations that underlie these. Broader questions about historical processes and power relations could also be woven throughout all these levels.

There are many contexts within which racialised discourses and divisions can be examined. However, not all aspects can be investigated here. Indeed, I have included Derek Layder's (1993) 'research map' to show that I am only examining certain aspects of racism in Scotland, and by default, indicating

others which have not been investigated. The first aspect is the historical analysis of racism using secondary materials (covering Scotland's involvement in colonialism). The second aspect is the investigation of whether racialised discourses were being articulated in the postwar period through examining one particular 'setting' - the Scottish press. The third aspect is the examination of racialised divisions at a macro-level through statistical information on social and economic trends. In each case there is a comparative analysis with English/British material to bring out continuities and discontinuities. What I want to turn to now is the methodological problems raised when examining racism in Scotland.

Research element	Research focus
CONTEXT	*Macro social organization* Values, traditions, forms of social and economic organization and power relations. For example, legally sanctioned forms of ownership, control and distribution; interlocking directorships, state intervention. As they are implicated in the sector below.
SETTING	*Intermediate social organization* Work: Industrial, military and state bureaucracies; labour markets; hospitals; social work agencies, domestic labour; penal and mental institutions. Non-work: Social organization of leisure activities, sports and social clubs; religious and spiritual organizations.
SITUATED ACTIVITY	*Social activity* Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication by skilled, intentional participants implicated in the above contexts and settings. Focus on emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by contexts and settings (above) and subjective dispositions of individuals (below).
SELF	*Self-identity and individual's social experience* As these are influenced by the above sectors and as they interact with the unique psychobiography of the individual. Focus on the life-career.

Figure 3.1 Research map.
From, D.Layder, 1993, p.72

Historical Analysis

There are several reasons for carrying out a historical analysis of racism in Scotland. Firstly, there has been a common assumption (often shaped by a nationalist mentality) that Scotland was (and continues to be) an exploited colony of the English since the Act of Union in 1707. Accompanying this assumption is the claim that Scots cannot be racist because 'the oppressed cannot become the oppressors'. This claim, as we argued in chapter 1, is part of the broader discourse of 'no problems'. However, how true is this claim? Was Scotland a colony of England? Secondly, if we find that Scotland was not a colony, that indeed it was an equal partner in Empire, we must ask what role it played in the generation and reproduction of the racialised discourses; after all these were part and parcel of colonial exploitation. Were Scots of all classes active in articulating the ideology of racism, and what does this tell us about the claim that Scots cannot be racist?

To judge whether Scotland was colonised or a coloniser is not a problem as such. There is now a growing body of material that identifies Scotland's active involvement in the colonial exploitation of the Caribbean, Africa and South Asia, although much of its focus is on the social and economic impacts of this relationship on Scotland. However, there is a problem when it comes to answering the second question. Although there is a healthy body of work on Scotland's involvement in colonialism there is no history of the impact that Scots had on the economies of colonised nations; there is no history of whether Scots articulated racialised discourses, which after all was part and parcel of colonialism, and there is no history of the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean people in Scotland. Indeed this aspect of Scotland's past seems either to be ignored or written out within the mainstream works on Scottish colonialism. This work then suffers from the same problems noted by Appleby, Hunt and Jacob (1994, p.5),

" Critics have scrutinised the textbooks available from every level of education and found them Eurocentric, racist, sexist, and homophobic. They celebrate the achievements, it is alleged, of dead white European males rather than showing the contributions of women, minorities and gays or other oppressed and excluded groups. They reinforce the worst racial and sexual stereotypes..."

For example, Steel (1984) and Bryant (1985) almost implicitly celebrate the role of Scots in India. Their work describes how Scots were over represented as soldiers and administrators within the colonial structure as well as merchants and bankers. There is no real discussion on the effects of colonialism on India or whether Scots were implicated in the discourses that supported colonial exploitation. Similarly, Sheridan (1977) examines the position of Scots in the plantation economies of the West Indies, but he says remarkably little about the attitudes of Scots towards the institution of slavery. Other historians fare little better. Smout (1969), Devine (1978) and Dickson (1980) all examine the long term social and economic benefits that Scotland received through its involvement in colonial exploitation. However, they only really fill out one side of the equation. By this I mean that whilst they may show that Scotland was developing, they underplay or ignore the fact that this occurred through the articulation with the slave and colonial modes of production. Similarly, none of the above writers bring out one of the key social dimensions to Scotland's involvement in colonialism - the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses.

How do we overcome this absence? There are documentary sources that we can tap into in order to build up the history of racism in Scotland and the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean people. For example, there are documents held by the National Library of Scotland written by Scots who were active within the broad framework of the colonial structure. These

include documents written by early explorers, merchants, missionaries, cartographers, scientists, administrators, and soldiers (National Library of Scotland 1982). An analysis of these documents could reveal whether Scots were actively articulating racialised discourses. Similarly, there are other documentary sources, such as court or employment records, that can be tapped into in order to uncover the history of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration into this country (for an example of this process in practice see Dunlop 1990 and Duffield 1992).

Unfortunately, because of the limits of time there was little opportunity to systematically investigate this material and it was decided that only secondary sources would be used. On the one hand this meant drawing upon the existing material that examined Scotland's involvement in colonial exploitation. On the other hand it meant bringing together a small, but growing, number of works that examined the history of racialised discourses in Scotland as well as the presence of people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent. These works focus on the migration of Lascar seamen and working class reactions (Jenkinson 1985, Dunlop 1990, McFarland 1991) and the role of the Scottish intelligentsia in generating raicalised discourses (Muirhead and Miles 1986). Chapter four and five represents an attempt to bring these works together to provide a more 'rounded' picture of Scotland's involvement in colonialism and the accompanying generation and reproduction of racialised discourses.

Examining postwar Racism: The Analysis of the Press

There are two main reasons for examining the history and substance of racialised discourses in postwar Scotland. Firstly, it 'fills' in a valuable gap in the empirical work. There are no studies that bring out the form of racialised discourses across the post-war period in Scotland. Secondly, the discourse of 'no problems' argues that racism is not a problem in Scotland - that the

nation is a veritable haven of community relations. If this were the case we would then expect to see an absence of racialised discourses. One of the ways that we could 'check' this is to see if racialised discourses were being generated and reproduced by the Scottish press.

An analysis of the newspapers was selected for several reasons. Firstly, as a matter of simple convenience. Unlike other methods (for example interviewing) the analysis of the newspapers was cheap, all materials were easily accessible, and overall it was relatively less time-consuming. The second reason for looking at newspapers was that it allowed for a historical and comparative analysis; historical in that we could examine whether the press was using racialised discourses in order to interpret certain news events over an extended period of time. If the press did mediate racialised discourses the analysis of the newspapers would allow us to trace whether their substance and nature had changed over time; comparative, in the sense that it allows us to compare what was being produced in the Scottish and English press. The reason for doing this is simple enough. The discourse of 'no problems' asserts that racism is not a problem in Scotland. If we can show that the substance and form of racialised discourses are similar to those in England, that Scotland is in no real way different, we can then go a long way to show the ideological nature of this discourse. A comparative analysis may also help to highlight differences, exposing whether racialised discourses in Scotland have any distinctive characteristics or revealing the different conditions that led to the generation and reproduction of the discourse of 'no problems'.

Thirdly, despite the claims of impartiality and neutrality, newspapers often mediate dominant interpretations and definitions of events. As will become evident, the media as a whole does not report 'facts'. Rather, it mediates the dominant groups interpretations of news events. From an analysis of the press we can begin to draw out some of the power relations at work - who

are included and excluded in the definition of a news event; whose voices are heard and whose are silent. However, it should be noted that this can only be done in a tentative way. We can only analyse the 'end product' rather than the processes that led to its production. Hence, all we can ask for certain is who is represented in the press and who is providing the dominant interpretation of the events. Beyond that, inferences would have to be made about the power relations at work.

The final reason for examining the press (and the mass media in general) is because it has a crucial role in helping sections of all classes 'make sense' of the social world around them. For example, Hartmann and Husband (1974) have demonstrated how the media plays an influential role in informing beliefs and opinions about people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent. If we can show that the Scottish press did reproduce racialised discourses we could lay the groundwork for further studies to examine its impact on the Scottish population. This, however, is a task for other studies. By simply examining the papers we cannot say that the Scottish population is racist as such; all we can say is that the Scottish press reproduced racialised discourses. For the connection to be made between the media and the readers another study would have to be done on whether and how the audience receives and takes up racialised discourses. Unfortunately, time and money inhibit such an additional study. Nonetheless, the approach here can at least question whether one of the influential sites of ideological reproduction in Scotland was mediating racialised discourses.

There are however a number of problems that researchers may meet when using documentary sources such as newspapers (see Platt 1981, Scott 1990, May 1993, MacDonald 1994). Not all of these problems apply to the use of newspapers; nonetheless there are still several questions that should be asked before we fully delve into an analysis of the newspapers. These

questions can be placed under the broad headings of credibility, representativeness and meaning.

Credibility

Credibility refers to the question of whether the document is free from error or distortion. For example, distortion can occur when there is a long gap in time between an event occurring and the account of it being written down. The interest of the author may also lead to distortion; for example, authors may distort material for financial rewards, to enhance their own reputation or to please the readers. Such possibilities should always lead the researcher to ask who produced the document, why, for whom and in what context. Only then can the 'quality' of the document be assessed and the right questions asked of it.

When examining newspapers the question of credibility is crucial. Newspapers, as we have already noted, do not necessarily report 'facts'. Instead, they provide a certain interpretation of news events. This raises questions about whose interpretations are included and whose are excluded. It also raises several additional questions: what news events are reported and why are others omitted, what audience does the newspaper write for and can this lead to distortion? Some of these questions are answered if we look at the processes and relations involved in the production of news.

Hall et al (1978) argues that the press is a 'machinery of representation' through which news events are reported and understood within dominant ideological frameworks. Hall emphasises several important structural and ideological relations through which this process occurs. The first is what counts as news. There are an infinite number of events occurring throughout the word that can become news yet only some are reported as news. The question then arises, what is the basis and structure of news selection? Why

do some events become news while others remain unaccounted? For Hall the selection of what will become news is based on 'news values'. At the most general level this involves an orientation towards items that are out of the ordinary or which break our 'normal' expectations about social life.

While news values play an important part in the selection of news events there are also structural constraints in the selection of news. For example, there are internal pressures to continually produce news within a finite set of resources. These pressures can be alleviated by focusing on specific news topics and events that are regular (e.g. sports) and/or by tapping into institutional sources that provide regular sources of information. One consequence of this process is that newspapers become heavily dependent on those institutions that can either pre-schedule events or maintain a steady supply of news through public relations departments, press officers and press releases. Invariably, these institutions happen to be the powerful institutions because they have the resources to maintain a potent public relations machine. As van Dijk (1988, p.115) notes,

> " To guarantee a steady supply of news, independently of what actually happens in the world, and for an effective organisation of their newsbeats, journalists must make sure to tap resources that provide continuous information that may be used to make news. These sources are mostly powerful or elite institutions, such as the Government, state agencies, parliament, city councils, big corporations, political parties, unions, the police, the courts or the universities..."

The dependence on the major social institutions is increased because newspapers search for 'objective' and 'authoritative' statements on news events. This means constantly turning to accredited representatives who are deemed to have specialised knowledge in their field. These are usually the

representatives of the powerful social institutions - political parties and politicians for political topics, owners, directors, top level managers of business corporations and trade union leaders for industrial matters, as well as the police and judges of higher courts on legal/criminal matters. The 'flip' side of this is that less powerful or organised groups are seen to be less 'objective' and 'authoritative' and thus become marginal when new events are defined. As such, the newspapers, by default, mediate the dominant interpretation of news events.

For example, during the inner city disturbances of 1981 reporters relied heavily on Scotland Yard as a key source of news and information. Indeed, many reporters worked directly from the pressroom at Scotland Yard. The relationship was one where the police fed the reporters the 'facts' of the events. To step outside of this relationship through constantly checking or questioning 'facts' with other sources would lead to police disfavour. Thus, in order to maintain their 'hotline', reporters were forced to develop an uncritical attitude towards police information. Indeed, Hansens' (1982) analysis of the news articles in the Mail, Mirror and the Guardian from the 6th to the 12th of July showed that the statements of senior police officers received more space than any other group. In doing so, police officers were given the space to mediate their own interpretation of the events as a 'riot'. This construction of the events was also strengthened by the fact that less powerful groups had limited access to the press. For example, 'grassroots leaders' and 'rioters' may have had limited access to the press because they were difficult to contact or were unable to establish regular press conferences. They may also have been unwilling to give journalists their names, suspecting that they might find their way back to the police. Similarly, they may have also be unwilling to give their views for fear of having them distorted. Journalists on the other hand may see their statements as almost 'ideological', not carrying the 'objectivity' and

'authority' of the police. As such, the reasons why certain groups became involved in the inner city disturbances were not voiced.

The need to produce news on a daily basis leads the press to have a structural reliance on dominant institutions. However, news events still need to be communicated and made comprehensible to the audience at large. Thus, the unexpected and the unpredictable must be contextualised within a framework of discursive and cultural markers that are familiar to the audience. Hall et al (1978) argues that this is achieved through 'cultural maps' of the social world. Cultural maps are representations of shared cultural knowledge. The press uses these maps to plot news events against common set of shared cultural references in order to make news events 'mean' for the reading audience. The British cultural map has numerous markers and points of reference. However, for our purposes, it is crucial to note that racialised discourses are part and parcel of this map. Thus, news event concerning South Asians and African-Caribbeans will be 'made sense' of through mapping them onto racialised discourses.

Coming back to our original point of credibility, we have to be clear that when we begin to examine newspaper we are not looking at 'factual' documents. Newspapers do not impartially report 'facts'. Rather, they largely convey dominant interpretations of news events whilst excluding the voices of the less powerful. In the history of press reporting on people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent in Britain this has usually meant that it is state actors who have constructed the agendas: immigration, policing, social and economic problems. In turn, dominant actors and members of the press have used racialised discourses to interpret these events (for examples see Gordon and Rosenberg 1989). In examining the press in Scotland we can begin to examine whether similar processes were occurring; how free from distortion was the Scottish press? Did the Scottish

press use racialised discourses to interpret news events concerning people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent?

Representativeness

The next problem is that of representativeness - whether the documents being examined are representative of the full range of documents within that category. For example, were the newspapers examined in this study representative of the range of newspapers available? As May (1993) notes, if we are to draw conclusions that are intended to show that there is a typical method of representation, one which dominates the pages of the press and excludes others, then we have to show how our sample is representative of the whole range of documents within that field as opposed to a fraction of that field.

The section above noted that in the production of 'news' the needs to produce news daily, as well as make it comprehensible to the reading audience, shapes the press. In effect, this leads the press to work within dominant political and discursive frameworks. However, if the same forces shape all newspapers there would be little in the way of difference between one publication and another. Yet, there clearly are differences between newspapers; between what events are covered, how they are covered, and their audience. This difference stems from the newspaper's own editorial policy, it's political stand and the audience that it writes for. Depending on the particular editorial commitment of the paper (whether this is a commitment to a certain broad political stand, to entertainment, or to the production of 'quality' news) only some news events will be included. Such news must fit the policy of that paper and, in turn, will be represented within the 'genre' of that paper. When examining the newspaper we have to ensure that the papers selected are representative of the broader editorial positions, genres as well as target audience groups. It should be noted that this also

overlaps with the question of credibility. We have to be aware that 'external' forces (for example the need to produce news on a daily basis) and 'internal' forces (editorial policy and genre) 'mould' newspaper content, which can lead to distortion.

Meaning

The meaning of a document is usually seen as working at two levels: the surface or literal meaning, and the deeper meaning, which is arrived at by some form of interpretative understanding or structural analysis. Understanding the surface or literal meaning can be a problem if the language used varies over groups, cultures and periods. As such, one has to be familiar with the broader cultural frameworks within which the document was produced before the surface meaning can be understood. Similarly, understanding deeper meaning of a document can also be problematic. How do we bring out underlying themes or issues? Further, how can we assess the dominance of certain themes and issues over others?

One way of assessing this is usually through quantification by means of a content analysis. Frankfort-Nachimas and Nachimas (1993) define content analysis as any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages. As O'Connell Davidson and Layder (1994, p.199) note, although content analysis has been used in a variety of contexts to quantify communication, in essence,

> "...content analysis simply consists of deciding on a *unit of analysis* (a word, a paragraph, an article, a photograph), devising *categories* and then counting how often the unit of analysis falls into each category"

Much of the early material on content analysis emphasises how this method can bring out the internal meanings of a piece of communication in an

objective and systematic way. As O'Connell Davidson and Layder note, textbooks covering this method argue that the analysis should be constructed thus. Firstly, collect your sample; secondly, decide on the coding units. The coding unit can be anything (a word, a paragraph, a theme) depending on what is being analysed. However, this coding unit must be clearly defined. The researcher must also decide whether to collect nominal or ordinal data. Nominal data refers to simple frequency counts. Ordinal data refers to ranking items on a scale (e.g. favourable, neutral, unfavourable).

Thirdly, the researcher selects the analytic categories into which the content of the coding units will be fitted. The textbooks on content analysis stress that the definition of categories should be a rigorous and precise process. If the categories are not rigorously defined it could lead to problems of researcher bias increasing. Holsti (1969) argues that these categories should also be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. By exhaustive it is meant that they should cover every possibility, otherwise it may prove impossible to classify and measure items. By mutually exclusive it is meant that the categories should not overlap; they should be defined in a way as to make it impossible for any one item to be classified in more than one way. Now, because categories are rigorously defined, coding should be a straightforward and systematic process that requires no subjective interpretative effort on the part of the coder. In other words, it is a standardised and objective method.

There are, as O'Connell Davidson and Layder note, problems with this approach. Firstly, through quantifying the piece of communication under analysis we lose the context. For example, through quantifying the number of times a word appears in a piece of text we divorce it from the context in which it is used. In doing so, we ignore the fact that the same word can have different meanings in different contexts. Secondly, if we are ranking the material we have to place it not only in the wider text but also in the wider

context of the author's moral and political views. For this we need to interpret the whole context of the article. As such, coding no longer is a straightforward application of the rules, it now involves the researchers' own interpretations of the meaning of words, phrases or themes in the context within which they sit. Thirdly, in this process of interpretation there are various ways of reading articles - researchers may come up with several different meanings from the same article. But how do we judge the different interpretations that researchers draw out a piece of communication - are some more 'true' than others? There are also several other problems with this approach, as May (1993, p.143) notes,

" Firstly, this method considers product and says little of process...it deals only with what has been produced, not with the decisions which informed its production which tells us so much about its meanings. Second, an empiricist problem is raised for it deals only with information which can be measured and standardised and for this reason considers data which can be simplified into categories. Third, in this preoccupation, it reproduces the meanings used by authors in the first instance, as opposed to subjecting them to critical analysis in terms of the political context of their production. Fourth, it fails to understand the practical organisational context of their production and interpretation as part of the methods by which people make sense of their social world...Fifth, it assumes that the audience who receive the message must translate it as the analyst does. By definition, it thereby negates the idea that a text is open to a number of possible readings by its audience."

In this thesis I want to develop an approach that identifies the qualitative 'meanings' that were attached to news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This approach also attempts to quantitatively measure what type of discourses and meanings are attributed to people of

South Asian and African-Caribbean descent (i.e. how often did they appear). In doing so, we can begin to gauge what types of discourses were being used and how dominant they were. Within these limits, the analysis attempted to bring out, both qualitatively and quantitatively, how the Scottish press selected and reported on news events concerning people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent.

The Research Process

The first part of the research process was to collect the sample. Four newspapers were selected that were representative of the Scottish press in the context of political position, editorial policy and genre. It should be noted that this choice was made within a Scottish context. By this I mean that we have to recognise the broad Scottish social and political context in which the newspapers were published. Since the 1960s, the Labour Party and the left have dominated Scotland. As such, the demand for papers that explicitly support the Conservative Party and/or the right has been extremely marginal. Consequently, most of the papers selected stand either on the left or on the centre. Overall, the papers selected were The Scotsman, a liberal broadsheet, the Glasgow Herald, another broadsheet but with wavering centre-left affiliations, the Daily Record, a populist working class paper standing very much on the left, and the Evening Times, another populist paper with wavering centre-left affiliations. These papers were also selected on the basis that they had substantial circulation figures; in other words, these papers represent a large percentage of the newspaper market in Scotland. All of these papers were available at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow.

These newspapers were sampled over specific time periods that covered key moments in the generation and reproduction of racism in England/Britain. English/British key markers were selected, rather than Scottish ones, for

several reasons. Firstly, racism in Scotland has always been denied. As such, the history of racism in Scotland has not been written. We are in a sense left with a blank slate. What I wanted to do here is start building aspects of this history up through examining how the Scottish press reported these issues. Secondly, I wanted to see if there were any continuities or discontinuities in the reporting of the events during these key time periods - was the substance of racialised discourses in the press any different between the two nations?

The first key moment was the Nottingham and Notting Hill 'race riots' in 1958 when the drive towards immigration controls gained an unstoppable momentum. The second key moment was 1968, marking the Kenyan Asian crisis and the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act, the 'rivers of blood' speech by Enoch Powell and the passing of the second Race Relations Act. This period represented a continuation of the various themes of the late 1950s and early 1960s around immigration, crime, employment but also witnessed the injection of new elements, for example, the idea of the 'alien wedge' and the push for repatriation. The final key moments were 1981 and 1985, marking the inner city disturbances, when debates around the 'alien wedge' and criminality were drawn upon and reaffirmed in order to 'make sense' of these events.

Time frames were set within which the sample would be gathered. These time frames were set to capture the reporting of the news event as well as subsequent reactions. Overall, the time frames were from July to December 1958, January to December 1968, February to December 1981 and August to October 1985. Once set, the sample was collected within these time frames. For each newspaper over this period all news articles, editorials, features and letters to the editor were examined. Only advertisements, business and the sports pages were excluded. This meant that approximately 139,675 articles were examined. Of these articles only those that made some reference to people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent were selected (the

Table 3.1: The number of articles collected by type and year				
	July-Dec. 1958	Jan.-Dec. 1968	Feb.-Dec. 1981	Aug.-Oct. 1985
news articles	74	178	228	123
editorials	14	28	34	22
letters to the editor	35	80	19	18
TOTALS	123	286	281	163

concern here was to bring out how people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent were represented around the above events). Overall this left only 853 articles. Table 3.1 gives a breakdown of the number of article, editorials and letters collected for each time frame.

Overall the articles were examined at several levels: headline structures, topics, editorials and letters to the editor. It should be noted that some forms of the nature document types excluded some forms of analysis. The document format varied between microfilm and actual newspapers. As such, it was difficult to standardise several measurements, for example, the number of column inches given to a particular news event or discourse. Nonetheless, within these limits the articles were examined at several levels. The starting-point in the analysis of press reports was headline structures. As van Dijk (1990) notes, the information in headlines is usually read first and is used by the reader to understand, construct and order the overall meaning of the main text even before it is read. Indeed, readers often do not go beyond the headline. As we have already noted, papers do not mediate the 'facts'. Instead they interpret and construct the events through particular ideological positions. These particular meanings and interpretations of events are summarised through the words used in the headline as well as headline structures. How, though, do we bring this out?

Firstly, there was a count of the words used in headlines. Now, unlike content analysis, there were no a-priori categories into which we could mark 'hits', as words appeared. Rather, categories were constructed through coding up. Once this was done the types of words used were examined, for example, were the 1980 inner city disturbances described as 'riots' or 'uprisings'? Secondly, the overall context and meaning of the words were analysed. Now, as noted above, this would really require us to place the word back into the context in which in exists and then to make a judgement on it. As such, words were examined in their headline structures. Thirdly, the 'truthfulness' of these headlines was assessed. However, how do we decide whether these statements are 'truthful' or ideological - would our interpretation be simply that, an interpretation that is equally as valid (or invalid) as the next researcher? As noted in the previous chapter, a 'scientific' analysis can draw out the real economic, political and ideological relations that shape society. This, in turn, can be used as templates in order to decide how near the 'truth' or ideological these headlines are. For example, numerous writers have pointed to the economic, political and social conditions which led to the inner city disturbances of the 1980s (Kettle and Hodges 1982, Benyon 1987, Hall 1987, Solomos 1993). However, as will become evident, the press rarely touched upon these explanations. Rather, they drew on aspects of ideological relations, on racialised discourses, in order to 'make sense' of the disturbances as a 'race riot'. Thus, they essentially constructed a particular representation of the events.

After the headlines the analysis moved on to examine the main body of the news articles. The intention here was to examine how people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent were represented around the key events identified above. As will become evident, in chapters six to eight, there was a political and ideological battle when defining these events. For example, around the 1958 disturbances there was a political battle between those who

saw the cause of the inner city disturbances in social and economic problems, and those who saw them caused by the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants (and who subsequently demanded immigration controls). My concern is to examine how the press mediated this conflict: did they provide a balanced coverage, did their analysis bring out the social and economic condition that *did* shape the 'riots', or was their position ideological, obscuring the real social roots of the riot? If it was ideological, what shape did it take? In practical terms, this meant that, once all the news articles were collected they were 'coded up' on the basis of main topics. These were then categorised into sub-topics using the same process of coding up. As with the headlines, the intention was to avoid creating a-priori categories that would be 'forced' onto the empirical material. This allowed us to see how South Asians and African-Caribbeans were represented around the particular key events as well as the other type of news events in which they were represented. For each of these categories there was an analysis of how 'truthful' they were through applying the same 'scientific' template as used in the headlines.

The press however not only mediates interpretations of news events. Through editorials and letters to the editors, both of which provide commentary on news events, the press can also attempt to shape public opinion. For example, editors can provide commentary on certain news events, speaking either for themselves or for the 'people', in order to support or reject certain forms of actions. Similarly, through printing letters sent to the editor a broad terrain of argument can be constructed which either supports or rejects particular interpretations of news events. As with the news articles, both editorials and letters were 'coded up' and counted in order to assess the significance of each theme. This was followed by a qualitative analysis, once more using our template, in order to assess the 'purely factual' or the ideological nature of these articles.

The final analysis examined how racialised discourses articulated with gender and between South Asians and African-Caribbeans. Numerous writers have noted that racialised discourses articulate with other divisions (e.g. around gender see Parmer 1982, Carby 1982, *Feminist Review* 1984, Bryan et al 1985, Mitter 1986, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993, Brah 1996). As such, an analysis of gender divisions in the press coverage was carried out in order to discern whether there were any differences in the ways that racialised discourses were applied. In the case of gender, two simple categories were constructed - men and women. The sample as a whole was examined and the specific contexts in which men and women appeared, as well as discourses applied, were examined. The case for South Asians and African-Caribbeans, however, was more problematic. It was difficult to create categories because people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent have been signified in various ways. Over time, people of South Asian and African Caribbean descent have been described on the basis of colour ('coloured' and 'black'), on a economic basis (as immigrants), on countries of origin (the West Indies, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) as well as 'supra-national units' (the Commonwealth or the Caribbean). As such, it was decided to 'code-up' on the basis of this signification and to note the context and racialised discourses used.

The above analysis, as will become evident later, will show that the Scottish press was active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses. Indeed, in its form and substance, the racialised discourses used by the Scottish press were similar to those of their English counterparts. However, there were also differences. From the late 1950s onwards, the Scottish press began to generate and reproduce the discourse of 'no problems'. There was no equivalent discourse in the English press.

Developing a Comparative Analysis

Small (1994) notes that there are certain pitfalls in using a comparative analysis: failure to provide a useful context of comparison; inapplicable or inappropriate use of concepts and theories, exaggeration and caricature. For Small, many of these shortcomings can be overcome if we use a 'contextualised analysis'. A 'contextualised analysis' would provide a 'contextual framework' within which studies could be compared and contrasted. In other words, it would sit the studies in the broader social and economic framework within which they were carried out, 'grounding' them in the context within which they were produced. This grounding process helps avoid some of the problems that arise if studies are compared out of context. The 'contextual framework' would identify who is the subject of attention; provide an over-view of contemporary socio-economic profiles and experience, and suggest possible social, political and economics relations that shape these profiles and experiences. It would be within this 'contextual framework' that the studies could subsequently be placed, compared and contrasted.

Small's own concern for a 'contextualised framework' stems from his comparison of the 'black' experience in the United States and England. As Small notes, although there are many similarities in the socio-economic experiences between 'black' people in both the United States and England there are also considerable differences. There are differences in the composition of the 'black' populations, the political processes and structure of the United States and England, as well as the processes of migration and settlement. All of these have be taken into account; they must be brought together to build a 'contextualised framework' within which studies should be placed, compared and contrasted. However, can we say the situation is the same for Scotland and England/Britain since they are at least part of the

same political structure? The answer here is both yes and no: no in the sense that Scotland and England/Britain are both parts of the same political unit and to a large degree are bounded by the legislation that emanates from its political centre at Westminster; yes, in the sense that the patterns of economic development, patterns of migration and the institutions of civil society do differ (see McCrone et al 1989, McCrone 1992).

Our contextualised framework has to recognise that these differences exist, and when comparisons are made, ensure that they are 'grounded' in these differences, most notably, the existence of a distinct Scottish civil society. The substantive points of comparison in this contextual framework are determined by the focus of the research in this thesis. For example, when we are comparing the historical role of Scotland and England in colonialism, there are only a few points of comparison which are really of concern: did the Scottish merchant class and bourgeoisie profit from colonialism in the same way as their English counterparts? Did it lead to the development of Scottish economy as with the English economy? And finally, did sections of the Scottish population, like their English counterparts, use racialised discourses to shape and sustain colonial exploitation. These questions can be answered through scrutinising secondary sources on Scotland and England's involvement in colonialism; 'grounded' within our contextual analysis. This framework would then allow us to highlight both the continuities and discontinuities between Scotland and England.

The same framework can also be used when we compare the Scottish and English press. Here, a 'like for like' analysis over our time periods would bring out both the continuities and discontinuities in reporting styles and the discourses used. However, such an approach would be time consuming. As such, it was decided that only secondary material on the English/British press and racialised discourses would be used. The use of secondary sources means that the methods by which articles were collected and analysed will

vary, not only between studies, but also with the thesis. This leads to the question of how strictly comparable these secondary sources are. Nonetheless, with limited time, this was one of the few options available.

A broader contextual background can also be provided by other pieces of documentary evidence and statistics. For example, the Census can provide the background context that Small called for (breaking it down for Scotland and England). The Census would give us comparative information on the composition of the South Asian and African-Caribbean communities in Scotland and England as well as on their economic activity and social class. This comparative context can also show us whether racialised divisions exist in Scotland: whether these are comparable to England, and if they do exist, what implications they have for the discourse of 'no problems'.

The limitation of Census material should however be noted. For example, the census information is based on ethnicity, but as Ahmed and Sheldon (1993) argue, how do you operationalise ethnicity? Usually ethnicity has at it core the idea of a social collective sharing some common form of cultural characteristics. What was asked for in the census was a conflation of a number of concepts and categories. These included categories of colour ('black'/'white'), notions of nationality (Indian/Pakistani) and geographical location (African/Caribbean). Another problem was whether people filled in these categories correctly. For example, there was a fear amongst academics, activists and sections of the 'black' communities that the census information would be used to 'count' Britain's 'ethnic' population in order to maintain or push for or maintain oppressive legislation such as immigration controls. As such, respondents did not always fill in the section on ethnic category. Overall then, when we are examining the census material we must bear these problems in mind.

Another point of comparison could be academic studies. However, even here there is a problem. As Miles and Dunlop (1986) have argued, there is a relative absence of theoretical and substantive material on racism in Scotland. This may stem from the academic community taking up the commonly held view that Scotland does not suffer racism - if there is a 'non-problem' what incentives are there to study it? Because of this, only a few studies on racialised discourses and divisions exist in Scotland exist. On the whole, these work that does exist is only relatively recent (from the early 1980s onwards) and is relatively scarce when compared to the body of work done in England. Nonetheless, these studies will be drawn on in order to bring out the continuities and discontinuities of racialised divisions in Scotland and England.

Conclusion

For the purpose of this thesis I argued for a historical and comparative analysis. In doing so, methodological issues were raised. When examining historical material we have to be aware that certain histories have been written out, for example, the history of 'black' people, women, gays and lesbians. This work attempts to bring together existing materials to provide a more 'rounded' picture of Scotland's involvement in colonialism as well the role played by sections of all classes in the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses. When examining the newspapers we have to be aware of the key questions of credibility, representativeness and meaning. We also have to be aware of the boundaries of the analysis. The analysis of the Scottish press can show that newspapers, one of the most important sites of ideological generation and reproduction, were active in articulating racialised discourses. It cannot tell us whether the Scottish population was racist as such. Certainly, numerous studies have pointed to the way in which the media generates an ideological atmosphere in which sections of all classes 'make sense' of aspects of the social world around them. However, by

examining the newspapers alone we cannot tell if the Scottish population is racist; this will be the role of other studies which gauge audience meaning or general attitudes. Finally, in examining racialised divisions we have to be aware of how reliable the evidence is as well as ensuring we place the comparison of studies within a contextual framework.

This thesis brings together certain aspects of racism in Scotland. It brings out a history that has conveniently been forgotten. It brings out the daily experiences of people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent in relation to employment, violence, housing and access to social provisions. It brings out the broad ideological atmosphere, produced by the press, within which sections of all classes attempted to 'make sense' of aspects of the world around them. It also brings out, through a comparative analysis, continuities and discontinuities. Continuities in the sense that this history, these contemporary experiences as well as the broad ideological atmosphere, are not that different when compared to England/Britain; discontinuities in the sense that there are important differences, most notably the discourse of 'no problems'. Through a comparative analysis we can highlight the differences that led to the generation and reproduction of the discourse of 'no problems'. We can also show its essentially fictitious nature through bringing out the continuities between Scotland and England, demonstrating that racialised discourses do not differ that much between the two nations. This study, however, is in no way a conclusive account of racism in Scotland. There are still numerous levels and aspects that need to be investigated. What this study does do is to examine some key aspects of racism in Scotland, both past and present, to add to the growing empirical work on racism in Scotland, as well as begin to address some of the theoretical problems in examining racism in Scotland.

Chapter 4: Colonisers or Colonised? Scottish Colonialism and Racism

Introduction

In chapter 1, I argued that a 'common sense' idea exists in Scotland which asserts that, far from being an aggressive colonising nation, Scotland was colonised by the English through the Act of Union in 1707. In turn, this 'common sense' idea is used as one of the main props for the discourse of 'no problems'. On the one hand, it implicitly rejects the view that Scots played any active role in the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses that sustained colonial exploitation; after all, weren't 'we' the objects of this colonialism. On the other hand, there is an assumption that Scots cannot be racist because they too have been exploited in the past, the popular cry is how can the oppressed be the oppressors?

However, I wish to take a more dispassionate approach that is free from any sentiments brought on by 'Scotch myst'. I wish to argue several key points. Firstly, Scotland did not become a colonised nation under the Act of Union. If anything, the Union allowed Scotland to move from the periphery of Europe to its centre. Before the Union, the Scottish economy was weak and ineffectual, evident in its inability to establish colonies or 'muscle' into colonial markets (unlike so many of its European competitors). However, under the auspices of the Act of Union, Scottish merchants were granted an equal partnership in the colonial projects. Scotland could finally gain access to colonial markets in the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. This, in turn, led to a massive injection of capital into Scotland, which amongst other things, underpinned the development of Scotland's industries and infrastructure. As such, Scotland was not colonised by the English and it did not become some 'backwater' of Europe. Rather, the Scottish economy flourished under the

Union; it went through a period of sustained development. However, this was partly achieved through its articulation with the slave and colonial modes of production. In other words, Scotland's development was based on the exploitation of unfree labour in the colonies.

The second key point follows on from this. I want to argue that Scots did not become an exploited 'ethnic' group through the Act of Union. Under the Union Scots were given a disproportionately higher number of seats in Westminster than the voting population in Scotland would warrant. Through one means or another, Scottish MPs used this to gain special privileges, such as the power of patronage, which in turn placed Scots in the administrative and military structures of colonialism. As such, Scots became well represented in the colonial structure of the Caribbean, South Asian and Africa.

The third key point follows on from this. I want to argue that Scots were also well represented amongst those who generated the 'ideological structures' that sustained and reproduced colonialism. In chapter 2 I argued that racialised discourses were instrumental in shaping exploitative relations as Europeans expanded outwards. To what extent these racialised discourses existed in Scotland before the Union is unclear. However, to the extent that Scotland was a Christian society, it would be hard to believe that the traditional dichotomies of religion that racialised the 'other' were not in place (see Fryer 1984, Stevenson 1992). To what extent these representations, if they did exist, helped shape exploitative relationships as Scots ventured outwards is also hard to discern. As is evident, the history of racialised discourses in Scotland still needs systematic studying. Nonetheless, if we pick up the analysis from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, it is clear that Scots were generating and reproducing racialised discourses that were instrumental in sustaining and reproducing colonialism. For example, sections of the Scottish

intelligentsia and missionaries were active in racialising the populations of Africa and South Asia through the idea of 'race'.

After the Union of 1707 Scotland did not become the peripheral backwater of Europe. Rather, it became an equal partner with England in colonial exploitation. Its people were not an exploited 'ethnic' grouping. Rather, like many of their English counterparts, they came to occupy lucrative and influential positions in the administrative and military structures of colonialism. In doing so, Scots also articulated racialised discourses that sustained and reproduced colonial exploitation. As such, there is *continuity* between Scotland and England's experiences. However, this does not mean that they were the same. There were also *discontinuities*. As it will become clear, Scotland expressed its role in this partnership in distinctly Scottish ways. This is evident in the formation of a Scottish Imperial identity and the racialisation of the Scots as a 'race' of Empire builders. The ways that racialised discourses played themselves out also differed. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century Irish migrants were racialised as a threat to both the Scottish 'race' and the nation. In other words, discourses around 'race' and nation overlapped. The reasons why this occurred, as will become evident, derive from the fact the Britain is a fractured ethnic social carrier.

What this chapter seeks to do it is to show the continuities and discontinuities in Scotland's role in Empire. However, the boundaries of this chapter must be firmly established. The aim here is to pull together the existing work on Scotland, colonialism and racism. Because there is relatively little material in this area, this chapter is fragmentary. Nonetheless, I want to firstly demonstrate that at an economic level Scotland did not become a 'colony' of England through the Act of Union. Rather, the Union allowed Scotland to gain access to colonial markets, and in turn, allowed for the development of Scotland at the cost of under-developing colonised nations.

In other words, Scotland, under the auspices of the British Empire, became a colonising nation as opposed to a colonised nation. Secondly, I want to show that Scots became equally involved as their English counterparts in the administrative structures of colonialism. Thirdly, I want to demonstrate that sections of the Scottish intelligentsia were active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses from at least the middle of the nineteenth century. I also want to suggest the conditions that may have led sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie to taking up and articulating these discourses. In doing so, I want to demonstrate the 'history' of racism in Scotland, and at the same time, remove one of the props for the discourse of 'no problems'. The final section in this chapter brings out the discontinuities in this experience, of how Scotland expressed its role in colonialism in very Scottish ways.

Scotland, the Union and Empire

Before the Union of 1707

The Scottish economy was is a healthy state for much of the seventeenth century. The main trade lay with England in linen and black cattle. Indeed, this trade represented such a prop to the nations commercial structure that, whenever there was a threat of economic recession, Scots began to talk about a common market with England. However, the Scotland political and economic elite also attempted to launch a 'mercantilist' policy in order to expand overseas trade and to foster her own industries. Yet, the conditions of the dynastic union of the Crowns between Scotland and England in 1603 made this difficult. Firstly, Scotland was embroiled in England's foreign disputes. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Scottish economy became battered by the impact of various wars. Conscription into the army and navy, as well as the effects of embargoes on trade with hostile powers, had all hit the Scottish economy. Secondly, despite the military support provided to England, Scots could not count on diplomatic or armed help for

Scottish enterprises overseas or legally engage in England's plantation trade (Donaldson 1966, Blythe and Butt 1975, Lenman 1977).

This basically meant that Scotland was unable to break into the colonial trade and markets. However, this was not for want of trying. For example, in the early seventeenth century, a grant was received from King James VI and I to establish Nova Scotia; pioneering parties left from Galloway in 1623 and 1623 with the aim of establishing plantations in this 'new' land (Donaldson 1966). Similarly, in the late 1690s the Darien Company, officially known as the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, sent ships to the Isthmus of Panama in order to establish an emporium of trade that could access the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, as well as north and south America (Inish 1932, 1932, Donaldson 1966, Prebble 1968). Scottish merchants also sought to build trading links with South Asia by attempting to establish a Scottish East India Company (Parker 1985, Lawson 1993).

All of these projects ultimately failed because the Scottish state could not provide the necessary capital, military or naval support. In Nova Scotia Scottish settlers became caught up in the conflict between the larger and stronger colonial powers of France and England, which eventually resulted in the settlers being removed and the land being surrendered. Little or no economic progress was made. Similarly, although the Darien Company sent ships out to the Isthmus of Panama the company never managed to gain a foothold, especially in the face of English and Spanish naval and military opposition. The scheme was not only a total failure; it also absorbed an estimated 25 per cent of all Scottish liquid trading assets (Lee 1995).

Attempts to establish trading links with South Asia were also undermined. In 1618 James I granted a charter to a group of petitioners led by Sir John Cunningham for the formation of the Scottish East India Company. However, the East India Company in England saw this as a threat to their

lucrative monopoly of trade with South Asia. Through petitioning and a considerable amount of bribery by the East India Company this threat was removed and the Scottish Company never traded. By the end of the seventeenth century there was another attempt to set up a Scottish East India Company, but this time backed by English capital, drawn mainly from those moneyed interests that were excluded from the East India Company. However, once more, the powerful East India Company was able to undermine this attempt through bribery and the petitioning of the English Government. On the back of East India money the English Government passed legislation prohibiting English backing of the Scottish company, in essence cutting the financial base of the company away.

Although Scotland lacked the international muscle to move into the colonial markets there was the possibility of accessing English markets. However, the Navigation Acts protected these markets through added tariffs onto foreign imports. Although some Scottish merchants attempted to negotiate this barrier by smuggling, it was a haphazard business, and hardly the basis on which Scottish merchants could secure overseas trade.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Scottish economy was beginning to loose go into decline for several reasons. Firstly, Scotland had suffered a series of harvest failures in the 1690s, causing widespread poverty, disease and the mass displacement of the population. Secondly, the Scottish economy was bruised by various English conflicts that it had become embroiled in. Finally, the Scottish economy suffered the Darien disaster - a blow to the pockets and prestige of the Scottish merchant classes and police elite, and as Lythe and Butt (1975) argue, conclusive proof of the impotence of Scottish enterprise abroad under the conditions of the Regal Union. This was the economic backdrop to the Union of 1707.

The Act of Union

The Union of the Parliaments emerged as a consequence of political and economic factors. Firstly, it was necessary for England to ensure the Protestant dynasty. Scotland and England were already united in a dynastic union since 1603 (although both nations were relatively independent). However, English politicians feared that unless a firmer and formal political union with England was cemented, Scotland might on the death of the childless Queen Anne (1702 - 1714) opt for James Edward Stuart, her exiled Roman Catholic half brother, instead of agreeing as England and Wales had already done to import a new Protestant dynasty from Hanover. In an international context, where Protestant England was competing against hostile Catholic powers, the possibility that Scotland may take up or impose a Catholic monarch was seen as a threat to England's interests. In order to secure the Protestant dynasty sections of the political elite in England demanded a full legislative union with Scotland (Lythe and Butt 1977, Lenman 1977, Colley 1992).

Secondly, economic recession and the prospects of recovery. The debates on the Union took place in the context of economic depression. Many of the pamphlets published between 1702 and 1705 were concerned with economic issues and the need to improve the nations trade balance and general commercial health. However, there was no agreement on the appropriate solution. On the one hand, there were those, such as Daniel Defoe, who argued that the Union with England would bring considerable economic advantages. The formation of a common market, free of tariff barriers, would mean that Scottish goods and commodities could be sold for a handsome profit in England. In turn, this would lead to a flow of money into the north, Scotland's balance of payments would vanish, and finance would be available for the commercial enterprises at home and abroad. This, as Smout (1969) notes, was a persuasive argument. For nearly twenty years Scottish trade to Europe had been in decay while Scotland's exports to England had

gained in importance during the seventeenth century. On the other hand, there were those such as Andrew Fletcher, who argued that the remedy lay in Europe and the re-establishment of trading links with Europe and establishing a federal framework with England. However, this argument, in the face of declining European exports, rang hollow.

In order to sharpen Scottish minds, the English Government threatened economic sanctions. The Aliens Act of 1705 stated that unless Scotland appointed commissioners to negotiate such a treaty, all Scots would be regarded as aliens in England. Their estates in England would be confiscated. The trade in Scottish cattle, linen and coal would also be barred. Since cattle comprised some 40 per cent of Scottish exports to England, and underpinned the balance of trade, the threat to the impoverished Scottish exchequer was very real. Finances were so poor by 1707 that there was insufficient revenue to pay the army and civil establishments. Along with threats also come incentives. The debates on the Union were also accompanied by a considerable amount of English bribery of Scottish Parliamentarians (Lythe and Butt 1977, Lenman 1977, Lee 1995)

When the vote on the Union eventually came, three out of every five members of the Scottish Parliament voted in favour of the Union. As Lythe and Butt (1975, p.84) argue: 'How far the final vote in the Scottish Parliament in the deep mid winter of 1706-7....reflected either force of economic argument or the play of economic self interest has not, perhaps cannot, be defined'. However, what is certain is that if the Union did not happen, the subsequent economic expansion would not have occurred. Scotland's absorption into the English protective system, buttressed by the Corn Laws and Navigation Acts, could not but be beneficial to agriculture and trade in the long term. Even though the gains of the Union were slow in coming, the expansion of the cattle trade, the linen industry and the tobacco trade

occurred more rapidly than would have been possible if the English Parliament remained hostile (Lythe and Butt 1975, Lenman 1977).

Through the Union, Scotland gave up its Parliament and now sent its representatives to Westminster. However, Scotland did not sell it soul. Although political sovereignty was given away, it still retained many of the key institutions of Scottish civil society. This had several important consequences. Firstly, although Scotland was now part of Britain it's identity was not subsumed by a wider English/British identity. By this I mean that the institutions of Scottish civil society maintained a distinct Scottish national identity. Secondly, Scottish civil society allowed the nation to have a degree of autonomy in its development. For example, under the Act the Scottish banking and financial systems were left more or less intact. These banks operated in such a way as to ensure *Scottish* capital accumulation by mobilising capital, stimulating savings and encouraging the introduction of capital from other regions abroad. In essence, although the Act of Union took Scotland's political sovereignty it ensured that Scotland remained Scottish and prospered under the Union.

The Caribbean

The Act of Union meant that Scotland, or to be more precise sections of the Scottish merchant classes, could gain access to the colonial markets. Their initial foray centred on the slave economies of the Caribbean and North American colonies during the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The slave mode of production produced a variety of agricultural staples, such as tobacco, sugar, and indigo for the export market using slave and indentured labourers. The relations of production, between slaves and slave owners, were shaped and sustained through racialised discourses (see Fryer 1984, 1988). Although there is little evidence of Scottish merchants trading in

slaves, there is evidence to show that Scots were active in the trade of commodities as well as running and owning plantations that used slaves.

The main trading pattern with the plantations was the entreport system, which Dickson (1980, p.99) argues was a logical economic move,

> " In the context of the relative poverty of the country's resources and manufacturing base in the late seventeenth century, the opportunities for great advance lay initially in the entreport trade i.e. importing raw materials primarily from the Atlantic colonies and re-exporting these to England and continental Europe."

The mainstay of the entreport system was the tobacco trade, importing tobacco in from the America and the Caribbean and re-exporting it to England and Europe. The Scottish share of the British tobacco trade rose from 10 per cent in 1738 to 52 per cent in 1769. In 1762, tobacco accounted for 85 per cent of Scottish imports and 52 per cent of exports. Although the trade was disrupted by the outbreak of the American Revolution, many of the Scottish merchants remained relatively secure after pulling their moneys out and reinvesting it in the Caribbean. Overall, the profits from this trade were also far from insubstantial. In 1771 the tobacco trade made a then substantial profit of £47 million pounds. The tobacco trade also brought additional economic benefits through its rejuvenation of old European commercial connections. On the wave of tobacco exports Scottish merchants established stores, gave credit and set up further trading links on the Baltic East Coast and Russia (for a more detailed history of the social and economic impacts see Smout 1969, Devine 1978, 1990, Dickson 1980).

Sugar was another lucrative commodity that Scottish merchants traded in. Indeed, sugar was not only imported from the plantation economies of the Caribbean, it was also refined in Glasgow. As Williams (1964) notes, sugar

refining in Glasgow can be dated back to the second half of the seventeenth century when several sugar houses were built, such as the Western Sugar House (1667) and the Easter Sugar House (1669). This industry was initially curtailed by tariffs and additional costs placed by the Navigation Acts. However, this ended with the Act of Union, after which sugar refining grew and continued to be an important industry on the Clyde Valley until the eclipse of the Caribbean islands in the middle of the nineteenth century. Other commodities that were also imported in from the Caribbean and America included cotton, rum, coffee, indigo, nutmeg and logwood.

The colonies also proved to be a captive market for Scottish exports. For example, the colonial markets absorbed the dramatic rise in the production of linen between 1730 and 1775. Around 90 per cent of all linen exported from Scotland during this period went to America and the Caribbean. Other exports from Scotland included leather goods, iron, tin, copper, stoneware and coaches. The profits that were be made against these goods was considerable. These markets were protected against 'foreign' competition through prohibitive tariffs on non-British commodities. As such, Scottish merchants could make a considerable profit selling at inflated prices.

The 'flip' side to the vast profits that were being made by merchants was the exploitation of Africans through the slave mode of production. It should be noted that Scottish merchants were not as active in the slave trade as their English counterparts. Regional specialisation meant that the Scottish West Coast ports began to build a dominant position in the trade with America and the Caribbean (the Clyde shipping having the quickest as well as the safest route, via the north of Ireland, during a period of continual warfare). English West Coast ports such as Bristol and Liverpool, on the other hand, were in a more advantageous position to gain a dominant hold on the triangular slave trade. Although Scottish merchants did not engage in the slave trade they were certainly dependent on slave labour to work on the

plantations in order to produce commodities such as tobacco, cotton and sugar. Indeed, not only were Scottish merchants dependent on slave labour, many also owned slaves (see Checkland 1957). Thus, although the emerging Scottish merchant classes were not involved any great way with the slave trade they were still involved in the use of slave labour on the plantation economies of the Caribbean.

Overall, this system enslaved millions of Africans. Rodney (1972) argues that during the period of the slave trade Africa lost some 40 to 50 million people. Of those enslaved, one quarter died during the notorious middle passage between Africa and the plantations. When the surviving slaves landed in the Caribbean they entered into a brutal and exploitative plantation system. This system has been extensively analysed elsewhere and cannot be given justice here (see Fryer 1984, 1988, Miles 1987, Parish 1989, Walvin 1992). However, there are two important points that follow on from this potted history. Firstly, the profits made by Scottish merchants through the slave mode of production. Scottish merchants were active in using (and indeed often owned) slave labour. In the various histories written on Scotland's involvement in plantation economies this is either ignored or underplayed. Secondly, Scots were part of a process that led to the eventual under-development of the West Coast of Africa (Rodney 1987). In other words, Scottish profits were ultimately made at the coast of African under-development and African lives.

South Asia

The history of British colonialism in South Asia is well documented (e.g. Morgan 1980, Charlesworth 1982, Palme Dutt 1985, Alavi et al 1989). It is not my intention to repeat it here. What I am concerned with, however, is to trace the Scottish dimension of this history. In this section, I want to briefly

examine the changes in the mode of production in South Asia and then go on to examine the role of Scots.

From the late-eighteenth century British rule in South Asia introduced a distinct colonial mode of production. While some dynamic features were introduced, there were ultimately shaped to serve the needs of the British capitalist mode of production. Alavi (1980) and Bagchi (1982) argue the immediate effect of British rule was to break down the self sufficient peasant economy, redirecting production towards an export-oriented agriculture that provided primary product for British industrial capitalism (raw cotton, wool, jute, oilseeds, dyes and hides as well as extractive industries). This system used forms unfree labour, including indentured labourers, to work large plantations. Indeed, as Fryer (1998) notes, racialsied discourses were used in order to locate South Asian as a source of unfree labour. This shift to a colonial mode of production, shaped in part by racialised discourses, was imprinted on the rest of the social formation: the laws, institutions, and social structure of South Asia have been shaped by Britain's requirement for cheap labour and cheap exports.

The role of Scottish in this process should not be under estimated. In the section below, I want to examine the role of Scots in the military and administrative structures of the colonial mode of production prior to independence. In this section, however, I want to examine the role of Scots in the economic relation. In South Asia, Scots were initially drawn into the activities of the East India Company from the late eighteenth century onwards. Under the auspices of the Company, which held the monopoly of trade with South Asia until 1857, the opportunities for Scots to make vast profits were substantial. The East India Company allowed its employees to be privately active in the internal trade within India and South East Asia. Exemption from taxation, political pressure and brute force enabled the men of the East India Company to gather considerable wealth. Scots were also

well represented among the Free Merchants and Houses of Agency, which were allowed to participate in the inland trade within South Asia, but were prohibited from importing back to Britain (maintaining the East India Company's monopoly) (Parker 1985, Colley 1992). The area of business for which the agencies are best known and which had the most significance for the future direction of British investment in India was indigo production. As Fryer (1988) notes, indigo plantation systems were slavery under another name. Peasants who objected to sowing indigo were murdered, their cattle seized, and their land converted to indigo production.

With the ending of the East India Company's monopoly in 1857 many of the agency houses expanded to seize the export/import trade left void by the demise of the Company. Once more Scots managed to gain a significant proportion of the trade. For example, Jardine Matheson and Company, which began in 1832 to trade with India, China and Japan, grew to become the greatest of South Asia and China's agency houses, bill brokers and bankers after the demise of the East India Company. Other key Scottish companies included Andrew Melrose of Edinburgh and Kirkman Finlay and Company of Glasgow. Houses of Agency also grew to develop the jute and tea (for a more detailed history see Parker 1985, Muirhead and Miles 1986, Miles and Dunlop 1987, Cain n.d.).

The British political and economic elite managed to extract a vast amount of wealth during their tenure of rule in South Asia. Two main sources can be identified. Firstly, the initial wealth that was drawn from the plunder of South Asia. The extent of this capital should not be under-estimated. Palme Dutt (1985) argues that between 1757 and 1815 some £500 million to £1,000 million was extracted from South Asia. Over the whole period of colonial rule Palme Dutt estimates that some 50 per cent of South Asia's revenue was taken out of the country. It was a process that was often ruthlessly carried out, leading to the subsequent under-development of South Asia, the

destruction of its urban centres, and literally starving the South Asian people. Between 1854 and 1908 there were 31 major famines that resulted in the death of an estimated 29 million people. Secondly, with the destruction of many indigenous industries through prohibitive tariffs and restrictions, South Asia became a market for commodities produced by British industries. South Asia became a market for textiles, especially silks and cottons, as well as manufactured goods (see below).

Scotland's Progress

Scotland's involvement in colonialism brought a massive injection of capital and wealth that was used under-pinned its industrial development For example, Dickson (1980, p.90) argues that,

" Unlike earlier forms of capitalist enterprise, the profits from the Atlantic trade found their way not only into land ownership and conspicuous consumption but also industrial activities like coal and copper mining, and later cotton textiles, that became a leading sector of the emerging industrial economy after the 1770s."

Devine (1978, p.117) also shares this position, arguing that,

"...Scottish hegemony in the Atlantic trades was the first fruit of the Treaty of Union in 1707 which guaranteed access to England's transatlantic empire, and in turn, produced the capital and enterprise that eventually led to the industrial transformation of the later eighteenth century."

Indeed, investment in manufacturing was vital to the merchant classes during the eighteenth century. The entreport system, the characteristic business method of the Glasgow houses, depended on the exchange of

manufactured commodities and plantation equipment. Many of the Glasgow merchants recognised this relationship and began to invest their profits in industries in order to ensure the supply of manufactured goods. For example, Devine (1976) notes that well over half the merchants between 1770 and 1815 held shares in manufacturing industries and a considerable number retained multiple investments. This capital investment was far from marginal. Between 1730 and 1750 18 manufactories were established, and from 1780 to 1795 an additional 21 were established, many of which were strongly supported by merchant capital. Merchant capital also underpinned ancillary industries, such as the port and shipping industries, and dominated the linen industry, iron works, bleaching, sugar and glass industries.

Although merchant capital began to decline in the early part of the nineteenth century the industrial sector was mature enough to generate its own capital, underpinning Scottish industrial development. This development was facilitated by the fact that Scottish commodities had captive markets in the colonies. The Scottish textile industry, the mainstay of Scottish industry during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, has ready made markets in the colonies for its goods. Similarly, Scottish industries produced machinery and engines to process cotton and sugar in the colonies, locomotives and rails for South Asia, ships and steel for the Empire. Overall, a whirlwind of economic activity was initiated which led to the central belt of Scotland becoming one of the most industrialised areas in Europe. As Smout (1987, p.85) notes,

> "...the central belt of Scotland [became] one of the most intensively industrialised regions on the face of the earth. By 1913, Glasgow, claiming for herself the title of 'Second City of Empire', made, with her satellite towns immediately to the east and west, one fifth of the steel, one third of the shipping tonnage, one half of the marine engine

horsepower, one third of the railway locomotives and rolling stock and most of the sewing machines in the United Kingdom."

Immediately before the Union the Scottish economy was in a pitiful state, hit by famines, battered and bruised by the effects of continental wars, unable to break into the colonial markets. After the Union the Scottish economy began to prosper as it began to gain access to previously closed colonial markets. Scottish merchants became active in the Caribbean, South Asia and in Africa. From this trade vast fortunes were made by the Scottish merchant classes. In turn, Scottish merchants provided an injection of capital that underpinned Scotland's industrial development. Although there were regional variations, the Scottish economy reflected the broad pattern of progress that the English/British economy was experiencing (see Hobsbawn 1968, Mathias 1983). Indeed, in many ways, it actually outstripped the English economy. As Colley (1992, p, 123) argues,

" [Scotland's] economy had expanded after the 1750s at a faster rate than ever before, in some respects at a faster rate than the English economy. Between 1750 and 1800, its overseas commerce grew by 300 per cent, England's by only 200 per cent. In the same period, the proportion of Scots living in towns doubled, whereas England's more substantial population increased by some 25 per cent. And Scottish towns were now far more affluent places, secure in post-Jacobite stability, made fat on imperial trade and graced with new, broad streets, elegant private houses and imposing public buildings."

This progress was directly related to Scotland's (and England's) involvement in colonialism. Drawing on Miles (1987, p.66 - 67) notion of articulations between modes of production, it can be argued that the capitalist mode of production in Scotland (based of wage labour) was inter-connected with the slave and the colonial modes of production (based on various forms of unfree

labour). Several points of articulation can be identified. Firstly, the initial mercantile trade with the plantation economies generated the capital that was later used to underpin industrial capitalism in Scotland. Secondly, with the development of industrial capitalism in Scotland, the colonies in the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa provided a secure market for Scottish manufactured goods. Thus, the development of industrial capitalism in Scotland was based on the articulation between Scottish capitalism and the slave and colonial modes of production. Coming back to our original argument, it is obvious that Scotland did not become a colonial outpost for England. Rather, Scottish merchants, and later the bourgeoisie, mirrored England's development and involvement in the slave and colonial modes of production.

Scots in the Colonial Structure

What of the Scottish people though - were they exploited? On the one hand, no. Sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes often found their way into the administrative structures of colonialism as well as lucrative and influential positions in the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. On the other hand, yes. In the development of slave, colonial and capitalist modes of production, both at home and overseas, class divisions articulated with racialised and gender discourses in order structure exploitative relations. On the basis of the assigned ascriptive criteria, individuals were located in their 'appropriate' place within these relations. In this chapter, I want to examine how sections of the middle classes and bourgeoisie benefited from these relations, and in turn, identify how racialised discourses were used by these actors to both sustain and reproduce certain forms of exploitative relations. In the following chapter, I want to examine how class articulated with racialised and gender divisions in order to structure various forms of exploitation. In turn, I also want to examine how these exploitative

relationships led to some sections of the 'white' working classes drawing upon and reproducing racialised discourses.

As we have already noted, sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes established lucrative economic relations as they expanded into the colonial markets. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, merchants reinvested their profits on both sides of the Atlantic. In the Caribbean, Scottish merchants ploughed their profits back into plantation scheme. In turn, the ownership and control of plantations enabled Scotsmen to employ other countrymen as managerial and professional capacities (Sheridan 1977). In Scotland, merchants provided the initial capital for the development of industrial capital. In time, railway, shipping, tea and cotton plantations, oil and rubber, textiles and other profitable financial investments all located the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes firmly within the higher echelons of the colonial trade structure. Indeed, Forsyth (1997, p.17) argues that this relationship was recognised by sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and political elite when Glasgow took for itself the title of 'Second City of Empire',

> " The centrality of the Empire to Scotland's economic success was openly acknowledged in the description of Glasgow as 'Second City of the Empire' and the Scottish economy as the 'Workshop of Empire'. For both individual Scots and the nation as a whole, the Empire provided them with the opportunity to rid the historic curse of poverty and backwardness and propel Scotland into the ranks of the prosperous nations."

Similarly, many of the Scottish middle classes found themselves in influential and lucrative positions in the colonial structure. As Devine (1980) notes, this arose as a result of the power of patronage. Under the terms of the Act of Union Scotland obtained a disproportionately high representation compared

to its size - 45 Members of Parliament and 16 Peers. Many of the Scottish politicians generally voted as a bloc, trading these votes in return for advantages, including the power of patronage for civil and military posts in the colonial structure. Scottish politicians, in turn, used this power of patronage to build power bases in the north, securing their own political position, and quelling any potential disgruntlement with the Union. As such, through the power of patronage many of the Scottish middle classes found themselves in lucrative administrative and military colonial posts in the Caribbean, South Asia and African.

Perhaps the best example of the use (or abuse) of the power of patronage was Henry Dundas, chairman of the Board of Control between 1784 and 1801. The Boards duty was to 'superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which in anyway relate to the civil or military Government or the revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies'. As chairman of the board Dundas was in a key position to allocate appointments which, within the limits of political acceptability, he undoubtedly did. Dundas gave numerous appointments to his friends and relatives, especially for positions in South Asia, where the rapid expansion of colonial territories created new opportunities in civil and military posts. As such, either through Dundas or other patrons numerous Scots found themselves in influential and/or lucrative positions in South Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

For example, John Michie rose to become a Director of the East India Company from 1770 until his death in 1788. He managed to build up a personal following in South Asia by providing young relative and connections lucrative positions (Parker 1985). Similarly, between 1850 to 1939 around one third of the colonial governor-generals were drawn from Scotland (Donaldson 1966, Parker 1985). Scots were also found in plentiful numbers in the East India Company. In the first half of the nineteenth century Scots represented around one fifth of those in the service of the

Company. There were however significant variations in the different branches of the Company service. One in three officers was Scottish, one in nine civil servants were Scottish and one in eleven was an ordinary soldier. Most of the Company's Scottish employees came from relatively high titled or landed rank, the younger sons of the peerage and gentry of Scotland driven to the Company through the traditions of inheritance combined with a lack of opportunity at home. Indeed, in 1821 Walter Scott referred to India as the 'cornchest for Scotland where we poor gentry must send our youngest sons' (Steel 1984, Parker 1985).

The Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes found their way into lucrative and influential positions within the whole administrative, military and economic colonial structure. For sections of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy this colonial structure provided not only trading opportunities but also influential positions of control. For the old middle classes the colonial structure provided opportunities in administration and military service, whilst for the new commercial middle classes the colonial structure provided a vast array of opportunities and entrepreneurial activities. In essence, the experiences of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes were not that different from their English counterparts.

The Scottish history of 'race' and racism

Scots were not only active in the whole economic and political structures of colonialism, they were also active in generating and reproducing the ideological structures of colonialism, including racialised discourses. Unfortunately, as I noted in chapter one, the history of racialised discourses in Scotland still has to be systematically written and there is neither the time nor space to do it here. As such, I want to pay particular attention to a period where there has been some work done, the role of the Scottish intelligentsia in the generation and reproduction of the idea of 'race' during the nineteenth

century. The term intelligentsia here is used in a 'Gramscian' sense. They were individuals who occupied an socio-economic position in the world from which they could formulate and articulate a more systematic conception of society than those directly involved in production, distribution and exchange. Here I want to argue that sections of the Scottish intelligentsia in the nineteenth century were instrumental in generating the discourse of 'race' (for a fuller discussion on the idea of 'race' see Montagu 1964, 1974, Jordon 1968, 1974, Stepan 1982, Banton 1987). I also want to suggest the various mechanisms by which the discourse of 'race' was reproduced beyond the intelligentsia as well as why it could have been taken up by sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes.

The role of the Scottish intelligentsia

The rise of modernity in Western Europe was a period of invention and progress, of massive technological changes, of political, economic and social leaps whose influence spread itself across the world, not least in the shape of the British Empire. It was also, ultimately, a period in which theological explanations of the social world gave way to science and reason. This is evident in the debates on 'race' during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Scientists began to attempt to understand not only why the world's population varied physically (for example in skin colour, hair type, physical build) but also why it appeared that only some of these populations progressed to a civilised state whilst others lacked even the most basic constituents of civilisation, such as art and writing.

Theological explanations of physical differences in the eighteenth and nineteenth century began by emphasising that all humans belonged to the same stock, that everyone could ultimately trace their ancestry back to Adam and Eve. The physical diversity within the human population, such as skin colour, was explained as a result of environmental factors such as the sun

and heat. However, as Banton (1977, 1987) notes, these assertions began to be challenged when European colonists in tropical areas did not become 'black' nor did Africans or South Asians turn 'white' when taken to Europe. An alternative secular and 'scientific' explanation of physical difference began to gain dominance over the theological model. Sections of the intelligentsia argued that the world's population stemmed not from a common origin but from multiple origins, that there existed a number of discrete and different 'racial types', with inherent and distinguishable biological characteristics, which were passed on by each generation of that 'race'.

This idea of 'race', however, went beyond simply explaining physical differences. 'Race' was given an additional meaning that was used to explain why some 'races' had advanced whilst others remained in a relatively primitive state. The new 'scientific' approach argued that the 'racial type' of a group determined their cultural and intellectual ability. Thus there were some superior 'racial types' which displayed higher levels of intellectual and cultural ability whilst other lower 'racial types' existed on a more primitive levels. Hence, the world's population was placed into a hierarchy of 'racial types', with the biologically superior (and thus culturally and intellectually superior) 'races' at the top and the other 'races' arranged below.

Miles (1993) has used the term 'scientific racism' to describe these arguments. 'Scientific racism' contained two main elements. Firstly, it claimed that the human species could be divided into a number of discrete biological types. The underlying type of a group was seen to determine cultural variations and conflicts between different groups. Secondly, the 'races' of the world could be ordered hierarchically. In constructing this hierarchy Europeans were often placed at the top, a superior 'race' evident in their supposedly superior cultural and intellectual abilities, whilst the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas were scattered near the bottom, inferior 'races' lacking any of the basic elements of civilisation.

There are several important points that arise from this process of categorisation. Firstly, it heralded a process of racialisation whereby the world's population was divided on the basis of phenotypical differences, which in turn, were attributed with a range of negative/positive characteristics. Secondly, this process of racialisation arose as sections of the intelligentsia attempted to 'make sense' of aspects of the phenomenal world. It did not occur at the behest of the bourgeoisie and it was not deliberately formulated in order to facilitate the exploitation of labour within the colonies. Rather, it arose to explain aspects of the phenomenal world. Thirdly, material relations nonetheless shaped this process because underlying essential relations contour the phenomenal world. For example, progress (or the lack of it) was shaped at the level of exploitative economic relations because colonising nations, who according to this categorisation were attributed 'superior' characteristics in the 'racial' hierarchy, developed at the cost of under-developing colonised economies, inhabited by peoples attributed to be 'inferior'. However, rather than identifying these underlying essential relations the intelligentsia drew on and confirmed many pre-existing racialised discourses, ossifying them in the science of 'race' (see Lawrence 1982).

Without doubt sections of the Scottish intelligentsia were active in generating this discourse of 'race'. One of the most influential writers and advocates of the discourse of 'race' was the Scottish anatomist Robert Knox. Knox published *The Race of Men* in 1850, a 'racial' view of history. In the introduction he argued that 'the human character, individual and national, is traceable solely to the nature of that race to which the individual belongs'. Knox, however, went further. He argued that the 'races' would inevitably come into conflict with one another in the battle for 'racial' survival. For example, in the following passage Knox advocates that not only is the 'Negro' is another species or 'race', but that there will be an inevitable

struggle between the 'races', one in which the 'black races' will be exterminated as they fall to the ceaseless progress of superior 'races',

" Look at the Negro, so well known to you, and say, need I describe him? Is he shaped look any white person? Is the anatomy of his frame, of his muscles, or organs like ours? Does he walk like us, think like us, act like us? Not in the least. What an innate hatred the Saxon has for him, and how I have laughed at the mock philanthropy of England!...it is a painful topic; and yet this despised race drove the warlike French from St. Domingo [i.e. Haiti] and the issue of a struggle with them in Jamaica might be doubtful. But come it will, and then the courage of the Negro will be tested against England...With one thousand white men all the blacks of St. Domingo could be defeated in a single action. This is my opinion of the darker races.

Can the black races be civilised? I should say not...

By ascending the Senegal cautiously and rapidly...a thousand brave men on horse back might seize and hold central Africa to the north of the tropic; the Celtic race, will, no doubt, attempt this some day. On the other hand, accident has prepared the way for a speedy occupation of Africa to the south of the equator by the Saxon race, the Anglo-Saxon...Who cares for the Negro, or the Hottentot, or the Kaffir. The latter has proved a very troublesome race, and the sooner they are put out the way the better." (cf. P.Fryer, 1984, p. 174-175)

Another proponent of the idea of 'race' was George Combe, one of the main proponents of phrenology (the 'science' of deriving people's characteristics and degrees of civilisation from the shape of their skulls). In his work Combe attempted to order the world's population into a hierarchy or 'races', ordered on the basis of the shape and size of their skulls. In this hierarchy, Europeans were placed at the top while the 'darker races' were scattered near the bottom. For example, Combe argued that,

" The brains of the different European races differ considerably from each other, but a common type characterises them all, and distinguishes them from those ...[other]...They are decidedly larger than the Hindoo, American Indian and Negro heads; and this indicates superior forces of mental character...In short they indicate higher natural power of reflection, and a greater natural tendency to justice, benevolence, veneration, and refinement than others." (cf. L.Muirhead and R.Miles, 1986, p.118)

It is important to note that Combe was not a marginal figure. Indeed, as Cantor (1975) notes, Combe's work, such as the *Essays on Phrenology* in 1819 and *Systems of Phrenology* in 1825, went through several editions. Combe also frequently contributed to the *Scots Magazine*, the *Caledonian Mercury*, *The New Edinburgh Review* and *The Scotsman*. As such, his ideas were widely available and would have been read by sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes.

Perhaps the most infamous piece of work during this period was Thomas Carlyle's (1853) *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*. Like the above writers, Carlyle saw the world's population divided into a hierarchy of 'races'. For Carlyle, Anglo-Saxons sat at the top; they were the chosen people who were crusading to open up the worlds 'waste lands' in South Asia and Africa in order to bring civilisation and commerce. At the bottom of his 'racial' hierarchy stood the 'black races' whose sole purpose of existence, it seems, was to serve the chosen people in their task. In 1867 Carlyle reaffirmed his position,

" One always likes the Nigger, evidently a poor blockhead with good disposition, with affections and attachments - with a turn for nigger melodies, and the like:- he is the only Savage of all the coloured races

that doesn't die out at the sight of the white Man; but can actually live beside him, and work and increase and be merry. The almighty maker has appointed him to be a servant." (cf. P.Fryer, 1984, p.172)

Heathens, Savages and Barbarians

Scottish missionaries were also active in generating racialised discourses. These racialised discourses, however, were in no way as 'rigorous', 'scientific' or 'systematic' in their formulation. Rather, they were founded on more 'moral' grounds. Missionary intervention developed on a perceived responsibility to spread the Christian message and civilisation to the 'backward' and 'primitive' parts of the world. For missionaries the modern day crusade was to bring Christianity, culture and civilisation (understood as trade and commerce) to the 'darkest' parts of the world. Missionary activity was also strengthened by the notion that missionaries were members of a divinely ordained and superior white 'race' whose duty it was to 'shepherd' the 'darker races'.

There are numerous examples of Scottish missionary activity. Indeed, as Forsyth (1997) notes, many Scots saw the missionary movement as an important means through which Scottish Presbyterianism could be expanded beyond Scotland. It was also important in focusing attention away from the religious divisions between the Free Church and the Established Church in Scotland during the mid-nineteenth century as well as the growing 'heathenism' within the Scottish cities. For example, the Free Church and the Established Church were able to co-operate in order to establish the African Lakes Company in 1879 to promote the 'beneficial trade and moral improvement of Africans'. Underpinning this project were, one the one hand, representations that racialised Africans as 'savages' existing at the basest level of civilisation. On the other hand, there was a belief in the role of

Christianity and commerce in bringing about the 'moral' improvement of Africans (as well as the heathens within the cities).

Individual Scottish missionaries were also influential in generating racialised discourses. For example, during the 1850s David Livingston racialised Africans as 'backward' people who existed at the basest level of 'civilisation',

> " Barbarianism, or savageism, is the effect of ages of development and vice. And agriculture, fishing, hunting, manufactures as of iron, brass etc. or the nomadic life afford no criterion whereby to judge the civilisation of a people. Neither of these pursuits raises certain tribes in the land from the lowest form of barbarianism, as envisaged in the perfect nudity of the men and the mere pretence at covering the private parts in women. They possess neither courage, patriotism, natural affection, honour, nor honesty. They have no stimulus for mental improvement. Most of their thoughts are concentrated on eating and drinking, smoking wild hemp and snuffing tobacco." (cf. L.Muirhead and R.Miles, 1986, p.116)

Similarly, James Stewart, active in Africa during the late nineteenth century, racialised Africans as an almost childlike 'race'. The Imperial East India Company (a largely Scottish enterprise) decided in 1891 to add a missionary side to its commercial activities in Kenya. They commissioned James Stewart, at that time the most senior Scottish missionary in Africa, to find a suitable location for such a mission. During his period of stay in African, Stewart clearly racialised the African, attributing them with,

> "...a curious mixture of childlike simplicity and obstinacy, of openness and duplicity, which makes it difficult to sum up his character briefly. He is at once affectionate and gentle, yet sometimes savage in his rage:

almost always loyal and seldom or never treacherous, like some of the Eastern races." (cf. L.Muirhead and R.Miles, 1989, p.117)

Like Livingston, Stewart believed that the 'civilisation' of Africa and the Africans was possible, but that it would only be achieved through a sustained contact with superior 'races' and by commerce,

" In the advance of the African races there is one danger ahead. It is the over confidence and satisfaction with themselves displayed by so many of those who have been partially educated; and the entirely wrong impression many of them seem to entertain, that it is possible for them to reach in one or two generations the level which other races have taken long centuries to reach. From this fallacious conclusion they are apt to claim equality, political and social, for which as a race they are not yet prepared...The safety of the black man and the guarantee of his higher progressive future, lie in the harmonious working with the white man, especially in those regions where a humane and just administration exists." (cf. L.Muirhead and R.Miles, 1986, p.117)

As such, Scottish missionaries were also active in generating racialised discourses. This, however, did not occur at the behest of the bourgeoisie nor was it 'determined' by economic relations. Rather, the process of racialisation arose in order to 'make sense' of aspects of the phenomenal world, including the question of progress. Now, as with the Scottish intelligentsia, missionaries rarely examined the underlying essential relations that shaped this uneven development. Rather, they drew upon and reworked racialised discourses, which may have included a-priori racialised discourses that signified 'others' as heathens and savages (see Fryer 1984, Stevenson 1992), in order to 'make sense' of the material differences between Europeans. As Miles argues,

" As with all ideology, these ideas were a partial refraction of the experienced reality of missionaries...they were motivated not only by the abstract notion of spreading Christianity, but also by the real and very obvious supremacy and material achievements of British capitalism. Hence, to the missionary who was a direct observer of both the material condition of the African and the 'success' of British capitalism, and yet generally ignorant of African history, it must be difficult not to conclude that the African was materially backward and, by comparison with the British (upper class) moral standards, degenerate." (R.Miles, 1982, p.111)

The Imperial Message

As we have already seen, sections of the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries were active in generating racialised discourses. But, to what extent were these discourses reproduced beyond the class that generated them? Were racialised discourses simply an expression of a small group or did these discourses or were they also articulated by the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes? There are two questions that need to be addressed in order to assess this. Firstly, were the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes aware of racialised discourses? How far were racialised discourses reproduced beyond the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries? Secondly, if the Scottish bourgeoisie and middle classes did encounter racialised discourses, would they have integrated these into their own 'common sense' as an explanation and justification for their own relatively advantageous material experiences as well as aspects of the phenomenal world around them?

Turning to the first question, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century there were several mediums through which the Scottish bourgeoisie

and middle classes would have encountered racialised discourses. Firstly, many of the debates around 'race' were published in a variety of 'scientific' and literary periodicals in Scotland (for example Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine, Frasers Magazine, the Scottish Geographical Magazine). The Scottish bourgeoisie, the political elite, the clergy as well as the professional middle classes would have read these.

Secondly, there were, at least on the East Coast of Scotland, numerous societies and organisations that discussed and disseminated scientific ideas. Amongst the many topics that were debated was the idea of 'race'. For example, George Combe, with his brother Andrew and the Rev. David Welsh, established the Phrenology Society. It's membership encompassed Edinburgh's legal and medical professions as well as the clergy. The society held regular meetings and lecture courses that, because of the ongoing debates and controversies around phrenology, usually attracted large audiences (Cantor 1975). During the middle of the nineteenth century Darwin's theory of evolution was also widely debated in the city's university and gentlemans societies. These debates, amongst other things, led to the reaffirmation of racialised discourse either in rejecting Darwin's theory or integrating it into existing racialised discourses (leading to Social Darwinism) (Shaplin 1983).

Thirdly, missionary societies were partly dependent upon financial support from the public in order to maintain and extend their missionary activities. As such, missionary societies made substantial efforts to increase awareness of their activities, and their finances, through publications, lantern shows and mass meetings. In doing so, racialised discourses of the 'other' would have certainly been used to add 'spice' to these shows in order to justify the maintenance and extension of missionary activity.

Finally, MacKenzie (1985) has demonstrated the imperial propaganda was spread across Britain through more populist channels such as the theatre, cinema, radio, school textbooks and literature. To what extent this occurred in Scotland is difficult to discern because of the relative scarcity of empirical work. However, what is certain was that Glasgow as the 'Second City of Empire' hosted a number of Empire Exhibitions, which as MacKenzie (1985, p.97) notes, were an important medium for the reproduction of imperial discourses,

" The great exhibitions, which from the 1880s came to be dominated by the imperial theme, offer the most striking example of both conscious and unconscious approaches to imperial propaganda..."

He goes on to note that,

" The secret of their success was that they combined entertainment, education, and trade fair on a spectacular scale. By the end of the century they were enormous funfairs, coupled with, in effect, museums of science, industry and natural history, anthropological and folk displays, emigration bureaux, musical festivals, and art galleries, together with examples of transport and media innovations, all on one large site...Even if most went for fun, some at least of the imperial propaganda cannot have failed to have rubbed off."

One of the major ways in which racialised discourses were disseminated in the Empire Exhibitions was through 'living' exhibitions. These often displayed the colonised peoples of the Empire in order to reflect the Europeans own sense of 'racial' superiority and the 'inferiority' of the 'other'. Again as MacKenzie (1985, p.114) notes,

" In British exhibitions the native villages always performed one function, to show off the quaint, the savage, the exotic, to offer living proof of the onward march of civilisation."

For example, the 1888 exhibition, attended by around 5.75 million people, pride of place went to South Asia, reflecting Glasgow's strong trading connections. In 'India Street' 'native' artisans supplied souvenirs of jewellery, pottery, carved work, and sweetmeats. The 1911 exhibition, attended by some 9.5 million, went one step further by displaying 'natives' in their 'local habitats'. This included a settlement of some 100 West Africans assembled from Equatorial Africa, the French Congo, Dahomeny and Sudan. Souvenirs included a pamphlet that clearly drew on the ideas of scientific racism to describe the 'exhibits'. The leaflet gave an account of the principle 'races' of West Africa and noted that the Ouolofs, Giolofs and Iolofs were the,

"...darkest and best looking of the tribes. They are tall and well made; have woolly hair, wear beards, and cut their whiskers. They are hardy, courageous, but with little foresight and live only for pleasure." (cf. P.Kinchin and J.Kinchin, 1988, p.121)

Through one means or another the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes would have certainly come into contact with racialised discourses, either through reading journals, attending 'scientific' societies or through more populist mediums such as the Empire Exhibitions. However, were these racialised discourses taken up by the Scottish bourgeoisie and middle classes in order to 'make sense' of their own material experiences and the phenomenal world around them? Miles (1982, p.113) suggests several ways in which the existing economic terrain would have led sections of the bourgeoisie and the middle classes to take up and articulate racialised discourses,

" First, the economic and political supremacy of British capitalism generated a response at the ideological level in that the British bourgeoisie sought an explanation for its position of not only national but also international domination. Second, the capitalist mode of production, by means of its productive capacity and the transformation of economic relations that it entailed, created a material standard against which to measure those populations with whom economic and political contact have been 'encouraged' by the preconditions for the development of that mode of production. Third, the late nineteenth century territorial expansion of British (and European) capitalism did not so much bring racism into existence but rather created a terrain on which racism could be used by at least certain factions of the bourgeoisie to justify their demands for expansion, whether the specific motive was political or economic, or some combination of both."

If we graft this onto our analysis, we could argue racialised discourses would have become one of the ways in which the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes 'made sense' of the material differences between themselves and colonised nations. In doing so, the discourse of 'race' obscured the enforced economic under-development of the colonies and provided a more immediate explanation for Britain (and Scotland's) own material development. British development could be seen as an expression of the 'racial' characteristics of its peoples, whether it is by the durable and expansive Scottish 'race' or the Anglo-Saxon 'race'. By the same measure the 'backwardness' of colonised nations was seen as an expression of the inferiority of the 'darker races'. As Miles (1982, p.115) goes on to note,

"...racism became a central element in the bourgeoisie ideology of the nineteenth century partly because it provided a phenomenally

apparent or 'real' explanation for the material gap created by uneven development of capitalism."

Discontinuities: Scottish Imperialism, racism and nationalism

The experiences of the Scottish bourgeoisie, the merchants classes and, as we shall see in the next chapter, the working classes, were not that different to their English counterparts. This, however, is not to say that the Scottish experience was the same as the English one. Important differences remained, the roots of which can be traced to the fractured nature of the British 'ethnic social carrier'. In chapter 2, I argued that Scotland entered into a political fusion with England under the Act of Union that led to it relinquishing its sovereignty. However, the new 'ethnic social carrier' that was produced was a strange beast. On the one hand political power and sovereignty had moved to Westminster, on the other hand, the treaty ensured Scotland retained many of the institutions of civil society. Importantly, these have been sites around which a Scottish identity has been (and continues to be) generated and reproduced. In other words, if Britain was a new 'ethnic social carrier' it was one where there was a fundamental fracture between the political centre in Westminster and civil society in Scotland; state and society are not synonymous.

The Scottish Imperial Identity

By the nineteenth century Scotland was firmly integrated within the whole colonial structure: administrative, military, economic and ideological. However, this integration did not mean that Scotland and Scottish national identity was subsumed under a British identity. Rather, we see the generation and reproduction of a new sense of 'Scottishness' that emphasised Scotland role in the Union and in the Empire,

" ...[in Scotland] the political vocabulary of the nineteenth century was replete with the words *empire* and *imperial*. The Union with England was referred to as the *imperial partnership*, Scottish members of Parliament sat in the *Imperial* Parliament at Westminster, Glasgow was the Second City of *Empire*, the Scottish economy was the Workshop of the Empire and the Scots were a race of *Empire* builders." (R.Finlay, 1997, p. 16)

As Finlay (1997, p.16) goes on to note,

"...the Scottish contribution to British imperialism was manifested in distinctly Scottish ways. It was Scottish soldiers in Scottish regiments commanded by Scottish generals drawing on Scottish military traditions which marked out Scottish military prowess. Missionaries promoted Presbyterianism, the Scottish national religion, and were funded by subscription raised by Scottish churches. Imperial administrators were educated in Scottish universities, Governor Generals were largely drawn from the Scottish aristocracy and émigrés communities showed no sign of abandoning their national identity. Scottish business was owned, run and staffed from Scotland."

As such, what we see is the generation and reproduction of a new Scottish identity that emphasised Scotland's inclusion within the Union and the Empire. Indeed, it seems that the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes jealously protected this distinctive Scottish identity. For example, the formation of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights in 1853 sought to bring pressure to bear in Westminster for the reform of the British state in order to take more account of Scottish national distinctiveness within the Union. The movement also responded to what it saw as English sleights against the Scottish imperial contribution or to Scotland's historic nationhood.

The Racialisation of the Scots

Another discontinuity that can be picked out is the racialisation of the Scots. As Miles notes, racialisation involves a dialectical process,

> " Racialisation is a dialectical process of significance. Ascribing a real or alleged biological characteristic with meaning to define the Other necessarily entails defining the Self by the same criteria." (R.Miles, 1989, p.75)

In this dialectical process Scots, on the one hand, racialised themselves as a 'race' of empire builders, and on the other, as we have already seen, racialised others as inferior 'races'. Darwinian notions of evolution in a harsh climate and environment were often cited as being responsible for shaping the hardy, determined and adaptable Scottish 'race'. Similarly, Scottish emigration was not seen as a sign of poor socio-economic opportunities. Rather, it was seen as a testament to the entrepreneurial activities and dynamic qualities as the Scottish 'race'. There was also a popular perception that Scots were a virile and expansive 'race' who thrived overseas and who should take pride in seeing themselves as making a deep mark on the stage of world history (for example see Dilke 1888).

A similar process was also occurring in England. However, the substance of these discourses, drawing on notions of an Anglo-Saxon 'race' and English national identity, were different. As Miles (1993, pp. 66–67) notes, from the nineteenth century onwards,

> "...a proportion of the English population regarded themselves as a discrete biological 'race' whose superiority allegedly originated in the German origins, in the inherent courage and desire for freedom on the

part of the Saxons, in the inherent superiority of their language and institutions (especially Parliament) and in a natural ability for science and reason."

In both cases, the racialisation of the Scots/English was used to sustain and reproduce exploitative colonial relations. The idea that 'they' were a superior 'race', destined to rule, was often used to justify exploitative colonial relations. It was also used to explain the material differences between Scots/English and colonised people. On the one hand, the material success of British capitalism was seen to be one manifestation of the inherent superiority of the Scottish/Anglo-Saxon 'race'. On the other, the under-development of colonised nations was seen to be an expression of the 'racial' inferiority of colonised peoples.

This is a gross simplification of what were extremely intricate processes. Ideas of 'nation' and 'race' could be expressed independently of each other but could also overlap in complicated ways with discourses around gender and sexuality when constructing 'imagined communities' (see Anthias and Yuval Davis 1989, 1992, Miles 1993). Nonetheless, what is important to note was that a discontinuity did exist between Scotland and England. Notions of 'race' and 'nation' were not the same.

Racism, nationalism and religious identity

As we have noted in chapter 2, racism and nationalism, although two separate ideologies, often do overlap. In post war Scotland they have remained relatively distinct. But this does not mean it has always been so. Scottish nationalism and racism have overlapped in particular historical circumstances. This was certainly evident in the reactions against Irish migration in Scotland during the nineteenth and early twentieth century (for a fuller history of Irish migration to Scotland see Lobban 1971, Trebble 1972,

Kay 1980, Collins 1981, Miles 1982, Aspinwall and McCaffrey 1985, Miles and Dunlop 1987, Checkland and Checkland 1989). What I want to show in the next few sections is how racialised discourses overlapped with anti-Catholicism in order to present Irish-Catholic migrants as a threat to the Scottish nation.

The Racialisation of the Irish

The racialisation of the Irish has a long history that went hand in hand with the colonisation of Ireland. As Rolston (1993) notes, under the Elizabethan conquests the Irish were racialised as a 'wicked race' who 'live like beasts, void of law and all good order...brutish in their customs', a 'race' which could only be subdued by force. By the nineteenth century the racialisation of the Irish received a more systematic formulation in the discourse of 'race'. For example, Curtis (1971, 1984) notes that during the mid nineteenth century sections of the British intelligentsia, including Scots such as Hector Maclean, John Beddoe, Robert Knox, Thomas Carlyle and Daniel Mackintosh, racialised the Irish in order to 'make sense' of the material poverty of Ireland. The physician John Beddoe (1826 - 1911), a founder member of the Ethnological Society and later the President of the Anthropological Institute, formulated the index of 'nigrescence' that identified the 'racial' components of given peoples through the amount of melanin in the skin. He concluded that the Irish were darker than the people of Britain because they had traces of 'negro' ancestry in their appearance. This ancestry in turn determined the lower levels of cultural and intellectual abilities of the Irish, evident in their 'racial' characteristics of 'ignorance, primativeness, childishness and emotional instability' as well as the material poverty of their country.

This discourse was reproduced well beyond the Scottish intelligentsia through several mediums such as journals and books. For example, Frasers

magazine of 1847 reproduced the discourse of 'race' and 'racial' characteristics as an explanation for the relative poverty of Ireland and the prosperity of Britain,

> " The English people are naturally industrious - they prefer a life of honest labour compared to one of idleness. They are persevering as well as an energetic race, who for the most part comprehend their own interests perfectly, and sedulously pursue them. Now of all the Celtic tribes, famous everywhere for their indolence and fickleness as the Celts everywhere are, the Irish are admitted to be the most idle and the most fickle. They will not work if they can exist without it."
> (cf. L.Curtis, 1984, p.51)

This discourse was also articulated through more populist mediums such as the newspaper. Again, racialised discourses were used to explain the relative poverty of the Ireland. For example, there are numerous instances where the Irish were described as an aboriginal 'race',

> "...the Celtic race, long and mysteriously reserved in its aboriginal rudeness and intractability..." (Glasgow Herald 5/1/1852)

> "...it is doubtless by a providential plan and for beneficial purpose that in the mid-nineteenth century there still survives on the western most shore of Europe a rugged mass of Celtic aborigines." (Glasgow Herald, 1/5/1852)

The idea of an inferior Irish 'race' was also evident in the physical descriptions of the Irish, all of which simonised the Irish 'race'. For example, the following descriptions come from the North British Daily Mail,

" Yesterday, at the central police court, an ape-faced small headed Irishman..."

" Pat O'Shane, a startled-looking Irish tailor, with a cruel Tipperary visage..."

" Michael McLaughlin, a blackguard - looking creature with a plastered face." (cf. J.Handley, 1947, p.106)

Thus, a process of racialisation was occurring from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Racialised discourses were being generated by sections of the Scottish intelligentsia, drawing upon and reworking earlier racialised discourses, in order to 'make sense' of the relative economic poverty of Ireland and Britain's rapid economic expansion. The Irish became identified as an 'inferior race' whose deficient racial characteristics were seen to be the cause of Ireland's poverty while the British were identified as a 'vigorous race' in order to explain their material prosperity. These ideas were reproduced by various means beyond the intelligentsia and it seems more than likely that sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and middle classes would have come across them. To what extent they would have integrated them into their own 'common sense' remains difficult to gauge. However, racialised discourses certainly provided a phenomenally adequate explanation for the material divisions between Britain and Ireland. It was also part of the system of ideas and relations that sustained and reproduced exploitative colonial relations. As such, it seems more than likely that the Scottish bourgeoisie and middle classes would have integrated racialised discourses into their own 'common sense' (if they had not done so already) in order to 'make sense' of the world around them.

Irish-Catholics were not only the objects of racialised discourses. They were also the objects of anti-Catholic discourses. Gallagher (1991) suggests that anti-Catholicism in Scotland stemmed partly from the indigenous population being unsure of their own identity in a rapidly changing material world. Consequently, the uncertainty and anxiety of the Scottish population was projected onto the Irish-Catholic migrants,

> " The fact that the Scots were actually unsure of their identity must also account for the lack of regard that they had for the typical Irish migrant in their midst. The nineteenth century was a time of great economic and social upheaval when the face of Scotland was actually being altered more rapidly than at any other moment in the nations history. The Irish invasions added to the confusion and vague sense of menace..."(T.Gallagher, 1991, p.20)

However, lowland Scotland at this time had its identity already forged. It was one based on Unionism and Protestantism. As Bruce (1985) notes, Protestantism was not only a religious identity but it was also a political and economic identity. Protestantism could be read as the loyal religion that supported the crown and the Empire. Catholicism, on the other hand, could be read as a treacherous religion whose loyalty was to Rome as opposed to the Empire. As such, when Irish-Catholics migrated to Scotland they entered into an 'ideological atmosphere' that was marked by the discourse of anti-Catholicism.

The emphasis so far has been on anti-Catholicism. But as Walker (1991) points out nearly one quarter of Irish migrants were Protestant. The reaction towards the Irish-Protestant migrants has either been ignored or when it has

been addressed the assumption has been that the Protestant migrants have easily integrated into Scottish society. For example Gallagher argues (1991, p.20)

> " In a land where it has been reckoned that John Knox was a powerful an influence in Victoria's reign as in the sixteenth century, these migrants fitted in so successfully that they were often able to bequeath their anti-catholic Orange symbols to native Scots in order to make common cause against the despised Catholic Irish."

Yet, as McFarland (1989) notes, although there was a common 'bond' between Irish Protestants and Lowland Scots relations between the two were not always in an idealised state of harmony. For example, many of the Protestant Irish did not easily identify with the Orange Institutions amongst the Scottish population. In Lanarkshire the Irish Protestants were a community within a community, distrusted as 'Ribbonmen', which ironically was a Catholic secret society. Further, Walker (1991) notes that there was a great deal of dislike for what were seen as 'petty quarrels' of the Irish Protestants being imported to Scotland. One would also have to question the extent to which the Irish-Protestant migrants were also free from the racialised discourses of the Irish that were examined above. As such, the Irish-Protestants rather than easily integrating into Scottish society would have faced a considerable amount of hostility and distrust.

'Race', Nation and Identity

Anti-Catholicism in Scotland was also strengthened through the unique set of political relations thrown up by the Union. As we noted in the introduction, the Act of Union emasculated the Scottish state leaving it without direct political power. However the state was not completely dismantled. The Kirk was guaranteed a permanent existence as the Church

of Scotland and it became one of the sites through which political power came to be expressed. As Miles (1982, p.144) argues,

> " The continued and separate existence of the Kirk (as well as legal, educational and banking systems) provide the institutional location for the indigenous ruling class fraction, lacking direct political power, but exercising nevertheless a form of political control through religion."

If political power was exercised through the Kirk, church ministers, as functionaries of this institution, were more likely to regard the migration of the Irish, the majority of who were Catholics, as a threat to the church and their power in Scotland. This perception of a threat would have increased in the nineteenth century, not only because of the increase in the migration of Irish Catholics, but also because of the Maynooth Grant of 1845 and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy of 1850. As such, Irish migrants entered into an ideological atmosphere that was marked by the discourse of anti-Catholicism, one that was generated through political, and economic divisions and strengthened by the unique set of political relations that were thrown up by the Act of Union.

The overlap between racism, nationalism and religious identities can be clearly seen in a report to the Synod of the Church of Scotland in 1923 titled 'The Menace of the Irish Race'. The report constructed Catholicism as a cancerous religion that was sustained and carried by an equally inferior and cancerous Irish 'race'. This cancerous 'race' and religion were seen to be undermining the Scottish nation, supplanting its people, disintegrating its 'racial', national and religious identity,

> " Compelled by the economic pressure of the Irish race, young Scottish men and women - the flower of the nation - left their native land, and

sought to build up their fortunes in America and the
dominions...Their places were taken by a people of a different race
and a different Faith, and Scotland has been divided into two camps -
a Scottish and an Irish." (cf. L.Muirhead and R.Miles, 1986, p.121)

Indeed, the Irish are represented as a former day 'alien wedge', a group who
cannot integrate into the general population because of their 'race' and
religion, and whose presence will ultimately lead to 'racial conflict',

" As the [bitter feeling] increase, and the Scottish people realise the
seriousness of the menace to their own racial supremacy in their own
native land, this bitterness will develop into a race antagonism, which
will have disastrous consequences for Scotland." (cf. L.Muirhead and
R.Miles, 1986, p.122)

These racialised discourses also articulated with discourses on the Scottish
nation. The heavy economic recessions of the inter-war years gave a
powerful impetus to Scottish nationalism (Lee 1995). During the 1920s and
1930s, a number of publications emerged from within the ranks of the
nationalist movement that portrayed the Irish-Catholics as problem.
Common themes included fears around the Scottish 'race' being eclipsed by
growing numbers of Irish-Catholics, the racialisation of Irish-Catholics as the
cause of a myriad of social problems, and finally, the possibility of violence
between the two 'races' at some future point. The solution to all of these
problems was simple, control the entry of Irish-Catholics (Holmes 1988).

For many nationalist writers, such as Gibb (1930) and Torrence (1939), this
state of affairs was seen to be a consequence of the Act of Union. The 'Irish
problem' in Scotland had arisen since the Act of Union. In particular, it was
argued that English politicians were largely indifferent to the problems that
the Scottish nation was facing. Indeed, the only times English politicians took

any action was when the problems occurred south of the border. This alleged subjugation of Scotland, and its consequences for Irish migration into Scotland, continued to be stressed in some Scottish nationalist circles until the end of the inter-war years.

The boundaries of this discontinuity, however, have to be recognised. Protestant hostility towards Irish Catholics was more than evident in both England and Wales (Waller 1981, Gallagher 1985, Milliward 1985, Neal 1987, Holmes 1988, Love 1989, MacRaild 1996, Panayi 1988, 1996, O'Day 1996). Similarly, there is evidence to show that the Irish were racialised in Scotland and England (Curtis 1968, 1971, Curtis 1984, Miles 1982, Holmes 1988, Panayi 1994). What marks Scotland out as different, however, is the fact that racialised discourses and anti-Catholicism articulated with nationalist discourses in order to present Irish-Catholics as a former day 'alien wedge' in Scotland. Although not a dominant theme, it was still nonetheless a persistent within some Scottish nationalist circles during the inter-war years.

Conclusion

At the 1999 British Sociological Association conference in Glasgow, sitting down for the conference dinner in the Kelvingrove Art Galleries, a guest speaker (who I guess was a sociologist) gave us a potted history of Glasgow. Whether it is my own paranoia, or not, it seemed to be that several implicit themes were being played out. Firstly, Scotland had been the object of English rule, particularly so in the 1980s, and it is only now, with the then forthcoming elections, that Scotland would finally become 'free', having a chance to vote for it's own parliament for the first time in three hundred years. Secondly, Glasgow had much to offer, its culture, its heritage, at that time summed up in part by the building we were sitting in. Finally, it was argued that the Scottish character was welcoming and tolerant.

This potted history seemed to be to be indicative of several points. Firstly, a certain historical amnesia. Now, this in not unique to Scotland. As Hall (1978) has pointed out, England also suffers from this amnesia, blanking out its past involvement in Empire and exploitation. But in Scotland, this amnesia is driven by a nationalist desire for independence. Nationalism, in this case, involves harking back to the memory of an independent Scotland in order to understand the present (Scotland's malaise being caused by English rule) and to project a political future (independence or devolution). In harking back, Scotland's involvement in colonialism is written out. The fact that Scotland, or to be more precise the Scottish bourgeoisie, merchant classes and the middle classes, flourished under the Union is conveniently ignored. The fact that Scotland was an equal partner in the colonial project, that its industries, and infrastructure were built at the cost of under-developing colonised nations, is under played or ignored.

Secondly, the idea of supposed Scottish tolerance, which totally ignores the history of racism in Scotland past and present. The hall that we sat in that night was built during the Empire Exhibitions in order to displays the 'wares of Empire'. The exhibitions not only celebrated Glasgow's role in Empire, but also the 'racial' superiority of Europeans of other lesser 'races', evident in the living exhibitions at these shows. These ideas were in no way foreign to Scotland. Indeed, as we have seen, sections of the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries were active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses. Through one means or another, sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes would have certainly come into contact with them, integrating it into their own common sense in order to understand the phenomenal world around them, and to sustain and reshape exploitative relations with colonised nations.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Figure 4.1: Continuities and Discontinuities of Scottish Colonialism │
│                                                                       │
│                         The 'fractured' ethnic                        │
│                         social carrier                                │
│           ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐             │
│           │              British state                  │             │
│           ├───────────────────────┬─────────────────────┤             │
│           │       Scotland        │       England       │             │
│           └───────────────────────┴─────────────────────┘             │
│                                                                       │
│                          Continuities                                 │
│              Both Scotland and England active in the                  │
│              of colonised nations at a political and economic         │
│              leading to the development of England and                │
│              and the under-development of colonised nations.          │
│              also active in the generation and reproduction           │
│              racialised discourses that sustain and reproduce         │
│              exploitation.                                            │
│                                                                       │
│  Discontinuities                         Discontinuities              │
│                                                                       │
│  (i) the generation and reproduction of a    Included, amongst other  │
│  imperial identity                           things, racialisation of │
│  (ii) part of which included the             the English and          │
│  racialisation of Scots as 'empire builders' maintenace of a English  │
│  (iii) stronger opposition to Irish-Catholic national identity        │
│  migrants because of the overlaps                                     │
│  racialised discourses, nationalism and anti-                         │
│  catholocism                                                          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Scotland is not that different to England. At an economic and political level Scotland and England were equal partners in the control and exploitation of colonised nations. At an ideological level, both were involved in the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses that sustained and reproduced colonial relations. This is not to say that the two were the same. Firstly, there was the maintenance of a Scottish identity, which during the middle of the nineteenth century paraded itself as a Scottish imperial identity. Secondly, Scots were racialised as a 'race' of Empire builders. Finally, there were cases when racialised discourses overlapped with others, including discourses around the Scottish nation and anti-Catholicism, to identify certain groups as a threat to the Scottish 'race' and nation. This is evident in the case of Irish-Catholic migration to Scotland.

This brings us back to our themes of continuities and discontinuities (see figure 4.1). Continuities, in the sense that under the auspices of Empire vast fortunes were made by sections of the British merchant which, through one means or another, were reinvested, leading to the development of Britain's

industries and infrastructure. This, however, was ultimately done at the cost of under-developing colonised nations. Under the auspices of Empire, Scots were also equally involved in the structures of colonialism. In other words, they were not some exploited 'ethnic' grouping. However, there were discontinuities, especially around the way that Scotland's role in Empire was envisaged. Indeed, part of this included emphasising that Scotland was an equal partner in Empire as opposed to some colonial outpost. As such, Scotland does have a history of racism, one that, as we shall see, shaped the form of racialised discourses in the immediate postwar period (see chapter 6)

There are several points that follow on from this. Firstly, sections of the Scottish intelligentsia, missionaries, the bourgeoisie and the middle classes were active in the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses in the context of colonialism and Empire. Secondly, the discourse of 'no problems', born elsewhere but nurtured and sustained by nationalist desires for independence, is false. Racism has, and still does, exist in Scotland.

Chapter 5: Racism and the Scottish Working Class in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

Introduction

Although it is clear that some Scots benefited from the slave and colonial mode of production, there a danger of collapsing the experiences of all Scots within the boundaries of the nation. By this I mean that there is a danger of assuming that all Scots equally reaped the rewards of colonialism. While sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes made substantial profits from their involvement in colonialism others, such as the Scottish working classes and peasantry, were less fortunate. The Scottish working classes and peasantry lacked control and ownership over agricultural industry and commerce. As such, many became trapped in exploitative relationships where they had to sell their labour in order to survive. Similarly, the Scottish working classes and peasantry lacked political power and few experienced the benefits of patronage.

The Scottish working classes and peasantry occupied a disadvantaged class position. This prompts the question, to what extent did the less privileged take up racialised discourses? The previous chapter suggested that sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes drew on racialised discourses (in the shape of the idea of 'race') in order to understand their material experiences, aspects of the phenomenal world, and to reproduce exploitative colonial relations. The experience of Scottish working classes and peasantry, however, was totally different. They made little in the way of material progress, and the immediate material world around them was marked by poverty, slum housing, poor wages, and conditions. As such, would they have taken up the same 'confident' discourse of 'race' that the Scottish bourgeoisie and middle classes did?

I want to argue that sections of the Scottish working classes did take up racialised discourses, but not necessarily in the same substantive form as the bourgeoisie and the middle classes. In order to understand how and why this occurred it would be helpful to look at Gramsci's (1971) idea of 'common sense'. Gramsci developed a distinction between 'arbitrary' ideologies (initiated by philosophical, intellectual and scientific speculation) and organic ideologies (found in 'common sense' ideas which he saw as a contradictory, shifting, mish-mash of ideas drawn from elements of arbitrary ideologies). As Gramsci (1971, p.326) argues,

" Common sense is not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and philosophical options which have entered ordinary life. 'Common sense' is the folklore of philosophy, and is always half-way between folklore properly speaking and the philosophy, science and economics of the specialists."

I want to argue that arbitrary racialised discourses, generated by the Scottish intelligentsia, became integrated into the 'common sense' of the Scottish working classes. This occurred as sections of the Scottish working classes attempted to make sense of their own material experiences and aspects of the phenomenal world around them. This process of racialisation is clearest in the reactions against migrant labour during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this period sections of the working classes reacted against the arrival of South Asian, African and Irish migrants by racialising them as an inferior 'racial' group who were undermining the pay and conditions of 'local' workers. This subsequently led to forms of racialised political action at an informal level, such as 'race' riots, or at a more formal level, for example, trade union activity and state policies designed to exclude migrant labour).

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that sections of the Scottish working classes were active in taking up and reproducing racialised discourses. This will help bring out the substantive history of racialised discourses in Scotland. This chapter, however, claims only to bring together work that documents two clear cases when the working classes did articulate racialised discourses during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first deals with the reaction against Lascar seamen (Lascar was a term for a diversity of nationalities, although the majority were from South Asia, who were employed on British registered ships), and the second deals with the reaction to Irish migrants. As it stands, beyond this the history of working class racism during the nineteenth and early twentieth century still needs to be written.

The chapter is split into three sections. The first section examines the material experiences of the working class (after all the process of racialisation was shaped, in part, by an attempt to 'make sense' of these experiences). In this section I want to argue that the Scottish working classes and peasantry were exploited in Britain's colonies and in Scotland. In the colonies, Scots were exploited as ordinary soldiers in Scottish regiments, in the East India Company's standing army, or were exploited as indentured labourers. At home, the Scottish working classes were exploited as wage labourers in the growing industrial and urban centres of the lowlands.

The second section examines the reactions of the Scottish working classes to Lascar seamen. In this section I want show how the demands for labour by a developing shipping industry was partly met by Lascar seamen. This, however, was met with hostility from Scottish seamen who saw Lascars as a threat to their material position and security. This threat was set within the context of racialised discourses. There were various means by which the 'arbitrary' discourse of 'race' was reproduced and accessible to sections of the Scottish working classes. From the available evidence, it is more than

evident that sections of the Scottish working class integrated these arbitrary discourses into their own 'common sense' in order to understand their own material position and to structure forms of political action. As such, from the turn of the twentieth century, sections of the Scottish working classes racialised Lascars as an inferior 'racial' group who undermined Scottish pay and conditions because they lived at an inherently lower standard. In other words, the poor material position of sections of the Scottish class was 'made sense' of through racialising Lascar seamen (as opposed to casting a critical eye on the vagaries of the capitalist system). As a result of this initial definition, various forms of political activity were initiated that sought to exclude Lascar seamen. In other words, forms of political activity also became racialised.

In this section I also want to return to another theme - continuity. The racialisation of Lascar seamen was occurring not only in the port towns of Scotland but also in England. Similarly, Irish migrants faced hostility from sections of the working classes in Scotland and England. Driven by material relations, this hostility was expressed through the articulation of racialised discourses and anti-Catholicism. In the previous chapter, I suggested that discontinuities existed in the sense that this discourse could articulate with Scottish nationalism. From the available evidence, it seems that this did not occur amongst the Scottish working classes. In other words, there was a high level of continuity in the expression of racialised discourses by sections of the working classes in Scotland and England.

The Scottish Working Classes

In the Colonies

Unlike the Scottish middle and merchant classes, as well as the bourgeoisie, the experience of the Scottish working classes and peasantry was one of

exploitation. This is evident in the experience of many Scots in the army. Scots provided a disproportionate share of the army in South Asia. The Highlands and Islands during the eighteenth century was a particularly good recruiting ground due to the population being disturbed and displaced by economic changes such as the clearances. The Isle of Skye alone provided some 10,000 men between 1797 to 1837 (Kiernan 1982). Of the 14 Royal regiments that served in South Asia between 1754 and 1784 seven were raised in Scotland, accounting for some 4-5,000 men (Bryant 1985). Although there was the opportunity to gain prize money in the plundering of India, many ordinary troops often faced atrocious conditions and low wages. Discipline was severe. Ordinary men were kept in order by martial law, which was haphazardly conducted, and by severe floggings. Soldiers were also often discharged in South Asia, and with little means of returning home, were effectively stranded in the sub-continent. As such, many ex-soldiers often accepted the schilling of the East India Company, which was always eager for seasoned troops, and became trapped in India until they could raise enough money for a return voyage home.

Scots were also present as indentured labourers in many of the plantation societies. Williams (1964) noted that the plantation owners required two key ingredients, firstly capital to finance the plantation schemes (achieved either through the banks or private companies) and secondly cheap labour in order to work the land and process commodities such as sugar, tobacco and cotton. This labour was drawn from several sources: the slave trade, the Amer-Indian populations and indentured servants or redemptioners (largely European workers during the eighteenth century). As Williams (1964, p.9) notes, European workers,

> " ...included a variety of types. Some were indentured servants, so called because, before departure from the homeland, they had signed a contract, indentured by law, binding them to service for a stipulated

period of time in return for their passage. Still others, known as 'redemptioners' arranged with the captain of the ship to pay for their passage and on arrival or within a specified period of time thereafter; if they did not, they were sold by the captain to the highest bidder. Others were convicts, sent out by the deliberate policy of the home Government, to serve for a specific period of time."

Scots often voluntarily indentured themselves, selling themselves for a short period of time to merchants or plantation owners, in exchange for a passage to the colonies and in hope of a better life. As the colonies began to develop many Scottish men and women voluntarily indentured themselves as servants, joiners, masons, blacksmiths, coopers, shoemakers, schoolmasters, tobacco store apprentices and surgeons apprentices (Sheridan 1977) This movement of indentured servant was facilitated by Scottish merchants. Many merchants would 'buy' a servant for about £5 and then 'sell' them for double the amount on arrival in the colonies. As such, it was not unusual to see merchants advertising in the Glasgow newspapers of the late eighteenth century for places aboard ships bound for the Caribbean (Rinn 1980).

To be carried to the Caribbean as an indentured servant was not always a voluntary decision. Abuses opened up as commercial speculation entered the picture. For example, in the eighteenth century, Glasgow supplied a large number of indentured servants who were kidnapped by man traders and sold upon their arrival in Jamaica for 4 to 5 years. Many political prisoners, from Cromwell's Scottish campaigns during the 1650s through to the Jacobite rebellions in the first half of the eighteenth century were also forcibly indentured (Donaldson 1966). Similarly, agricultural changes in the Highlands and Islands led infamous 'clearances' of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. During these clearances many crofters and tenants were forcibly indentured. For example, in 1739 Norman McCleod and several Skye

landlords were accused of forcibly delivering 'undesirable' tenants to a servant ship bound for the plantations (Rinn 1980).

The conditions experienced by indentured servants were often harsh. As Williams' notes, since indentured servants were bonded for a limited period of time plantation owners had less interest in their welfare than African slaves (who were bonded for life). Certainly, indentured servants had rights, limited, but nonetheless recognised by law and inserted in a contract. However, these did little to ameliorate the exploitation and suffering of many indentured servants during their period of service (see Williams 1964).

At home

The position of the dispossessed in Scotland was little better. From the late eighteenth century onwards Scottish manufacturing was beginning to develop (underpinned by merchant capital). Working as wage labourers in the manufacturing sector the growing working class often faced harsh working and living conditions as well as poor levels of pay. The margins between poverty and subsistence for even the skilled working classes were narrow. Although some sections of the working class, notably the skilled crafts, made real gains over the remainder of the nineteenth century, the experience for the bulk of the working classes was that there was little in the way of a real increase in wages (Slaven 1975, Lenman 1977).

Indeed, some sections of the working classes remained 'super exploited'. Gordon (1991) argues that women faced both a horizontal and vertical segregation. Horizontal in the sense that women were limited to a few areas of employment seen as 'women's work' (textiles and domestic servants). Vertical in the sense that woman nearly always occupied the bottom rungs within these areas. For example, women, despite the fact that they constituted a large percentage of the workforce in the textile industry,

usually occupied the most marginal positions. Wages were also low, as Gordon (1991, p.30) notes,

> " A corollary of the phenomena of 'women's work' was the notion of the women's wage, which was invariably set at a lower rate than the mans. The average wage for women nationally was only 42 per cent of the male average, and in textiles, one of the largest areas of women's employment, the annual average wage of women was 54 per cent of the male wage."

Notions of dependency underpinned these low wages - women were seen to be dependants of men rather than providers. Indeed, if women stepped outside this relationship either as a matter of choice or through extenuating circumstances they often faced poverty,

> " Given that the average female wage in Britain was less than half the average male wage, thousands of women were condemned to abject poverty as they were denied the right to earn a living wage. This is confirmed by the number of working women who had to apply for poor relief to supplement their wages." (E.Gordon, 1991, p.30)

The material conditions, in which the working classes lived and worked, were appalling. Many of the growing cities could not provide even the most rudimentary accommodation for their rapidly expanding population. Engels (1993) work on the conditions of the working class in the mid-nineteenth century included several pieces of documentary evidence that demonstrated the appalling living conditions of the Scottish working classes. For example, Engels cites the report of Dr Lee, preacher of the Old Church of Edinburgh, to the Commission of Religious instruction. Lee had commented that,

" He had never before seen such misery as in his parish, where the people were without furniture, without everything, two married couples often sharing one room. In a single day he had visited seven houses in which there was not a bed, in some of them not even a heap of straw. Old people of eighty sleep on the board floor, nearly all slept in their day clothes. In one cellar room he found two families from a Scotch country district; soon after their removal to the city two of the children had died, and third was dying at the time of the visit...Dr Lee declared that it was enough to make a heart of adamant bleed to see such misery in a country like Scotland." (cf. F.Engels, 1993, p.47)

Similarly, for Glasgow, Engels draws on the work of J.C.Symons, who in his report noted that,

" I have seen wretchedness in some of its worst phases both here and upon the continent, but until I visited the wynds of Glasgow I did not believe that such crime, misery and disease could exist in any civilised country." (cf. F.Engels, 1993, p.50)

Even at the turn of the twentieth century housing was relatively poorer within Scotland. In 1911, 47 to 49 per cent of the population of Scotland lived in one or two room dwellings at a time when the corresponding English figure was 7.5 per cent. Overcrowded housing conditions were linked with other manifestations of poverty. Variations in infant mortality, a prime indicator of relative depravation, were greatest in areas of high density living accommodation (Lenman 1977, Lee 1995).

Lascar Seamen and Working Class Racism

The previous section demonstrated that sections of the working class and the peasantry were exploited as wage labourers, indentured servants or within

the military. However, how did these experiences lead them to articulate racialised discourses? I want to argue here that racialised discourses were taken up by sections of the working classes in order to 'make sense' of these experiences and aspects of the phenomenal world around them. This process is more than evident in the reactions against South Asian and African-Caribbean migration.

South Asians and Africans in Scotland

There is evidence of an African and South Asian presence in Scotland as far back as the sixteenth century. For example, Fryer (1984) notes that there was a small group of Africans attached to the Court of King James IV of Scotland experiencing a form of benevolent slavery. However, it was Scotland's entry into the British Empire that led to bridges being developed between Scotland and the colonised nations - bridges which, through one means or another, brought South Asians and Africans to Scotland.

The slave trade was one of the first bridges. Scottish merchants were dependent on slave labour to work the sugar and tobacco plantations in the Caribbean. Indeed, Scottish merchants, as well as military personnel and administrators in the Caribbean, often owned slaves, and when they return to Scotland, they brought slaves back with them as their own personal servants. As such, from the middle of the eighteenth century we see a growing African presence in Scotland (Dunlop and Miles 1990). One indicator of this is the notices in Glasgow newspapers during the mid-eighteenth century offering rewards for those slaves who sought to emancipate themselves through fleeing their masters (showing that many slaves did not accept their bondage willingly) (Duffield 1992). For example, there were several well-reported cases such as that of David Spens in 1769, living in the Fife port of Methil, who ran away when his master decided to ship him back to the West Indies and sell him. Others also include Joseph

Knight who in 1778 went to the Court of Session in an attempt to emancipate himself.

Scotland's connection with the plantation islands provided one bridge by which people of African descent found their way to Scotland. Another bridge was built through Scotland's involvement in the colonial trade with Africa and South Asia. For example, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, British employees of the East India Company would import South Asian women to Britain as 'ayahs', servants for the long and arduous journey back to Britain, as well as domestic servants in Britain (Visram 1986). Although there is little in the way of documentary evidence, Maan (1992) include photographic evidence to suggest that there were 'ayahs' in Glasgow during the early part of the twentieth century, although he provides no addition commentary.

From the mid eighteenth century onwards the port towns of Scotland saw a growing presence of Lascar seamen as a result of the growing shipping and trading links with the Empire (Dunlop and Miles 1990, McFarland 1991). Lascar seamen were first employed in the sixteenth century on return voyages from the South Asia by the East India Company in order to combat the high disease and mortality rates amongst the white seamen (Sherwood 1991). By the mid-nineteenth century structural and technological changes within the shipping industry led to an increasing use of Lascar sailors. The introduction of steam navigation created a whole new series of ratings, such as firemen, who required no experience (a firemen's task was to basically shovel coal, an arduous, hot and dirty job). Eventually firemen were to comprise nearly half of the seamen afloat. This period also saw the emergence of the 'Tramp Steamer', ships that did not ply regular routes but instead went from port to port depending on the availability of cargo. As McFarland (1991) argues, employment aboard such ships generally meant longer periods away from home and tended to be insecure and

discontinuous. The new rating of fireman and work on the Tramp Steamers were shunned by Europeans workers because of their insecure and arduous nature. As such, employers often used Lascar seamen. Despite the poor pay and conditions Lascar seamen took up these positions, often out of necessity, because of the poverty they were experiencing within their own nations (caused by exploitative colonial relations).

McFarland (1991) argues that the position of Lascar seamen received ideological and cultural sanctions. Differentials in wages and conditions were buttressed by a racialised images and symbols. She draws particular attention to the consensus which dominated nineteenth century Britain that 'races' could be graded along some 'great chain of being', with Anglo-Saxons at the top and the various other 'darker races' scattered below. Employers, drawing on these images and symbols, viewed Lascars as suitable for certain tasks on the basis of their 'racial' characteristics. Similarly, supposed 'racial' differences were used to condone discrimination in food and accommodation.

The Scottish shipping industry had no hesitation in using Lascar seamen. By the beginning of the First World War Scottish firms, such as the Clan Line and Mackinon, Mackenzie and Co. Ltd., relied heavily on Lascar seamen. Indeed these two firms employed some 50 per cent of their sailors from Calcutta (McFarland 1991). One consequence of using Lascars was that Lascar seamen were often found in and around the Scottish ports after having escaped from ill treatment on board ship or as a result of being discharged. Indeed, by the turn of the twentieth century the Lascar presence in some Scottish ports was considerable. By 1903 nearly one third of the annual borders (around some 5,500 men) at the Glasgow's Sailors Home were Lascars. By the end of the First World War the demand for accommodation by Lascar seamen was so high that a separate Lascars Home

was established in the Queens Dock (and was used regularly until the early 1940s) (Dunlop 1990).

The Lascar presence continued to increase during the First World War because of the need for more hands in the British Merchant Navy as European seamen left to join the armed forces. After the First World War, following demobilisation and a slump in world shipping, many Lascar seamen became stranded in the port towns of Scotland, unable to find a ship back to the subcontinent. As such, many stranded Lascar seamen sought employment as wage labourers, finding work in collieries, iron and steel works in Lanarkshire during the 1920s. Indeed, Parliamentary questions reveal that in July 1920 there were between 20 to 30 Lascars employed at the Etna Steel Works, Motherwell and a further 20 at Stainton Iron and Steel Works and the Glasgow Iron and Steel Company, Wishaw (Dunlop and Miles 1990). Entry into factory employment, however, did not appear to have been widespread, not least because of trade union opposition.

There was, however, another economic activity open to those Lascar seamen - peddling. This had the advantage of allowing Lascar seamen to bypass working class opposition to their entry into the labour market. Indeed, it appears that peddling represented a significant percentage of the economic activity of South Asian migrants. The Glasgow Indian Union in 1926 reported that of the 63 Asians living in Glasgow and Lanarkshire 37 were employed as peddlers, 24 as labourers and 2 as seamen. Peddling increased till the period of 1939 - 40 when there were some 200 Asian peddlers (Dunlop and Miles 1990, Maan 1992)

The history of African and South Asian migration to Scotland still requires a considerable amount of research. As with other less powerful groups there is the question of visibility - the historical experiences of South Asian and African-Caribbean people in Scotland have largely been undocumented.

Unfortunately there is neither the time nor space to correct this omission. However, what is clear from the existing work is that the main constituents of the South Asian and African-Caribbean presence in Scotland were Lascar seamen. With the technological change in the shipping industry, as well as the development of Tramp Steamers, more and more Lascar seamen became employed. One of the consequences was that Lascars were often found in and around Scottish ports having been discharged or fleeing from maltreatment. By the end of the First World War, with growing numbers of Lascar seamen now stranded in Scotland because of the slump in the world shipping trade, there was evidence of a small scale shift from a transient towards a more permanent and long term residence as wage labourers and peddlers.

The reproduction of racialised discourses

Did sections of the Scottish working classes integrate elements of the 'arbitrary' discourse of 'race' into their own 'common sense' in order to understand the presence of Lascar seamen? Before we answer this question we need to assess whether racialised discourses were reproduced beyond the intelligentsia to the working classes. In other words, were racialised discourses 'available' to the working classes?

Armstrong (1989) argues that there were several mediums through which the working classes would have come in contact with racialised discourses. Firstly, 'scientific' journals and literary periodicals published in Scotland such as Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine and Frasers Magazine. These would have been accessible to the working classes. Levels of literacy were relatively high amongst the working classes (due to the more comprehensive Scottish educational system). However, cost would have been a prohibitive factor in accessing these journals. Nonetheless there were other cheaper and

more popular forms of literature, such as newspapers, which would have reproduced racialised discourses.

Secondly, Scottish soldiers and regiments were stationed throughout the British Empire, and on their return to Scotland, soldiers would surely have disseminated information on the peoples that they had encountered abroad. Crucially, the interactions between the soldiers and the people of Africa and South Asia were structured by exploitative colonial relationships. Indeed, Scottish regiments were there to ensure the maintenance of this relationship. As such, Scottish soldiers would have understood their own presence in the colonised nations through the dominant racialised discourses. The British would have been seen as the heralds of civilisation and commerce, who nonetheless needed protection against the malevolent 'other', the savage, the barbarian and the heathen.

Thirdly, many of the texts written by the Scottish missionaries which racialised the 'other' non-Christian as 'heathens, savages and barbarians' were read by ordinary local ministers and priests in Scotland. Seminars and sermons given by ministers and priests during the nineteenth and early twentieth century often contained references to these works. One consequence of this would be that sections of all classes would have been exposed to racialised discourses through the pulpit.

Finally, the Scottish educational system reproduced racialised discourses through its emphasis on the power and size of the British Empire. Although Armstrong does not note it, there were other mechanisms through which racialised discourses were disseminated. For example, Cantor (1975) argues that, during the early nineteenth century phrenology was popularised in Edinburgh amongst the working classes through societies such as the Edinburgh Association for Procuring Instruction in Useful and Entertaining Sciences. The Empire Exhibitions held in Glasgow would have also been

another source through which racialised discourses were disseminated (see chapter 4).

There was then, in a sense, a discursive atmosphere of racialised discourses. Racialised discourses were originally generated by sections of the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries and would have almost certainly been taken up by the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes. Because these groups had a near strangle hold on the mediums of cultural reproduction they had the ability to 'pump' this discourse into the discursive atmosphere. Two points follow on from this. Firstly, racialised discourses were a key component of the atmosphere. They were one of the dominant means by which the phenomenal world and the material experiences of all classes could be understood. Other discourses, including those that pointed out the flaws in the idea of 'race', were marginal. Secondly, these discourses could be drawn on to 'make sense' of material experiences and to shape political action. In other words, this atmosphere was far from ethereal. It could, and often did, ossify itself into forms of political action. All of this is more than evident if we examine the reactions of the Scottish working classes to Lascars.

Working Class Racism

In the early twentieth century, the Scottish economy began to experience a downturn following the costly Boer war. The value of Britain's exports had fallen steadily from 1870. Although still possessing a large merchant fleet, the British economy, especially the shipping industry, went through several periods of economic depression. This impacted particularly hard on Scotland.

We can use the analogy of the discursive atmosphere in order to understand the reactions of sections of the Scottish working classes to Lascar seamen. Firstly, it is more than evident that sections of the Scottish working classes,

especially those belonging to trade unions representing seamen, drew on racialised discourses in order to understand their own poor material position. Lascars were racialised an inferior 'race', with innately lower standards of living, who were displacing and undermining local white labour (Jenkinson 1985, Dunlop and Miles 1990, McFarland 1991). In other words, the relative poverty of sections of the working classes involved in the shipping industries was seen to be a result of unfair competition from the cheaper Lascar seamen as opposed to the structural factors in the shipping industry. This was set within 'racial' terms. Lascar seamen were cheaper because they supposedly 'racially' inferior and existed at an innately lower standard of living.

Indeed, the representation of Lascar seamen as a 'problem' and the cause of local unemployment was reinforced by the Scottish press. In a sense, racialised discourses around this dispute were being 'pumped' into the discursive atmosphere by the press. This process was shaped by journalists and editors attempting to 'make sense' of this dispute through drawing on dominant interpretations of the world, including racialised discourses. The populist Daily Record condemned the arrival of Lascars as a 'Yellow Labour Peril' (Lascar seamen despite their national diversity were always referred to as Chinese), which was seen to be 'so inimical to the interests of our surplus population at home' (Daily Record, 2/2/1904). The Glasgow Herald (20/5/1908) also reported that 'Chinese labour' was 'driving out pretty near all and sundry' and later went onto question the loyalty of Lascar crews using clear racialised representations,

> " From bland and childlike theft from priest or corpse to the cutting of a throat in sheer delight of the business, the coasting Chinese...found no villainy that did not give him joy; and in his native haunts he is little better today." (Glasgow Herald, 18/12/1908)

Secondly, this process of racialisation ossified itself in forms of political action. There is clear evidence of trade union activity that sought the exclusion of Lascar seamen from the shipping industry and indeed Britain. For example, in 1908 unemployed seamen and ships firemen in Greenock campaigned against the presence of Lascar crews on Clyde ships, claiming that they were the cause of 'local' unemployment (Glasgow Herald, 14/11/1908). Similarly, the National Seamen's strike of 1911, although ostensibly over manning scales, rates of pay and the establishment of a Conciliation Board, maintained the employment of Lascar seamen as a prominent issue. Ben Tillet, in his introduction to the dock workers manifesto, made explicit links with 'Chinese slavery', unemployment and poor wages and conditions,

" The shipping Federation is now shipping in coolies at a greater number than the Tory Government were shipping them into Africa...There were at present 40,000 Asiatics in the British mercantile marine. Those added to the aliens made it difficult for the Briton to be a seaman. Not only this, but white labour, even white foreigners, were being ousted in order to make room for Chinese crews. The sailors and the dockers were standing up for British citizenry and living rights, for British ships to be worked by British labour." (Glasgow Herald 15/6/1911)

Trade union opposition to Lascars continued until the First World War. At a demonstration in Glasgow on April 1914 2,000 people gathered under the auspices of the National Transport Workers Federation. Strong objections were expressed to the employment of Lascar seamen in the British shipping industry on the grounds that they were prepared to accept lower wages than 'white' workers. The Glasgow Herald when reporting the demonstration unconvincingly denied any suggestions that racism was the motivating factor, arguing that the objections were being raised 'not because these men

were of a different race and a different colour but because they lowered the standard of life for white men'. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution opposing the employment of 'cheap Asiatic and other Eastern Labour' on British ships. Furthermore, the resolution sought to eliminate Lascar labour by 'every means constitutional', threatening that 'if they found that was unavailing, they would resort to action of a more drastic character' (Dunlop and Miles 1990, McFarland 1991).

Trade union opposition subsided during the First World War as merchant seamen were drawn into the Royal Navy. However, the conflict between Scottish seamen and a now growing South Asian and African-Caribbean population soon regained its old intensity. During the war the South Asian and African-Caribbean presence had grown in Britain for a number of reasons. Firstly, there was an increase in the number of Lascar seamen in the merchant navy to compensate for those British sailors who had enlisted in the Royal Navy. Secondly, African-Caribbeans, Africans and South Asians migrated to Britain to work in the munitions and chemical factories as wage labourers. By the end of the war there were around 20,000 African-Caribbean, African and South Asians in Britain (Dunlop and Miles 1990). With the contraction of the munitions and chemical industries during peacetime many of the wage labourers began to make their way back to the port areas of the country. This was in the hope to find community support and work on the ships to secure a passage home. However, the mishandling of the demobilisation of Britons in the armed services led to intense competition for jobs in a contracting shipping industry. Sections of the Scottish working classes began to lash out at Lascar seamen and wage labourers as unwelcome competitors.

One manifestation of this was the 1919 'race riots' which targeted Lascar seamen and other South Asians and African-Caribbeans. The first incident occurred in Glasgow in January. In the following months there were riots in

Tyneside, Winchester, Liverpool, Cardiff and London. Undoubtedly, one of the main driving forces for the riots was the perception that Lascars were the cause of economic problems and/or economic competitors. As Jenkinson (1985, p.57) notes,

" On the basis of the evidence available it is clear that direct competition for employment was a major factor in the fighting. In addition it is clear that white seamen (including foreigners) made black seamen (British subjects included) the object of their general frustration with the poor employment situation."

While most of the riots occurred against the backdrop of a deteriorating employment situation, in many cases the conflict also was driven by the perception that 'coloured' men were mixing with 'white' women (Jenkinson 1985). This was certainly given as a cause for the Newport riots (Holmes 1988). The mix of economic problems, sexuality and the fear of 'miscegenation' proved to be an explosive mix.

The reaction of the British state to the riots was to racialise the presence of Lascar seamen and the 'coloured' communities in Britain as causing or exacerbating economic problems as well as a moral, sexual and 'racial' threat, evident in the fear of 'miscegenation'. One solution to this 'problem' was the introduction of legislation to control the presence of Lascar seamen. This was the intention of the 1925 Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, enforced in only some designated areas of the country (including Glasgow in 1926). This required Lascar seamen, who were unable to provide documents that proved they were British subjects, to register with the police as aliens and become liable to deportation. This legislation, however, was open to abuse. For example, Sherwood (1991) notes that many Lascar seamen who did possess passports or documentary evidence that proved they were British subjects would often have these removed and destroyed, forcing the

seamen to register as alien and become liable to deportation. Indeed, the Glasgow Indian Union wrote to the Indian newspapers to complain about this process in the city.

In a sense, the state (along with a variety of other mediums) had reaffirmed racialised discourses that identified Lascars as a problem. In doing so, it kept racialised discourses alive in the atmosphere. In turn, this meant that sections of the Scottish working classes still drew upon these discourses to understand their own material position and to structure subsequent political action. This is more than evident in the continuing hostility against Lascar seamen and wage labourers during the 1920s and 1930s (Dunlop and Miles 1990).

There are several points that should be noted. Firstly, sections of the Scottish working classes were active in articulating racialised discourses. As such, there is evidence available that demonstrates the fictitious nature of the claim that 'Scot's cannot be racist'. Secondly, what was occurring in Scotland was in no way different to what was occurring in the port-towns of England. In 1919 there were 'race riots' against Lascar seamen in the port towns of Barry, Cardiff, Liverpool, London and Newport as well as in Glasgow. In all these port towns there was also considerable and sustained union activity that aimed to exclude Lascar seamen (Ramdin 1987, Fryer 1984, Jenkinson 1985, 1996, Panayi 1994, 1996, Frost 1996). What is evident from this is that there were continuities between the Scottish and English experience. In other words, the history, dynamics and substance of racialised discourses in Scotland and England were not that different.

Irish Migration and Working Class Racism

In the remainder of this chapter I want to focus on the dynamics that led sections of the working class to racialise Irish migrants. Firstly, I want to

examine Irish migration to Scotland. Secondly, I want to demonstrate that racialised discourses, as well as discourses around national and religious identity, were 'available' to the working classes. Finally, I want to demonstrate how sections of the working classes took up these discourses in order to 'make sense' of their own material experiences as well as the processes of Irish migration. In the final section, I want to show that this process was far from ethereal; it often crystallised itself into forms of political action.

Colonialism, 'Famine' and Diaspora

The Irish diaspora has its roots in the colonisation of Ireland. As Berresford-Ellis (1972) notes, Ireland experienced the same forced under-development as South Asia and Africa. For example, prior to 1750 Ireland was being drained of capital through the rents paid by the Irish tenants to absentee British landlords. This outflow of capital was not insignificant. Indeed, between 1689 (when William of Orange reasserted British rule in Ireland) and 1720 yearly rent exports rose from 10 per cent to 36 per cent, an annual value of around £300,000. This outflow of capital, whilst allowing for the conspicuous consumption of the British bourgeoisie, drove many of the Irish tenants into poverty.

As Britain began to develop as an industrialised nation from the late eighteenth century onwards this exploitative relationship began to change. Firstly, Ireland began to be used as a captive market for the commodities that were being produced by the British industrial revolution. This process was facilitated by the destruction of indigenous Irish industries, which might have provided any potential competition. For example, Marx and Engels (1971) noted that between 1783 and 1801 all branches of Irish industry were in a flourishing condition. The Union with Britain in 1801, however, broke down the protective tariffs that the Irish Parliament had erected in order to

protect Irish industries. In the face of the mass-produced and cheaper commodities from Britain Irish industries went into a terminal decline. For example, by 1829 the Irish cotton and woollen trade were on the verge of extinction. Although there was a small linen trade based around Ulster built on modern capitalist lines, it in no way compensated for the collapse of domestic Irish industries. Consequently, with the collapse of domestic industries Ireland became a captive market place for manufactured commodities from Britain (Miles 1982).

Secondly, Ireland became an agricultural hinterland for Britain from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, exporting foodstuffs in order to feed the growing industrial centres of Britain. This was achieved through the withdrawal of leases from tenants, the systematic consolidation of farms, and a move from cultivated land towards pasture for cattle and dairy production (mainly in east and the north of Ireland). The exporting of foodstuffs had a severe effect internally in Ireland the most horrific of which was the starvation of the indigenous peasantry. Between 1816 and 1842 approximately 14 'famines' occurred as the 'potato blight' hit the subsistence crop of this Irish peasantry. The term 'famine' needs to be put into context. Curtis (1984) cites Cobbett who pointed out that in the 1822 'famine' there was no need for the Irish to starve. Indeed, in the first three months of the 'famine' Ireland was exporting food stuffs out to Britain while thousands died of starvation in Ireland. Similarly, John Mitchell (1904) points out that Ireland was producing sufficient food, wool and flax to feed and clothe the population of Ireland twice over. However, the mass export of foodstuffs, the excessive rent demands of British landlords, as well as the destruction of the subsistence crop all drove the Irish peasantry into poverty and starvation. As such, social and economic relations rather than any great natural disaster structured the famines.

As Miles and Dunlop (1987) note, the destruction of Irish industries and the transformation of the countryside led to a vast reserve army of labour being thrown up. In the south and the west the sub-division of land amongst sons and daughters, as well as the burden of extortionate rents, forced many Irish tenants to migrate in order to find seasonal work so as to supplement their income. In the north and the east the processes of consolidation had led to the eviction of tenants, which in turn, threw up a reserve army of labourers. Normally, landless labourers would be absorbed by the developing industries. However, in Ireland manufacturing industry had been crushed due to its inability to compete with British industries. As such, there were simply fewer opportunities for the proletarianisation of Irish labour. The only option for many landless labourers was to migrate as wage labourers to the developing industrial areas of Britain and North America.

Irish Migration to Scotland

One of the main destinations for Irish migrants was Scotland. The seasonal migration of agricultural migrants from Ireland to Scotland was already well established by the turn of the nineteenth century. This earlier pattern of migration provided the foundation for later and more permanent migrations during the mid to late nineteenth century. However, as Miles and Dunlop (1987) note, these later patterns of migration moved away from seasonal agricultural work towards the industrial sector, fulfilling the demands for semi and unskilled labourers within the urban centres of Scotland. For example, textile manufacturing, which by the 1820s employed the majority of the industrial work force in Scotland, drew heavily on handloom weavers from the declining Irish linen industry (Miles 1982). Indeed, by 1838 the proportion of handloom weavers in Scotland who were born in Ireland was around 38 per cent (Collins 1981).

Irish migrants were also drawn into those industries shunned by Scottish workers because of their poor pay and conditions. In Greenock in 1851 Irish born migrants represented 68.2 per cent of the labour force in the sugar industry and 64.8 per cent of the dock workers (Lobban 1971). In the chemical industry in and around Glasgow, Irvine, Rutherglen and Greenock Irish born migrants represent some 85 per sent of the workforce by the 1890s (Checkland and Checkland 1989). Another area where Irish migrants were employed was construction. Indeed, Irish labour played an important part in laying down many of the foundations of Scotland's industrial infrastructure. Irish navvies were prominent on works such as the Glasgow to Ayr railway of the 1830s as well as on road, rail and canal projects in Fife, Dumbartonshire and Lothian during the 1840s (Trebble 1972). Irish migrants were also well represented as miners in the collieries. For example, the demand for labour within Coatbridge's collieries attracted a large number of Irish migrants. Between 1841 and 1851 the proportion of the population born in Ireland in Coatbridge rose from 13.3 per cent to 49.1 per cent (Miles 1982).

There were some variations between the industrialised West Coast and other parts of Scotland. Irish migration to Edinburgh did not occur on the same scale as on the West Coast since it lacked the heavy industries that drew on migrant labour. However, those migrants who did find their way to Edinburgh occupied the same low position as the majority of Irish migrants in the rest of Scotland. In the 1820s Irish migrants were employed on the building schemes and in the construction of roads and railways for the expanding capital. Irish migrants were also slotted in as domestic servants and cleaners. In contrast, there is also evidence of Irish migrants entering into petit-bourgeois activity, notably small scale retailing dealing in provisions, spirits and old clothes (Aspinwall and McCaffrey 1985).

The Irish migration to Scotland during the nineteenth century was not insubstantial. In 1841 it was estimated that 5 per cent of the Scottish

population were born in Ireland, concentrated into the Lowland urban cities such as Paisley, Greenock, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. In Glasgow's case it was estimated that the Irish born population represented one-quarter of the city's population preceding the famine years, while in England and Wales only 2.9 per cent of the population was born in Ireland. At the height of the 'famine' migration in 1851 the proportion of Irish migrants in Scotland had risen to 7 per cent, twice that of England and Wales (Miles 1982).

Discourses of 'race' and religion

Irish migrants in Scotland were concentrated in the growing urban centres feeding the needs of industrial capitalism for semi and unskilled labourers. However, what is interesting is that this position was reproduced across generations. Lobban's analysis of Greenock showed that in 1851, 51.6 per cent of un-skilled workers were of Irish descent. By 1891 this had remained more or less constant at 44.8 per cent.

I want to suggest here that those Irish migrants and their descendants were pinned to this marginal position by, amongst other things, racialised discourses articulated by sections of all classes in Scotland. In this section I want to demonstrate that racialised discourses were 'available' to sections of all classes. In the next section, I want to argue that the Scottish working classes integrated these discourses into their own 'common sense' in order to understand their own poor material position. This, in turn, structured forms of political action that sought to marginalise Irish migrants from the labour market and indeed the Scottish nation.

The previous chapter demonstrated how discourses around 'race', nation and religious identity overlapped to racialise Irish-Catholic migrants. These discourses were more than evident in the report on *The Menace of the Irish Race*, which was presented to the Church of Scotland Synod in 1924. Bruce

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(1985), however, questions whether the Assemblies and Synod receiving this report agreed with its sentiments because the 1924 Assembly made no mention of the Irish at all. One would, in turn, have to speculate how far this report was reproduced beyond the Assembly. There were, though, other more populist means, by which anti-Catholicism and racialised discourses were reproduced (although there seems to be no articulation with Scottish nationalism). For example, the *Scottish Guardian*, a newspaper that ran fortnightly between 1832 and 1862, based itself on the stand of 'no compromise with popery'. In doing so, it often reproduced discourses that racialised Irish-Catholics as a degenerate 'race', evident in their belief in a degenerate religion, Catholicism. For example, in a report of a court case in which an Irish woman appeared, clear physical and cultural caricatures that are supposedly reflective of the Irish 'race' and Catholicism, were used to describe the woman,

> "...a Connaught women, with the unmistakable width of mouth, immense expanse of chin and 'forehead villainous low' so characteristic of the lowest Irish ....the proverbially belligerent disposition of the half civilised and holly Romanized savages." (cf. J.Handley, 1947, p.105)

Similarly, these racialised representations appeared in *The Witness*, an Edinburgh paper that was a fierce supporter of the Free Church of Scotland,

> " In the early hour a large number of meanly clad men, and bearing the unmistakable mark of Popish degradation on their countenances..." (The Witness, 31/7/1850)

As with the racialised discourses around Lascar seamen, it is clear that racialised discourses on the Irish were also available to sections of the

working classes. But to what extent did sections of the Scottish working classes take these discourses up and did they shape political action?

Working Class Racism

We have already noted that sections of the working classes experienced relative poverty in the growing urban centres of Scotland. There is evidence to suggest that conflicts over material resources led sections of the Scottish working classes to racialise Irish migrants. Gallagher (1987) argues that these material conflicts had an objective basis as Irish migrants did deprive the indigenous working classes of work, lowering the rates of pay and conditions. Handley (1943), however, would have rejected these assertions. Most of the labour performed by Irish migrants was created by the industrial revolution and usually represented work shunned by the indigenous working classes. Similarly Bruce (1985, p.28) notes that,

> "...Scots operated on a very simple model of the economy which supposed that any increase in the size of the labouring population reduced the chances of the natives keeping or getting jobs. The possibility that increased population could cause increased demand, hence increased production, hence an increase in the possibility of work did not occur to them, just as it does not occur to those who currently suggest repatriating British Blacks."

As such, sections of the working class understood their own poverty through the dominant discourses identified above. This in turn led to the racialisation of the Irish as an inferior Irish 'race' who were undermining pay and conditions. Now, there are several important points to note from this. Firstly, as we have already mentioned, a process of racialisation was underway. Sections of the Scottish working classes integrated the arbitrary discourse of 'race' into their own common sense in order to understand their

material experiences. Secondly, the racialisation of Irish migrants was not an ethereal business. It often crystallised itself into forms of political activity, from violence on the streets to the formation of organisations dedicated to the removal of Irish-Catholics. For example, there was extensive violence and agitation against Irish migrants working on railway construction and in the coal-mining industry (Handley 1947, Miles 1982, 1987). In the coal-mining industry this conflict was far from sporadic. Between 1831 and 1883 around 55 major incidents were reported. Indeed, coal owners in Lanarkshire often deliberately attempted to generate conflict and divide the miners by bringing in Irish migrants (Checkland and Checkland 1989). Other disturbances against Irish migrants during the 1880s were in Greenock, Dumbarton, Edinburgh and continued right through to the 1880s with disturbances in Coatbridge, Airdrie and Partick in Glasgow (Handley 1947).

Political agitation also took the form of organisations that were dedicated to the removal of Irish-Catholics. For example, the Scottish Protestant League (S.P.L.), founded in 1920 by Alexander Ratcliffe, demanded the end of Irish migration (Holmes 1989). Support for the S.P.L. was far from marginal. In 1931 it gained two seats in the local elections in Glasgow. In 1933, the S.P.L. gained 23% of the total votes cast in local elections in Glasgow, earning it five councillors. In 1934, however, the S.P.L. began to splinter and dissolve, loosing much of its political support. Overall, Holmes (1987) argues that there were several factors that checked the development of a widespread militant Protestant crusade. Firstly, there were serious personal differences between the leadership of the S.P.L. and other anti-Catholic parties, such as Protestant Action, that hindered the effectiveness of their challenge. Secondly, the Orange Order refused to support militants, thereby depriving both organisations of valuable support. Finally, the Catholic minority in Scotland did not form a separate party around which sectarian feelings could have polarised at a political level.

The support given to militant Protestant organisations during this period was shaped by several factors. Firstly, economic slumps. During the 1920s and 1930s support was often given to the S.P.L.'s demand to restrict Irish immigration. Secondly, anti-Catholicism. For example, the 1918 Education Act, which provided state funding for Catholic schools, smacked of 'Rome on the rates' for many Protestants. While anti-Catholicism attracted support to the S.P.L. it is also worth noting that there were other trends within the party. For example, Alexander Ratcliffe gave publicity to the Ku-Klux-Klan during the 1920s in the S.P.L.'s official paper. This publicity centred on the Klan's religious fundamentalism. However, the wider connections of this organisation to the ideas of 'racial superiority' could not have been missed.

Continuities

In many ways Scotland was very similar to England. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century England also experienced Irish migration. Originally working as seasonal agricultural workers, they later provided a significant proportion of the labour in the textile industry, on the docks, extractive industries, construction, and domestic service to name a few areas. Similarly, anti-Catholicism was also deeply ingrained in England and Wales (Norman 1968, Gallagher 1985, 1987, Holmes 1988, Love 1989, Panayi 1994, 1996, MacRaild 1996, O'Day 1996). Deep-seated anti-Catholicism was reproduced in the face of growing Irish migration, political moves for Irish independence, as well as the growing influence of the Catholic Church in England. However, it was also driven by material fears and anxieties. As Panayi (1994) argues, anti-Catholicism amongst the working classes was the ideological driving force that helped to give meaning to their relative poverty. As in Scotland, these often manifested themselves in riots that targeted Irish-Catholics. From the nineteenth century through to the first half of the twentieth century riots occurred in Cardiff, Birkenhead, Stockport,

Preston, Manchester, Liverpool, Ashton-under-Lyne, Blackburn, Wigan, London and Cheltenham.

Anti-Irish racism has had a long history in England (Curtis 1968, 1971, Curtis 1984, Rai 1993, Rolston 1993, Panayi 1994). As in Scotland, there were occasions when the racialisation of the Irish could articulate with anti-Catholicism. For example, A.G.Gair, argued in several issues of the *Liverpool Review* for the exclusion of the southern Irish from Britain on the grounds of their 'racial' unsuitability as well as the social and economic danger they posed to Britain (Homes 1988). Overall, what we see the is that there were continuities in the articulation of racialised discourses and anti-Catholicism in Scotland and England amongst sections of the working classes.

Conclusion

I argued that the working classes did take up and articulate racialised discourses, although not necessarily in the same substantive form as sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and middle classes. Sections of the working classes integrated aspects of the arbitrary discourse of 'race' into their own common sense in order to understand their own poor material position and aspects of the phenomenal world. The relative poverty of the working classes became understood as due to the presence of inferior 'racial' groups who were undermining 'local' labour, undercutting wages, and causing unemployment. This process of racialisation also structured subsequent political action, which was largely directed at the exclusion of certain 'racial' groups from the labour market and indeed the nation.

Figure 5.1: Working class racism in Scotland and England in the nineteenth and early twentieth century

The 'fractured' ethnic social carrier

British state	
Scotland	England

Continuities

Racialisation of migrant laborers by sections of the working class. This is particularly evident in:-
(i) the racialisation of Lascar seamen during the and early-twentieth century
(ii) the articulation of anti-Catholicism and racialised discourses that had Irish-Catholics as their object the nineteenth and early twentieth
(iii) forms of racialised political action against Irish-Catholics and Lascar seamen

Several key points need to be noted from this. Firstly, the Scottish working classes were active in racialising 'others'. As such, it shows the fictitious nature of the discourse of 'no problems'. Secondly, there were both continuities in the Scottish and English experience (see figure 5.1). Continuities in the sense the substance and dynamics of racism were nearly the same for Scotland and England. Finally, the history that is presented here is in no way complete. For example, we have still to investigate racism and anti-Semitism in Scotland. How dominant this discourse was in Scotland still needs to be examined; however, there are clear examples of the racialisation of Jews. Alexander Ratcliffe in his later career fused both anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism. In a pamphlet written by Ratcliffe in 1943 titled *The Truth about the Jews!* the 'spectre' of Jewish control was raised. His claim was that 'if every Jew shop in Argyle Street, from Glasgow cross to Hope Street, and in Jamaica Street, Union Street and Renfield Street, were to be closed...there would hardly be an open shop left' (cf. Holmes, 1987, p. 202-203). Ratcliffe claimed that Glasgow, and every other city in Britain, had fallen under Jewish control. Against this backdrop he presented British society as being

overtaken by Jews. To what extent the working classes took up this particular discourse remains to be seen. However, what is not is doubt is that sections of the Scottish working classes were active in racialising Lascars and Irish-Catholics.

Chapter 6: Racism and the Scottish Press 1958

Introduction

Over the last two chapters, I have stressed the continuities and discontinuities of racialised discourses during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Scotland and England. But to what extent did these racialised discourses (as well as the continuities and discontinuities) cascade into the postwar period? The aim of this chapter, and the next two chapters, is to begin to answer this question. I argued in chapter three that one of the ways that we could answer this question was through an analysis of the Scottish press. At one level, such an analysis will allow us to discover whether racialised discourses were still being used by at least one influential social institution in order to 'make sense' of the phenomenal world. At another, it would also help us trace the substantive history of racialised discourses in postwar Scotland. At present, there is no empirical work that has brings out the history of racialised discourses in Scotland over this period. Finally, through a comparative analysis with the English press, continuities and discontinuities can be highlighted.

This chapter seeks to examine the coverage of the 1958 'race riots'. This represents one of the three key time periods that were selected for analysis. It was chosen because the immediate political and ideological reactions to the riots marked a watershed. It was here that we see the British state finally beginning to publicly push for immigration controls against people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent. In other words, it was here that we see sections of the British state openly racialising South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in postwar Britain. In the first section of this chapter the underling social, economic, political and ideological conditions that shaped the riots will be examined. As I argued in chapter three, one of the ways in

which we can assess the credibility of how news events are presented is by comparing it with an analysis from the social sciences. This first section attempts to provide a 'template' through which we can assess the credibility of new articles, editorials and letters to the editor around the riots. The second section goes on to examine how the Scottish press reported and commented on the 1958 riots. This section will demonstrate that the Scottish press often racialised news events concerning South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants. The third section will assess the continuities and discontinuities in the substance of the press coverage in both Scotland and England. On the one hand, it will show that there were continuities in coverage of the 1958 riots - both drew upon and used racialised discourses - nn the other, it will also demonstrates discontinuities, the most significant of which is the emergence of the discourse of 'no problems' in the Scottish press. The final section will try to explain how and why the Scottish and English press reproduced racialised discourses.

July 1958 - December 1958: Immigration and 'Race Riots'

The background context

After the Second World War Britain was impoverished by the war effort and reverted to labour intensive modes of production. One of the main consequences of this shift was that the economy soon became wanting of vital labour power. The Cabinet Manpower Working Committee estimated that the labour shortage would be around 1,346,000 by the end of 1946. Similarly the Royal Commission on the British Population revealed the possibility of labour shortages in certain sectors of the economy where work and conditions were unattractive and estimated that some 140,000 young people would have to migrate annually in order to meet the shortfall (Sivanandan 1982, Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

One of the means by which this demand for labour was met was by the migration of New Commonwealth and Pakistani citizens from the late 1940s onwards. To a large extent, conditions did exist that would allow for the movement of labour from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan to Britain. Firstly, the colonial system had already left many of the nations under-developed. At independence their economies were left devoid of any capital with which to make labour productive. This consequently throwing up a vast reserve of labour which British industries could draw upon (for a fuller discussion on the reserve army of labour see Castles and Kosak 1972, 1974, Phizacklea 1983, Boyle, Halfavree and Robinson 1998). Secondly, there were no *overt* political barriers to the movement of this labour before 1962. The 1948 Nationality Act was a symbolic binding force of the Commonwealth and a demonstration of Britain's supposed moral leadership and responsibility for this group. It confirmed for most members of the Commonwealth the right to enter and live in Britain. However, for Boyles, Halfavree and Robinson (1998, p.155) argue, this was a shallow political act,

> " By reiterating that black people were free to migrate to Britain and settle here, Britain was publicly making two statements: that the legacy of empire was capable of benefiting both the conquered and the conqueror; and that all citizens were equal regardless of their skin colour in the Commonwealth 'family'. However, both statements were made at a time when large-scale black migration to Britain was neither envisaged nor thought likely because of the high cost of long distance sea travel."

However, with the growing demands for labour in Britain, as well as growing transport links, migrant workers began to arrive in Britain. The reserve army was drawn to Britain in a number of ways in order to meet labour demands. Firstly, migrants were actively recruited by those organisations that faced constant labour shortages (such as London

Transport, British Hotel and Restaurant Association and the National Health Service) and secondly, through the initiatives of individual migrants. Many African-Caribbeans and South Asians had served in Britain during the Second World War. With some familiarity of the country, and on hearing the demands for labour, many began to migrate to Britain. Although migrants were relatively skilled (Fryer 1984) once in Britain, many South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were 'pushed' down into the low growth industries to take jobs vacated by the upwardly mobile indigenous workers. As Peach (1968) notes, migrant labour was used as a replacement population and filled gaps at the lower end of the occupational ladder. This process facilitated by racialised discourses, still imbued with the substance of colonialism, that 'slotted' 'ex-colonial' labour in its 'appropriate position' (for a fuller discussion of this movement see Freeman and Spencer 1979, Sivanandan 1982, Fryer 1984, Miles 1989, Layton-Henry 1992, Solomos 1993, Brown 1995).

In public the state welcomed South Asian and African Caribbean migrants. Indeed, the period up to 1962 is often seen as an age of innocence, of an 'open door' policy to migrants. However, privately there was considerable hostility to the migration of South Asian and African Caribbean workers from the Labour Government of 1945 - 1951 and the Conservative Government of 1951 - 1955. This hostility arose, as Malik (1996) notes, from the supposed threat posed by South Asian and African Caribbean migrants to the 'racial' identity of Britain. For sections of the political elite there was a real fear that Britain's 'racial identity' would be threatened by large scale migration of other 'racial' groups. For example, the minutes from a Cabinet meeting in 1955 noted that,

> " If immigration from the colonies and, for that matter, from India and Pakistan were allowed to continue unchecked, there is a real danger that over the years there would be a significant change in the racial character of the English people."

It goes on to note that,

> "...a large coloured community as a noticeable feature of our social life would weaken...the concept of England or Britain to which people of British stock throughout the Commonwealth are attached." (cf. K.Malik, 1996, p.20)

These concerns, however, did not immediately lead to the introduction of immigration controls against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This was, not least, because of the fear of being labelled racist, an accusation that would have a real resonance because of the recent war against Nazi Germany and the Jewish Holocaust. Because of the fear of adverse public opinion the Labour and Conservative Governments instilled a number of covert administrative measures by 1952, some of which were illegal, that sought to stop South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants from entering Britain (Carter, Harris and Joshi 1993, pp. 57-8).

However, it soon became clear that such administrative measures were failing to prevent the entry of South Asian and African Caribbean migrants, who after all were British subjects. This led to moves amongst civil servants and ministers for legislation to control South Asian and African Caribbean migration rather than covert administrative measures. In order to justify such legislation the state set up a programme of surveillance on the South Asian and African Caribbean population in Britain in 1953. The aim of this surveillance was to collect evidence on the supposed problems caused by South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants (focusing particularly on the issues of numbers, employment, housing and criminality) which could then be used to support calls for immigration legislation. In doing so, this surveillance racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. As Carter, Harris and Joshi(1993, p.69) summarise,

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" Black immigration, it was alleged, would create problems which were insoluble precisely because their province was 'racial' not political. Black people were unemployed not because of discrimination, but because of their 'irresponsibility, quarrelsomeness and lack of discipline'. Black people lived in slums not because of discrimination and the unwillingness of Government and local authorities to tackle the housing shortage but because they knew no better. Indeed their very 'nature' was held to predispose them towards criminality. All of these stereotypes were evoked vividly in the concept of 'new Harlem', an alien wedge posing an unprecedented threat to the British way of life."

There was, however, still a reluctance to bring forward such legislation into the public domain for several reasons. First, as we have already mentioned, there was a fear of being labelled racist, one which would have a real resonance considering the proximity of the Jewish Holocaust. Second, there was also a danger of generating tensions within the New Commonwealth, which at the time was an important symbol of Britain's global reach. Third, there were doubts about the legality of controls based on colour in both British and international law. Fourth, there was still a strong demand for labour by sections of capital. Finally, it was felt by the state that public opinion was not 'mature enough' to support such legislation (for a fuller discussion see Joshi and Carter 1984, Layton-Henry 1992, Carter 1993, Carter, Harris and Joshi 1993, Solomos 1993, Malik 1993).

By the end of the decade, changing social, political and economic conditions meant that the state was less reluctant to introduce immigration controls. One of the reasons for the state's reluctance to introduce racist immigration controls was because public opinion was not 'mature enough'. If the state was looking for such a sign of maturity it came towards the end of the 1950s

in the shape of increasing working class hostility towards South Asian and African Caribbean migrants, manifesting itself in the 1958 riots.

The events

During late August and early September there were riots in Nottingham and London that targeted South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. In Nottingham the disturbances started on the 23 August. The catalyst for the riots seems to have been a fight in a pub, between an African-Caribbean and a 'white' man, over the alleged assault on a 'white' woman. This initial fracas spilled out beyond the pub and by the end of the night several men had been stabbed. This original conflict, in turn, seemed to have triggered off a broader and extended spate of violence directed against African-Caribbean and South Asian migrants. Indeed, over the next two weekends hostile crowds numbering between 200 to 4,000 were involved in numerous 'nigger baiting' incidents. In London the disturbances also started on the 23 August and lasted till the 2 September. The disturbances seem to have started in Shepherds Bush and adjacent Notting Dale and spread to several areas including Notting Hill, Kensal New Town, Paddington and Maida Vale. Like the events in Nottingham the London riot involved attacks on South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants and their homes (for a fuller and more detailed account of the events see Fryer 1984, Miles and Phizacklea 1984, Holmes 1988, Hiro 1991, Bowling 1996, Pilkington 1988, 1996).

Each of these riots had a particular incident or event, whether it be a fight or an assault, as their catalyst. However, it is important to note that they occurred within a broader atmosphere of tensions and antagonisms directed against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. The 1949 Royal Commission on the British population noted that the migration of workers to Britain would require a considerable amount of expenditure on housing, social services and industrial training. However, in the face of European,

South Asian and African-Caribbean migration this additional expenditure was never provided. This in turn led to increasing competition over the now scarce social resources, especially within the decaying inner cities. For the poorest sections of the working classes this increasing competition was seen to be the result of the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as opposed to the state's neglect. South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were racialised as the source of unwelcome competition and the cause of many the social problems that the 'white' working classes were facing, from slum housing to crime. As Freeman and Spencer (1979, p.65) note,

" Their presence highlighted deteriorating housing, educational and medical facilities in the inner-city. Racism ensured that blacks came to be seen as the cause of these problems so that the pressure mounted to prevent further immigration."

There are several points that we need to note. Firstly, these events did not occur in an ideological vacuum. If anything, an ideological atmosphere existed that was charged with racialised discourses. As we have already seen, racialised discourses were one of the main ways in which relations between European and 'others' were understood. Secondly, the substance of racialised discourses had changed. Before the postwar period the discourse of 'race' was dominant. However, after the struggle against Nazi Germany during the Second World War scientific racism became politically unacceptable. Indeed, it was only during the immediate aftermath of the war that scientific evidence of geneticists, much of which had been available since the 1930s, was finally drawn on in an attempt to dispel scientific racism (Barzum 1938, Montagu 1964, 1974, Penrose 1952, Garlick 1960, Livingston 1962). As we noted above, a new racialised discourse was beginning to emerge, generated by sections of the political elite, that identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a threat to British 'culture', traditions and economic

(Joshi and Carter 1984). In other words, 'they' did not belong in Britain. Finally, this discourse, which was reproduced in the public arena by numerous politician such as Cyril Osborn and Norman Pannell, was drawn upon by sections of the working classes in order to 'make sense' of the arrival of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants.

On this basis, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants became the targets of hostility. This ranged from the informal (riots and vigilante squads) to the more formal (political parties such as the Union Movement). For example, Pilkington (1996) notes that in London, vigilante squads were formed in order to clear the streets of vice and prostitution. This, however, seemed by to be an excuse to attack South Asian and African-Caribbean men who were perceived to be a moral and sexual threat to 'white' women,

" Relations between the incoming black population of Notting Hill and the largely white population of neighbouring Notting Dale to the west were fraught from the start. Anti-black prejudices spread rapidly among the people who were ignorant about the West Indies and the men and women who lived there were widely castigated as uneducated, lazy and corrupt. Of all the prejudices there was one burning passion that over-shadowed the rest: the hatred expressed by white men in the area about sexual relations between white women and black men. Disapproval of miscegenation was rife." (E.Pilkington, 1996, p.176)

At other times racialised discourses were drawn upon in order to 'make sense' of the material experiences of the working classes. Within the 'limits' and 'pressures' exerted by material relations, sections of the working classes began to understand their own poor material position as a result of the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. 'They' were coming to Britain, taking 'our' jobs, 'our' homes, undermining 'our' pay and

conditions. These fears and anxieties manifested themselves in numerous ways: including attacks on South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants; and support for Fascist organisations such as Oswald Mosley's British Union Movement (Pilkington 1988, 1996), and trade union opposition to the employment of South Asian and African- Caribbean migrants (Ramdin 1987, Miles and Phizacklea 1992) as well as broader violence against migrants in the shape of riots.

Political and Ideological Reactions to the Riots

The state's reaction to the 1958 riots marked a watershed. The long term reaction racialised South Asian and African Caribbean migrants. The state identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the cause of the riots because of the supposed social problems their presence had brought. In doing so the Government began to openly air the question of immigration controls as a possible solution to any further disruptions. As Solomos (1993, pp. 59 - 60) argues,

> " The 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill are commonly seen as an important watershed in the development of racialized politics in Britain. It is certainly true that the events in these two localities helped bring to national prominence issues which had previously been discussed locally or within Government departments."

As Miles (1984) notes, there was a sense in which the 1958 riots were a site of political and ideological conflict. On the one hand the riots could be seen as the result of poor social and economic conditions in the inner cities. On the other hand they could be seen to be the result of the growing presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. In the conflict over the definition of the riots it was the latter account that won out. Racialised

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discourses, as we have already seen from the historical chapters, were an integral way of thinking about people of South Asian and African Caribbean descent and the relations between 'them' and 'white' people. They had a certain adequacy in that they could help explain aspects of the phenomenal world and material experiences. Hence, sections of all classes drew on racialised discourses, generating and reproducing them anew, in order to understand the processes of migration as well as their own material experiences. For sections of the state South Asian and African Caribbean migrants represented a threat to the 'racial' identity of Britain. For sections of the working classes South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants represented an economic and moral threat. Both of these representations came together to shape the dominant response to the 1958 riots - immigration controls.

The Scottish Press Reaction: July 1958 - December 1958

One of the key issues I want to examine is how did the Scottish press represent the riots, where did they stand in the political and ideological conflict? Did they represent the riots as the result of poor social and economic conditions; conditions which would have to be subsequently tackled? Or did they racialise the riots and push for immigration controls? In other words, did the Scottish press racialise the arrival and presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants? This section seeks to bring out the press reporting on and around the 1958 riots. The sample was drawn from four Scottish newspapers (The Scotsman, The Daily Record, The Evening Times and The Glasgow Herald). These papers were analysed from July 1958 to December 1958, a period that covered the reporting of the riots and the subsequent reactions to them. The articles collected referred to the riots and any news event concerning people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent in Britain. This allowed for a much fuller picture to be developed,

placing the riots within the broader framework of reported news events concerning people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent.

Headlines

Table 6.1, The most frequent words in headlines between July 1958 and December 1958							
race (ial)	34	court	2	hit	1
colour (ed)	23	discrimination	2	integration	1
riot	14	disorders	2	knives	1
Indians	12	hooligans	2	migration	1
passport	9	nigger	2	murder	1
colour ban/bar	8	violence	2	Pakistani	1
fraud	5	West Indian	2	police	1
prejudice	5	youths	2	race relations	1
white	5	arrest	1	restrictions	1
immigration	4	assault	1	settlement	1
jailed	4	brawling	1	smuggling	1
rioters	4	curb	1	stowaway	1
attack	3	environment	1	tension	1
clash	3	ethnic	1	toleration	1
fight	3	fascist	1	trial	1
Jamaican	3	harmony	1	trouble	1
black	2	hatred	1		
culture	2	heredity	1		

In chapter 3 I argued that the words used in headlines and their structures can have an ideological function. Now, what is evident is that the words and headline structures used by the Scottish press clearly constructed the disturbances of 1958 as 'race riots'. The most commonly used words during this period were 'race'/racial, colour/coloured and riot. All were largely used in headlines referring to the disturbances. If we go on to examine the headline structures, we see that the disturbances were clearly defined as 'race riots', a conflict between two distinct 'racial groups'. For example,

Racial brawling in London (Glasgow Herald 1/9/58)

400 fight in London streets in second night of racial riots (1/9/58)

RACE RIOTS (Evening Times 2/9/58)

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Racial Disturbances in Nottingham (Glasgow Herald 2/9/58)

Race disorders: Talks at Chequers on Sunday (Scotsman 6/9/58)

More racial clashes in West London (Glasgow Herald 8/9/58)

The headlines not only defined the events but also identified those involved in the riots. The perpetrators of the 'race riots' were seen to be 'youths', hooligans and fascists. For example,

'Tension high in West London, Youths march street chanting 'down with niggers' (Scotsman 3/9/58)

Fascist behind race riots (Evening Times 5/9/58)

Growth of violence among youth (Glasgow Herald 15/9/58)

However, whilst South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were the objects of the riots, an almost equal number of headlines identified them as the perpetrators of the riots. For example,

'Six coloured men drove round trouble spots', allegations in weapons case (Scotsman 18/9/58)

Arrests made in Nottingham, West Indians charged by police (Scotsman 28/8/58)

'Coloured boys wanted fight', West Indian charged in Nottingham (Scotsman 29/8/58)

The headlines around the riots sat within a broader framework of new reports concerning immigration, crime and the 'colour bar'. There was sustained press reporting around the issue of illegal immigration and passport fraud, hence the predominance of the words such as passport, immigration and fraud. Other news stories also focused on accusations of a colour bar. A common practice in these headlines was to place the term colour bar or ban within inverted commas. This indicated that the journalist questioned whether these accusations were true. Indicative examples can be seen in the following headlines,

'Colour bar' accusation (Scotsman 29/7/58)

Fraud charge over 20,000 passports (Glasgow Herald 12/8/59)

Indians jailed for passport fraud (Glasgow Herald 28/8/58)

Although there was an eclectic mixture of other headlines the Scottish press focused mainly on the above three areas during this period. In the case of the disturbances the Scottish press constructed them as a 'race riot', a conflict between two racial groups, instigated by youths, hooligans, fascists or 'coloureds'. This sat alongside various headlines that focused on the fraudulent presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants and cases of discrimination. However, although cases of discrimination were reported they were always questioned by placing the terms colour bar/ban within inverted commas.

Topics

Table 6.2 Topics covered during July 1958 to December 1958

Topic	No.	%
Riots	46	62.2
Law and order	16	21.6
Immigration	6	8.1
Colour bar	6	8.1
Total	74	100%

Overall there were several topics covered during this period (see table 6.2). These are not absolute categories. Rather, they express the major organising theme of the article. However, various sub-themes and connections with other topics are identified. As expected the 'race riots' were the main focus of reporting for the Scottish press. There were also other topics that were covered (although not in the same depth) such as law and order, immigration and the colour bar.

Riots

The major topic was the riots. This included all articles that reported on the actual events and the subsequent reactions to them. There were, however, several problems in breaking down this broad topic in to specific sub-topics. One of the major problems was the overlap between various sub-topics within individual articles. For example, one particular article would define the event but then also go on to identify its underlying causes and then put forward solutions. As such, it was difficult to break down the articles into sub-topics (detailing what particular aspect of the disturbances the article referred to). Because of these problems, the focus shifted to examining

themes. At one level, I wanted to examine how the Scottish press defined the events, their causes and the possible solutions. In order to do this, I established a thematic map that set up three main points of reference: initial definitions of the events, perceived causes and reactions. At another level, I wanted to bring the substance of this reporting out. Taking the articles on the riots a whole, I examined how often certain themes appeared around these points of reference. Through coding up, categories and counts were established that sat within the thematic map (see figure 6.1 for a thematic map).

Figure 6.1: Thematic Map of Press Reporting on the Riots

1958 Disturbances

Definitions

'race riots' (21 times)
lawlessness (12)

Reactions

immigration controls (6)
reinstate law and order (5)
limit emigration (4)
integration (4)

Causes

South Asian and African Caribbean
migrants:-
 socio-economic problems (7)
 criminality/vice (5)
 numbers (4)
 lawlessness (2)
Fascists (4)

Defining the events

The first theme dealt with defining the events (overall the events were defined 33 times in articles dealing with the disturbances). The dominant definition of the disturbances was as 'race riots' (occurring 21 times). In other words, the disturbances were defined as a conflict between two distinct racial

groups. This is evident in the repeated use of descriptive terms such as 'racial incidents', 'race riots', 'racial brawling', and 'racial disturbances' in the news articles. The other definition of the events saw them as general 'lawlessness' (occurring 12 times). This generally described the disturbances as a general breakdown in law and order.

Identifying causes

Overall, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were identified as the cause of the riots 18 times. There were several sub-themes here, however, the dominant sub-theme racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the cause of crime and other socio-economic problems (such as unemployment and housing). For example, comments by MPs, such as George Rogers, which identified West Indian clubs as centres of vice, were widely reported by the press (e.g. Glasgow Herald 4/9/58). Another article reported a comment of a local resident, who argued that 'it is not coloured people we object to; it is the actions and morals of some of them' (Daily Record, 1/9/58). Other sub-themes included South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a threat in the sense of growing numbers and as a sexual threat to white women. Indeed, the reporting style conveys a sense that it was the negative attributes of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants that caused the riots. In other words, it was the supposedly deviant behaviour of migrants that drove the local residents to attack them. This is certainly evident in some press reports where local residents are quoted. For example, one white resident told a reporter,

> " It's all right for people to say 'lets have no colour prejudice'. They haven't lived round here. So far as we are concerned Little Rock is tops." (The Scotsman, 1/9/58)

General lawlessness was also identified as a cause for the riots (appearing 15 times). These articles emphasised the rise of violence amongst young people and 'Teddy Boys' as the cause of the riots. This particular sub-theme was bolstered by the press coverage of the court cases involving those arrested during the riots. In the coverage of these cases numerous references were made to the statements of judges condemning 'lawlessness'. For example, one judge in Nottingham commented that,

> " Lawlessness is not going to be tolerated in this city...We are going to treat it as a threat to the peace of the community and we shall act with the utmost severity that lies in our power." (Glasgow Herald, 2/9/58)

Fascists and extreme right wing organisations were also identified as the cause of the riots, although this appeared only 4 times. The role of extreme right wing organisations, especially Mosley's Union Movement, was only really identified by the Trade Union Council (e.g. Evening Times 3/9/58, 5/9/58).

Reactions

The reactions to the riots followed on from the above definitions of the events. The most common reaction was to demand immigration controls (appearing 6 times). For example, a press release from 10 Downing Street, which was widely reported in all of the newspapers, set the agenda on both the causes and solutions to the disturbances,

> " In a statement issued from 10 Downing Street last night the Government made it clear that they will not hesitate to take measures to prevent further racial disturbances in Britain. The statement said 'The utmost strictness will be observed in the impartial enforcement of the law'.

It added 'As regards the wider aspects of policy, Her Majesty's Government have for some time been examining the results of this country's time honoured practice of allowing free entry of immigrants from Commonwealth and colonial Countries'.

Meanwhile a chartered constellation airliner brought 102 Jamaicans to London airport last night to swell the tide of coloured immigrants. It was reported from Jamaica that 354 Jamaicans embarked for Britain on Tuesday, another 300 are under sail next Monday, and 30 more plan to leave by air during next week." (Scotsman 4/9/58)

The statement argues that as a *consequence* of the 'racial' disturbances the Government would reconsider its policy on immigration. In other words, if the solution comes in the shape of immigration controls against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, 'their' presence must have been the cause of the 'riots'. This particular line of argument is implicitly strengthened by the papers own listing of African Caribbean migration to Britain which would 'swell the tide of coloured immigration here'. This focus on the increasing presence of migrants implicitly bolsters the Governments own definition of the events.

The demand for immigration controls was also sustained and reaffirmed through the access given to other state officials and members of the Government by the press. For example, the then Home Secretary, R.A. Butler, was quoted on various occasions arguing implicitly and explicitly against the 'free' entry of South Asian and African Caribbean migrants. Similarly, the MP for Kensington North, George Rogers, was quoted on various occasions demanding immigration controls. These demands were underpinned by racialised representation of South Asian and African Caribbean migrants as the cause social problems. It was on this basis that Rogers argued for immigration legislation, demands that were widely reported. For example, the Herald quoted Rogers arguing that,

" The Government must introduce legislation quickly to end the tremendous influx of coloured people from the Commonwealth ... Overcrowding has fostered vice, drugs, prostitution and the use of knives. For years white people have been tolerant. Now their tempers are up." (Glasgow Herald, 4/9/59)

There were also other reactions, beyond immigration controls, which were carried by the Scottish press. One immediate, though less sustained, response was the demand for the reinstatement of 'law and order' (appearing 5 times). We have already seen that one strand in the press reports identified the cause of the riots as general 'lawlessness' by sections of the British 'youth' or 'Teddy Boys'. Following on from this definition several articles reported that the only solution to further rioting would be a firm reinstatement of public order. This response was mainly made up of comments by judges during the court cases that followed arrests from the riots and Government statements on the disturbances (see the example above from the Scotsman 4/9/58). This response, however, was largely mediated by only one newspaper, The Scotsman.

The next major response came in the form of a plea for integration and tolerance (appearing 4 times). This stemmed from the coverage of Norman Manley, the Chief Minister of Jamaica, who came to Britain to investigate the riots. Manley's argued for greater tolerance and urged West Indians to make a concerted attempt to join Trade Unions and political parties (e.g. The Scotsman 17/9/58) and suggestions for community workers who would develop better 'race relations' (The Scotsman 16/9/58). The press coverage of the Labour Party's proposals to 'outlaw the colour ban' also contained an integrative stand. Amongst the array of proposals were plans to 'increase knowledge and understanding of Commonwealth peoples' and to 'encourage and co-ordinate local citizens committees charged with the

responsibility of developing an understanding between all minority groups and the British people' (The Scotsman, 29/9/58). Manley's statements also made up the bulk of another response - limiting of emigration (appearing 4 times). This mainly took the form of press reports that cited Manley warning would-be migrants to Britain to think twice because of the country's growing unemployment (e.g. The Scotsman 20/9/58).

Both the pleas for integration and the limiting of emigration still identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem. The pleas for integration suggested that it was South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants' unwillingness to integrate that was the problem. The fact that racism was the key problem is obscured. Similarly, the pleas to limit emigration seemed to suggest that it was the growing number of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants that caused or exacerbated social problems. However, challenging the vagaries of the capitalist system or state policies, which structured the poor social and economic conditions in the inner cities, was never raised as a potential solution.

Law and Order

The 'race riots' were the major topic during this period. However, they sat within a network of other topics dealing with South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Numerically, the next major topic dealt with law and order. This topic included news articles that had as their central theme the reporting of court cases involving South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants (not including those that immediately followed the riots), as well as the listing of criminal charges or accusations made against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. The bulk of these news articles dealt with one issue, the arrest and subsequent court case of two Indian men in Glasgow, Inshar Dous and Bohinder Singh, on attempting to obtain by fraud 20,000 Indian passports. These news articles, however, went beyond simply

reporting the 'facts'. They were often accompanied by arguments that questioned the legality of the South Asian presence in Britain. For example, the Glasgow Herald ran a story that noted that while 17,300 Indians had come to Britain in the last three years the Indian Government had only issued 4,964 passports to emigrants (Glasgow Herald 15/8/58).

There was an eclectic mix of other cases that were reported; of an Indian travelling salesman accused of neglecting his children, the allegation of the use of obscene language by a 'coloured man' in Govan, and the trial of three Indians accused of murder in Bradford. Overall though, the focus was on the issue of passport fraud, which amongst other things, brought into question the legality of the South Asian presence in Britain.

Immigration

Numerically, the next major topic was immigration. This category included news articles where the main focus was on the number of migrants entering the country and the emerging debates around immigration control (beyond the political debate connected to the 'race riots'). There were several sub-topics in this category. However, the news event that received most attention was Cyril Osborne's attempt to restrict South Asian and African-Caribbean migration. This coverage mainly took the form of reports from Parliamentary debates around Osborne's private motion to restrict immigration of the 'unfit, the idle or criminal, irrespective of race, creed or colour'. However, Osborne's arguments, in practice, made it explicitly clear that the objects of controls should be South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This demand was justified through racialising South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the cause of social problems such as crime and welfare dependency (although neither Osborne or the papers provided any evidence to support these claims). The quote below gives an indicative example of Cyril Osborne's arguments as mediated by the press,

"...I would not allow anybody to come to this country who does not have a job to come to. This is what the West Indies Government are doing. I can not believe that any member can defend the use of this country as a dumping ground for criminals from any part of the Commonwealth.

...those on the welfare state should be sent back rather than be maintained here indefinitely at the taxpayers expense...I do not believe it is sensible to make this island a magnet of attraction for the whole of the races of the Commonwealth by virtue of our superior wealth and welfare state, and then just wait and see what happens."
(Scotsman 6/12/58)

Another strand in the articles around immigration was the legality of the South Asian and African-Caribbean presence in Britain. For example, there were several reports of stowaways and illegal immigrants (e.g. Evening Times 10/9/58, 24/9/58). These articles not only implicitly racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants but they also criminalised 'them'. In other words, the assumption was that if 'they' arrive in Britain illegally does this not also express 'their' illegal intentions in this country.

Colour Bar and Racialised Relations

The next two major topics were the colour bar and racialised relations. These included news articles that reported cases of discrimination as well as statements on what could be called racialised relations - the perceived relations between signified 'racial' groups. The major sub-topic here was the claim that there was no discrimination or 'colour bar' in Scotland. This is evident in one series of articles which argued that 'coloured students' fitted better in Scottish cities as a result of an absence of 'colour prejudice' (e.g. The Scotsman, 12/9/58). The claim that there was no 'colour bar' was also

evident in statements made by local church officials and dignitaries. For example,

> "...Ballie H.A.Brechin, the senior magistrate, took the opportunity on behalf of the citizens of deprecating the recent racial disturbances in England. Edinburgh, he said, was a city which wished to lived in friendship with people of all nations in which there was no place for prejudices of colour and creed." (Scotsman 10/9/58)

There were, however, several reported cases of the 'colour bar' in Scotland. Yet, these articles in no way contradicted the press assertion that there was no discrimination in Scotland. This was achieved through placing the term 'colour bar' in inverted commas, questioning the strength and legitimacy of the assertion. For example, one article reported a claim by four Jamaicans that they were the victims of a 'colour bar' because they were refused accommodation in Edinburgh. The press, however, accepted the response made by Edinburgh officials, which claimed that the Jamaicans had somehow misunderstood the situation and were 'confused' (The Scotsman 29/7/58). Indeed, the overall tone of the article, as well as others dealing with the 'colour bar' in Scotland, is to reject that it exists north of the border.

Editorials and Features

As well as reporting on news events the Scottish press also commented on them through editorials and features. Overall there were 12 editorials during this period. All commented on the topic of the riots. However, there were several sub-topics: editorials that focused on the riots as an outbreak of 'lawlessness' (occurring 5 times); editorials that either explicitly or implicitly racialised the riots and/or demanded some form of immigration control as a solution (5 times); and finally editorials that demanded some form of integration and tolerance following the riots (2 times).

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The dominance of the discourse on 'lawlessness' was due, in part, to the sustained commentary that was carried out by the Scotsman. For the Scotsman, the riots were caused by 'hooligans' and 'youths', who had little or no respect for law and order, as well as racists and fascists groups, such as Mosley's British Union Movement, who were seen to have fermented the violence. The solution for the Scotsman was the reinstatement of law and order and pleas for tolerance and understanding between 'racial' groups. For example,

" In the Notting Hill district of London yesterday a coloured man on his way to visit relatives was mobbed and kicked by youths for the simple reason that he did not have a white skin. This is the kind of treatment that Nazis gave to Jews. Against such behaviour a war costing millions of lives was recently fought. Of course, the neo-fascist groups now active here disdain the Nazis in their search for wider support, but the pseudo-scientific racial theorising cannot be separated from its logical corollary of racial violence. Xenophobia lies at the root of both, and only circumstances really decide which form it will take. The battle against these vicious tendencies in our society must be fought on two levels, the practical and the theoretical.

Some disturbances, especially those among the young, suggest a generalised hunger for violence, a state of 'bloody-mindedness' which merely found a convenient outlet. At Notting Hill on Saturday a riot broke out although no coloured people were present. The first move is to stamp out violence of whatever origin with such severe penalties that the street becomes safe again to people of all colours. The second, more difficult, step really involves a choice for the nation. A small group is trying to persuade us that the British way of life implies racial discrimination. Our concept of Commonwealth and of British citizenship emphatically rules this out. Our laws and customs

have not opposed mixed marriages. Unwise as these may often be on the grounds of suitability, the freedom of individuals to contract them is a fundamental human right, with which the self appointed guardians of racial purity, attempting to impose their own laws, must not be allowed to interfere." (Scotsman 2/9/58)

There were five editorials that racialised the riots and/or demanded some form of immigration control as a solution. Overall, two familiar themes were taken up by these editorials. Firstly, it was the problems generated by South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants that had caused the riots. For example, all of the editorials in this strand racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the cause of a myriad of social problems such as crime, vice, prostitution, overcrowding and unemployment. In turn, white residents were identified as simply 'lashing' out against the 'anti-social' and 'problematic' behaviour of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Secondly, if 'their' presence was the problem, the solution should be some form of immigration control. For example, the Daily Record's immediate response to the riots was a rare front page editorial (indicating the importance that the editor placed on it) which advocated several 'practical suggestions',

" 1. Commonwealth citizens - whatever the colour of their skin - should not be allowed into Britain unless they have a job and a home to come to.

2. Some of the coloured people who settle here are no good. As Commonwealth citizens they cannot be deported. Our laws must be amended so that they can be thrown out of Britain just as British no-goods are thrown out of other Commonwealth countries.

Most of the coloured settlers here are doing splendid essential work.

The people of Glasgow see them everyday in the transport and other public services.

But there are white sheep in black families just as there are black sheep in white families.

The coloured evil men must be sent home - a decision that would be greatly favoured by their own compatriots.

3. Coloured people who want to come here to start a new life must be told - before they come - the plain facts about JOBS, HOUSING, LIVING CONDITIONS in Britain.

In the West Indies for instance, where there is wide unemployment people take too rosy a view of the mother country. They have heard about the milk and honey welfare state. They have not heard enough about our problems.

Mr R.A.Butler, the Home Secretary, is responsible for public order. He has his eye on immigration. He knows more than anybody else about one side of the problem - vice." (Daily Record 3/9/58)

This editorial starts with the demand that the entry of all Commonwealth citizens, regardless of their skin colour, needs to be controlled. However, it then goes on to argue that it is really only South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants that need to be controlled. This is rationalised by arguing that South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants cause social problems such as crime and welfare dependency. Repatriation is also demanded, but the exact grounds on which this will occur are left implicit within the emotive language of the 'evil men'. Nonetheless, this particular demand is placed within the context of employment and crime so it seems that those who become unemployed and are dependent on National Assistance, or are convicted as criminals, should be repatriated. This particular demand is supported by arguing that South Asian and African-Caribbean people would favoured it, even though there is no evidence provided for this assertion.

There were also other editorials that racialised the causes of the riots, often in the context of social problems such as over crowding and crime, but which did not explicitly demand immigration controls (although these demands were often implicitly made). This was rationalised by the argument that such controls would be discriminatory and distasteful. For example,

" The Notting Hill district of London has had an ugly weekend. Race riots have been foreign in this country up to now, but the events on Saturday and Sunday have had an unpleasantly strong 'Little Rock' flavour about them...

It cannot be easy, of course, for white people to see whole districts of their town taken over by coloured immigrants and forced into new patterns of living. Allegations about over crowding, dirt and arrogance may be well founded; and if so it's understandable that local residents will resent their intrusion...

At the same time, under British law coloured people have every right to set up home in this country, and once they have been allowed in it would be difficult and distasteful to turn them out.

The people of Notting Hill and other districts with a similar problem have only two alternatives. They will have to learn to live with their new neighbours or take democratic action to see that their standards are maintained." (Evening Times, 1/9/58)

Although not explicitly demanding immigration controls this editorial nonetheless contains numerous ideological turns. Firstly it identifies the disturbances in Notting Hill as 'race riots' - a conflict between two 'racial' groups. However, as we have already argued, these disturbances arose not because of some natural antagonism between 'racial' groups but more because of social and economic problems. Secondly, the editorial argues 'race riots' are something alien to Britain. This is factually incorrect. Historically, there have been numerous conflicts and riots that have had Irish, South

Asian and African - Caribbean migrants as their target. For example, we have already seen that there were riots against Lascar seamen in the port towns of Britain during 1919, including Glasgow. But what is noteworthy is the use of the word alien. The editorial implicitly suggests that the 'race riots' in Britain have almost been imported in through South Asian and African-Caribbean migration, causing a volatile 'race relations' situation between migrants and 'white' people. In other words, if South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were not present then there would be no 'race relations' problems. Finally, the editorial finishes with an ambiguous choice, toleration or 'democratic action'. What the exact nature of this democratic action would be remains unclear. However, if we take the 'race riots' as indicative of underlying feelings within these areas, it becomes clear that democratic action would lead to some form of discriminatory legislation or actions, either in the form of a 'colour bar' or immigration controls.

The demand that there should be tolerance and integration was only argued for twice. This response was based, in part, on the claim that the root of the riots stemmed from the mutual hostility and discriminatory practices within both communities. Consequently, the solution was seen to be the development of better community relations and integration. There was, however, opposition in both editorials to the Labour Party's proposal for legislation to overcome the colour bar and promote good 'race relations'. Both rejected any legislative measures to overcome racism and discrimination because of the difficulty of enforcing such measures. Instead, they emphasised that individual's as well as voluntary and unofficial organisation should promote harmonious relations. For example,

> " It is good that the courts should deal drastically with racial violence. But you can't make a man love his neighbour by statute. The colour bar represents a frame of mind, and to ban it would merely make

hostility more rigid, and hatred more profound. And such a law would be difficult to enforce.

In any unenlightened community people who are 'different' are suspected, and if things go wrong they are attacked. The way to stop the colour bar is to enlighten those who practice it. And the quick way to enlighten them is in the hands of those who believe in tolerance and the real brotherhood of man.

Refuse to have anything to do with hotelkeepers, restaurant-owners, or even neighbours who make it tough for people whose skins are dark. Ostracise such people, make it tough for them and the colour bar will soon go." (Evening Times, 29/9/58)

As far as the editorials are concerned, we see that there is a split between the Scotsman and the rest of the sample. The Scotsman on the whole constructed the riots as an outbreak of lawlessness caused by 'youths', 'hooligans', racists and fascists. In turn, it advocated the reinstatement of law and order and pleaded for tolerance and understanding between different 'racial' groups. The majority of the other editorials, however, identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem in terms of numbers and the cause of social problems. In turn, they advocated racist immigration legislation, designed to control the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, as a solution. There were also two editorials that identified 'mutual hostility' as the root of the riots. In turn, these went on to advocate better community relations and integration.

Letters to the editor

Table 6.3. Letters to the editor during July 1958 to December 1958		
Topic	No.	%
'Race'	23	65.7
Immigration	7	20.0
Racialised Relations	3	8.6
Colour bar	2	5.7
Total	35	100%

The press can also provide a commentary on news events through the letters section. By printing letters ranging from the influential to 'ordinary people', comments can be passed that either support or reject various arguments and actions over specific news events. This commentary is made more potent because it comes rarely from state actors or the press staff but from people 'like ourselves', from the 'grassroots'. There were 35 letters that fell into four broad topic areas (see table 6.3)

'Race'

From July to December there was an intense discussion in the letters section of the Scotsman on the idea of 'race' and its validity. Overall, this topic could be split into three sub-topics: those letters that racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as an inferior 'racial' group (there were 11 letters on this sub-topic), those which were explicitly critical of any use of the idea of 'race' (11 letters) and finally those letters that could broadly be said to be neutral (only one).

Although the ideas of scientific racism were politically and scientifically discredited they still seemed to have had a lingering hold. Indeed, many of those who wrote in to the Scotsman on the issue of 'race' articulated scientific racism in its classical sense, dividing the world's population into hierarchical 'racial' types with differing levels of cultural and intellectual abilities. But, at the same time, the idea of 'race' was beginning to change as it was articulated in the new material circumstances of the postwar period. Specifically, it is evident from the letters that the discourse of 'race' was being used to 'make sense' of the economic decline that Britain was facing. For example, it was argued that Britain's own racial stock was being diluted and weakened through the migration of an inferior 'race'. As such, Britain's own superiority, based on its 'racial' characteristics, was now seen to be fading, its 'blood' diluted by the influx of inferior 'races'. The solution to this supposed problem was seen to be the imposition of racist immigration legislation in order to control the entry of inferior 'racial' groups. The letters below provide indicative examples. They not only fuse notions 'race' and nationality (defining who belongs to the nation by 'racial' characteristics) but also attribute economic decline to 'miscegenation', and signify inferior 'racial' groups as the cause of social problems,

"What I am ashamed of is the utterly stupid system that acknowledges coloured peoples, who are completely alien in all respects, as British subjects, a system bred of foolish misconception that there is no difference between European and coloured peoples, that integration of races, miscegenation and cosmopolitanism are virtues to be encouraged. Our civilisation today is suffering from decadence which such folly is bound to bring.

Is it not apparent that there is no such thing as equality when one studies history? The European and coloured races had equal chance at development through the ages, but what happened? The Europeans built cities and built up all we know of civilisation, culture, and our

way of life, whilst apart from a little European influence, by and large the coloured races still lead a primitive life.

The factor which developed the European was nothing but his own higher intellect and will to move to a higher civilisation, whilst the coloured races by their own efforts have not moved very far from this primitive state. Surely this is proof that there is not equality of rate of evolution." (Scotsman 31/7/58)

" Through miscegenation - he inevitable result of integration - we are bound to become a different people. It is socially undesirable that these people - so foreign to us in every way - should settle in our midst, and it is totally unnecessary that they would do so.

This is to ignore altogether the question of genetics, heredity, economic and the large element of immorality associated with coloured immigrants. These facts strengthen our case, but that case can be made without them.

Although unfortunate there can be no doubt that racial troubles such as have arisen in Nottingham and London will continue if the Government insists on the unrestricted immigration of coloured people and in trying to enforce integration.

None of the white people involved in these disturbances start out with a hatred of coloured peoples, but these hatreds (if such it can be called) and strong feelings are a direct result of an enforced and unnatural association." (Scotsman 5/8/58)

These arguments did not go unchallenged. An equal number of letters questioned the idea of 'race'. For example, it was pointed out that 'coloured people' had long attained civilisation before the West (e.g. Scotsman 4/8/58) and that the idea of 'race' echoed the Nazi's philosophy (e.g. Scotsman 31/7/58). In the ensuing debate writers such as Kenneth Little, who at that time was at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh,

were drawn in. Little's contribution initially came in a form of a letter to the editor (Scotsman 11/8/58) but he was later asked by the Scotsman's editor to contribute a piece on the ideas of 'race'. In this article Little argued that,

> "... as far as it is known, racial differences are of little importance in determining the social and cultural differences between different human groups." (Scotsman 11/8/59)

The neutral letter occupied a very strange place. In a sense, it was almost asking for the debate to be calmed down until some definite evidence could be obtained on the effects of 'inter-breeding ' (Scotsman 14/8/58). In other words, although it implicitly agreed that there were distinct 'racial' groups, it was yet to be convinced that there were any negative effects stemming from 'inter-breeding'. However, in doing so it also accepted the broad idea that 'racial' groups existed.

Immigration

Immigration was the central issue in seven letters to the editor, dealing exclusively with the arguments for and against the imposition of controls against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. These letters, in turn, can be broken down into three sub-categories: those that demanded immigration controls (3 letters fell into this category); those that were opposed to immigration controls (3 letters), and 'neutral' letters (only one).

The letters that argued for immigration legislation rationalised their demands in several ways: firstly, that unrestricted immigration would lead to the destruction of Britain's national characteristics, and secondly, that without some form of controls Britain could face the prospect of millions of migrants entering the country. Both, however, seemed to be tied to the wish to keep Britain a 'white man's country'. Indeed, in one letter it was argued

that Britain was 'our homeland - we have the right to keep it white' (Scotsman 20/8/58). Other examples include,

> "...no one wishes coloured people any harm, but...I am uneasy at the prospect of millions of coloured people eventually settling in this country and so are many other people. No one objects to reasonable numbers." (Scotsman 22/8/58)

> " There is no doubt that unrestricted entry of people of different standards, custom's etc., from our own will gradually eliminate distinctive national characteristics which we have every right to preserve, and it is certainly not discriminating against anyone to recognise this fact." (Scotsman 25/8/58)

The debate on numbers and culture masked the real demand of many of these letters, the exclusion of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as opposed to migrants per-se. Indeed, no similar demands were made against Irish migrants, who have consistently been one of the largest migrant populations in Britain. This argument was taken up by those letters that opposed immigration controls, including one letter from Michael Banton, who was then at Edinburgh University, which argued that racist immigration controls would make the country morally bankrupt (Scotsman 8/9/58). Other letters in this vein argued that many South Asians and African-Caribbeans as British citizens had every right to enter the country (Scotsman 20/8/58).

The neutral letter asked whether Cypriot migrants count as 'coloured'. Whether this is a deft criticism of the 'colour' coded construction of what it means to be a migrant or a plea for simple clarification could not be ascertained from the letter (Scotsman 18/8/58).

Colour Bar and Racialised Relations

The last cluster of letters focused on the colour bar and racialised relations in Scotland. Only two letters dealt with the colour bar, both of which opposed it. However, the reasons for doing so were not rationalised. There were three letters on racialised relations in Scotland. All of these argued that the nation did not experience the problem of racism. Indeed, one of the few times that South Asian or African-Caribbean voices were heard was when two letters were published, one from a Pakistani man (The Scotsman 4/4/58) and another from a West Indian, who argued that Scots were more tolerant,

> " My own impression - and this has been supported by the impression of many other people - has been that in Scotland the scale is tipped towards racial harmony. Moreover, elsewhere in the United Kingdom I have found in my studies that immigrants, white and coloured, have tended to make many of their friends and acquaintances from among the Scottish people." (The Scotsman, 29/8/58)

Similarly, in a letter berating the actions of the Edinburgh hotel, International House, over the discrimination of four Jamaicans seeking accommodation (ee above), the writer makes a plea to the ideal of Scottish 'tolerance',

> " Has International House paused to consider that, in pandering to the base prejudices of an ignorant minority, it is doing untold harm not only to Edinburgh as a festival city and as the capital of Scotland but also to these ideas of tolerance and international friendship which Scotland has always been proud." (The Scotsman, 5/8/58)

Overall, the letter sections covered the topics of 'race', immigration, racialised relations and the colour bar. In the case of 'race', there was an intense debate on the validity of the concept. One interesting point is that the

idea of 'race' was being drawn upon and reworked in order to 'make sense' of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration and to justify racist immigration legislation. The demand for racist immigration legislation was also evident in the letters on immigration. Here, the consensus seemed to be that Britain should remain a 'white mans country'. The letter covering the 'colour bar' on the whole rejected that it existed while those on racialised relations generally argued that Scotland did not suffer from racism.

Representations of South Asians and African-Caribbeans

The racialisation of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants becomes even more evident when we examine the overall context in which 'they' were represented. As noted in chapter two, racialised discourses can articulate with discourses on gender and the nation. Furthermore, racialised groups can consist of several identified groupings, each of which would be attached with differing representations. In this section, the newspapers were examined to see how South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were signified and the attributes attached to them. Taking the whole of the 1958 sample, several sets of counts were made. Firstly, the basis on which South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants signified. Following the same procedure of 'coding up', several constituents of signification were identified: phenotypical variation (evident in the use of the term 'coloured' and 'black'), nationality (Indian) and supra-national identities (Commonwealth citizens and West Indians). Secondly, a count was made of the contexts in which various signified groups appeared. Again, following the same procedure of 'coding up' several contexts were identified: as a 'racial' grouping, immigrants, the cause of socio-economic problems, and participants in riots. Finally, a count was made of the contexts in which different signified groups appeared (see table 6.4)

There were various contexts in which South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were racialised. For example, in the letters sections, the ideas of scientific racism were used to racialise 'coloureds', Indians and West Indians as inferior 'racial' groupings. However, the use of 'race' was largely absent outside the letters section. Its place was taken by the 'catch-all' notion of coloured (one that appeared to covered all peoples of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent). Nonetheless 'coloured' migrants were still racialised as the cause of numerous social problems from over-crowding, crime, unemployment, immorality, welfare dependency to vice. 'Coloured' migrants were also represented as participants in the disturbances. This usually involved some form of description about the nature of the violence, its location, types of weapons used, damage to property and injuries. Indeed, at times, 'coloured' migrants were implicitly represented as attempting to ferment the violence during the riots (e.g. Scotsman 19/8/58)

If we look at table 6.4, we see that the term 'coloured' was also used in contexts where there was an absence of any overt racialised discourse. This was evident in the 'passive' counts. This category included all descriptive references that identified 'coloured' migrants as innocent victims of attacks and 'lawlessness'. For example, there were several occasions where it was argued that the 'coloured' population had nothing whatsoever to do with the 'riots'. Rather, their presence had been used as an excuse for 'lawless rallies to create a violent disturbance' (Glasgow Herald, 2/9/58). But even here there were times when 'coloured' migrants were even racialised in the 'passive' category. For example, in one report, covering the Church of England's reaction to the riots, it was noted that,

" The Coloured immigrants are mostly ignorant people, but in general they are quiet and peace loving, ready to work for their living." (The Evening Times, 5/9/58)

Many of the other terms, such as West Indian and Commonwealth immigrants, were less commonly used but nonetheless were attributed with some of the same negative attributes as 'coloureds'. Indians were also racialised, but mainly in the context of criminality, emphasising the more 'fraudulent character' of Indians. This is evident in the coverage around the case of passport fraud as well as the presence of illegal immigrants. There was one exception though. An article published in the Glasgow Herald (15/9/58) emphasised that Indians were not involved in the riots in Nottingham. The term 'black' was only used twice. Both, however, received counts from the same article. This was when the MP George Rogers accused 'black' people of criminality as well as discriminating against white people (The Scotsman 8/9/58).

In the 1958 sample, the extent which racialised discourses overlapped with gender divisions is unclear. On the whole, there is an invisibility of South Asian and African-Caribbean women. In other words, women are not represented in any of the above contexts, there were no quotes from women, and there were no news events that identified the presence of women. This does not mean that South Asian and African-Caribbean women were absent. Indeed, African-Caribbean women had served in the Auxiliary Territorial Service during the Second World War (Bousquet and Douglas 1991). Many had also come to Britain to fulfil the demands for labour in those parts of the economy where pay and conditions were poor. For example, one of the areas in which African-Caribbean women were employed was the developing National Health Service (N.H.S.). Indeed, the N.H.S. and the Ministry of Labour were in consultation with the Colonial Office as early as 1944 in order to organise recruitment. By 1948, Local Selection Committees had been set up in 16 countries including Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Jamaica, British Guyana, Trinidad and Mauritius. However, as in so many cases, the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean women seems to have been ignored and marginalised (Bryan et al 1985, Lewis 1993). On the other hand, South Asian

and African-Caribbean men were well represented, usually in the above contexts (especially around 'black' men being a sexual threat to 'white' women and the fear of 'miscegenation').

There are several important points to be noted on how the Scottish press reported and commented on the 1958 riots. Firstly, the cause of the riots became racialised. Now, what is interesting is that while the headlines defined the events as 'racial' the newspapers were less willing to identify the participants as belonging to 'racial' groups in the main text. Nonetheless, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were still racialised. 'They' were constructed as social collectives on the basis of phenotypical differences (such as colour). These, in turn, were attributed with a range of negative attributes in order to 'make sense' of the riots. In other words, phenotypical features were used to construct social collectives, which in turn, were attributed with a range of attributes. In this case, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were racialised as 'coloured immigrants' and were seen to be the cause of social and economic problems, which amongst other things, had driven local residents to lash out.

Secondly, although this was established as a dominant definition of the events it was at no time sustained by evidence. In other words, there was little in the way of objective evidence to support claims that South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were the cause of social and economic problems. Indeed, the only evidence provided were the statements of local residents and politicians. Following on from this, we see that other arguments, which could have pointed to the underlying socio-economic conditions that structured the disturbances, were excluded or obscured.

Thirdly, the substance of racialised discourses was changing. In the prewar period scientific racism was still a key way of understanding the relations between Europeans and the 'other'. However, scientific racism, although still

articulated, was now being challenged in the wake of the Second World War, evident in the debate in the letters pages of the Scotsman. In its place we see a new discourse emerging that focuses on notions of cultural difference. To be British is to belong to be a part of British culture, to adhere to its social and political customs and institutions. It also implicitly means being 'white' (Joshi and Carter 1984).

Finally, if we return to our original question - where did the Scottish press stand during the 1958 riots - the answer is clear enough. The Scottish press racialised the riots and the background events. This was evident in way that the Scottish press constructed the events in its headlines and main articles as well as the commentary that it provides in it's editorials and letters pages. Little or no attention was paid to the role of material relations or racialised discourses in shaping the 1958 riots. As such, we see that at the Scottish press, which is an important site of social knowledge and information, was still generating and reproducing racialised discourses.

Continuities and Discontinuities between the Scottish and English press

Tracing Continuities

In chapter three, I argued that a comparative analysis would be carried out between the original primary material on the Scottish press and secondary sources on the English press in order to establish whether there are any continuities and discontinuities. Unfortunately, there is little work done on the role of the English/British newspapers reporting of the 1958 disturbances. Glass (1958) reconstructs the events of 1958, in part, from the newspapers. There is, however, no detailed presentation of the news coverage during this period. Nonetheless, Glass does present some discussion of the newspaper coverage in her work. For example, she follows the editorial response of the liberal paper 'News Chronicle'. This initially

placed the blame of the riots firmly with the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. In an editorial on the 27th of August, headed 'Too many Immigrants', it was noted that 'some form of immigration control - distasteful thought that is' seemed to be necessary. By the 4th of September the tone had changed. In an editorial headed 'Remain on Guard' it was noted that the 'Government is right to consider immigration control with great caution'. By the 11th of September the News Chronicle position had totally changed. In an editorial headed 'Deportation' it was argued that 'restrictive policy must be abandoned' because it would have 'a tragic effect throughout the Commonwealth countries'. It was, however, argued that 'undesirables' should be deported. In so far as it can be compared to the Scottish press, what is notable is that the News Chronicle arrived at a similar stand to the Scotsman. Overall, throughout the period the Scotsman took a liberal line of the disturbances. Although defining them as 'race riots' it was reluctant to identify South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the cause, or immigration controls as a solution.

Elsewhere, Miles' (1984) has examined the political and ideological responses to the riots, in part, through an examination of 'The Times'. It is evident, when comparing Miles analysis of The Times to the primary material here, that there are several continuities in the coverage. For example, both the Times and the bulk of the Scottish press defined the disturbances of 'race riots' - they were 'racial' disturbances involving different 'racial' groups. Indeed, the first article dealing with the events in Nottingham was headlined 'Dozens Hurt in Racial Clash: Night Outbreak at Nottingham' (The Times 25/8/58). This was followed by various other headlines, all of which contained some reference to 'race', 'racial clash', 'racial fights', 'racial disturbances', 'racial outburst', 'racial incident' and 'race riots'. There were also similarities in the long term coverage of the 'race riots'. In interpreting the riots both the Times and sections of Scottish press racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Both the Times and Scottish press mediated

the initial demands by politicians and senior officials for the restoration of law and order, and most (with the exception of the Scotsman) also mediated the long term demands for some form of immigration controls.

Tracing Discontinuities

Although there were continuities in the reporting of these events, there were also discontinuities. Some of these discontinuities refer to the specific way that the 1958 disturbances were reported. For example, the Scottish press did not cover in any great depth the political impact of the riots on international and Commonwealth relations (which the Times did). However, the most significant discontinuity during this period was the emergence of the discourse of 'no problems'. This is not to say that there were no similar claims that racism was absent in England/Britain. For example, Miles, notes that, although not widely articulated, The Times insisted that Britain was a tolerant country. But, as Miles (1984, p.258) goes on to note,

> " That this theme was not prominent can probably be explained by the fact that neither the rhetoric of tolerance nor the possibility of accepting the reality of racism was politically possible in the immediate aftermath of the riots."

The discourse of 'no problems' was beginning to emerge as a prominent theme in the Scottish press in 1958. There are several points that need to be noted here. Firstly, it was during this period that the discourse of 'no problems' was beginning to be generated. However, the number of times that the discourse was articulated was not numerically significant. Indeed, the claim was only made sporadically. Perhaps what is more significant is that these articles represent the *historical point* at which this discourse began to emerge in the Scottish press (a search of the Scottish press between 1948 to 1958 showed that this discourse was not present during this period). The

reason why the discourse of 'no problems' emerged during this period can only be guessed at. One possible explanation may be the absence of any visible form of conflict. For example, unlike in London, there were no similar Fascist organisations in Scotland fermenting social and political conflict. There were no similar outbreaks of violence in Scotland on the same scale as the 'race riots' in London and Nottingham. For sections of the political elite and members of the press the absence of any similar social and political conflict may have been taken as an indicator of the absence of racism in Scottish society as a whole.

Secondly, at this early stage, this discourse had no internal consistency. Indeed, the only binding force was the claim that Scots were not racist. This is evident in various articles and letters that emphasised the supposedly welcoming and tolerant nature of Scots (e.g. Scotsman, 12/9/58, 29/11/58). Nonetheless, we shall see in the subsequent chapters that it was only later, as the debate around immigration began to mature in the Scottish press, that the discourse of 'no problems' began to develop an internal consistency and rationale.

Thirdly, the claims made by the emerging discourse of 'no problems' were problematic. In the late 1940s and 1950s several pieces of works began to show the existence of racialised divisions in England (Little 1948, Richmond 1954, Banton 1955). Although there are no equivalent works for Scotland there were numerous cases of racialised divisions that were reported within the Scottish press between 1958 and 1968. Usually a more objective work would be required to test the validity of the discourse of 'no problems'. However, in the absence of such work it was decided to use newspapers *within* the confines set by the methodological problems raised by the use of such articles (see chapter three). Before we go on to look at these articles it is important to note that from the middle of the 1980s a growing body of work had begun to emerge which would challenge the discourse of 'no problems'

through showing the existence of both racialised discourses and divisions. It would be surprising if these divisions only emerged in the 1980s and were not present before.

The Coverage of Racism in the Scottish Press

There were several cases reported in the press during the period between 1958 and 1968 that indicate the existence of racialised division and discourses. Although there were no similar disturbances in Scotland to those in London and Nottingham in 1958, the press did report that slogans had been painted on bridges in Glasgow in the immediate aftermath of the riots in England. The slogans included 'keep Glasgow white', 'death to blacks' and 'down with blacks' (Glasgow Herald 5/9/58). This occurred on the fringe of the Gorbal's area where many South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants lived during the 1950s. Occasionally articles also brought across the attacks against South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants. For example, the attack on Abdul Aziz in Pollockshields (Glasgow Herald 16/3/66), an acid attack on a Pakistani man in Airdrie (Glasgow Herald 23/10/66) as well as attacks on South Asian and African - Caribbean bus crews in Glasgow during 1965 (Daily Record 15/2/65). There were also cases of discrimination in housing. For example, the Glasgow Herald (3/2/60) reported a study which showed that only 50 out of 1,000 Glasgow landladies who offered accommodation to students stated that they were willing to take coloured students (contradicting earlier assertions that South Asian and African - Caribbean students did not face the 'colour bar' in Scotland, see the Scotsman 29/7/58).

While these incidents could have been the acts of a few individuals there were several examples of large groups of workers striking against the employment of South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants. One of the main areas of conflict was around the employment of migrant workers on

the public bus system. This was one of the areas of employment where pay and conditions were poor. Average earnings for drivers and conductors in relation to other branches of production had declined in the 1950s and 1960s. In comparison to other workers the passenger workers job was unattractive, it involved a longer working week with irregular hours, it had fewer days off per year, started earlier in the morning, included working public holidays and had a more restricted social life. Because of the poor wages and conditions the transport system was one of the areas facing labour shortages in the post war period (Harris 1993).

To meet the shortfall many of the transport companies drew on migrant labour. Indeed, the public transport service was one of the main employers of migrant labour in Scotland. By 1964 Glasgow Corporations workforce of 5,000 included 500 migrants, mainly from India and Pakistan, while Edinburgh Corporation employed some 40 to 50 migrant workers out of a total work force of 2,500 (Evening Times 3/8/64). There was, however, considerable hostility to the employment of South Asian and African - Caribbean bus crews amongst 'white' workers. For example, in 1964, 250 'white' bus crewmen in Dumbartonshire went on an unofficial strike because of the management's reluctance to operate a 'colour bar'. This demand was made by the workers 'in the face of growing local unemployment' and the insistence that there should be 'jobs for locals' (Glasgow Herald 4/8/64, 8/8/64, 10/8/64).

There were also other examples of industrial disputes against the employment of South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants. For example, in June 1967 400 joiners at John Brown went on strike over the employment of a Pakistani as a joiner. The managing director of the yard described the strike as follows: 'it was an internal dispute [the] joiners wanted to find out why so many Pakistani workers have union cards and how easy it is to obtain these cards' (Glasgow Herald 9/6/67). These strikes seem to have

arisen because of the idea that South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants were taking 'local' jobs and threatening pay and conditions. Yet this assertion is highly problematic. Migrant workers were only employed in those areas where there was a dearth of workers. In other words, migrant labour did not displace 'local' workers. Similarly, migrant workers did not seek to undermine 'local' labour. Indeed, migrant workers were often active in Unions as well as other organisations that sought to defend pay and conditions (Ramdin 1987).

The 1960s also saw the establishment of political groups that aimed to restrict the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Soon after the 1959 general election a group of Tory MPs from the Birmingham area launched a systematic campaign for the introduction of immigration controls. A lobbying organisation, the Birmingham Immigration Control Association, was established. In its wake other organisations were also established across the country. This included the Glasgow Immigration Control Campaign, which campaigned for immigration controls and repatriation. The size of the Glasgow group is unclear, although the leader of the organisation did place the number of members around 200.

It is worth noting between 1958 and 1968 the discourse of 'no problems' was still being generated and reproduced. For example, the Daily Record carried an editorial that attacked the labour dispute in Dumbartonshire in 1964 on the basis that it was almost 'un-Scottish'. Scots were meant to be welcoming, migrants were meant to have integrated well into Scottish society, hence there should be no racism or discrimination,

> " We have never had a colour problem in Scotland. Coloured people and other workers from abroad have become integrated into our national life.

Coloured boys and girls go to the same schools as Scottish children. They live in the same streets, mixing happily without trouble, our hospitals are filled with excellent coloured doctors and dedicated coloured nurses...

That is why the dispute between a number of central SMT bus drivers and conductors and the management over the employment of 'foreign workers' becomes all the more difficult to understand." (Daily Record, 12/8/64)

The discourse of 'no problems' was also used to understand the arrival of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants from England,

"Why do they come to Glasgow? The people here are friendly, they say that they prefer Scotland to England where they do not meet with such easy acceptance, although the higher unemployment levels here prevent their absorption into local industry." (Glasgow Herald 20/3/61)

There was then, on the one hand, continuity between the Scottish and English press in the way that they reported the 1958 riots. For example, both largely racialised the disturbances in London and Nottingham as 'race riots' and pushed for immigration controls as a solution. The Scottish press also racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in surrounding news events covering law and order and immigration. On the other hand, there were also discontinuities. The most significant of these was the discourse of 'no problems', which began to emerge in the Scottish press during this period. However, we have seen, the validity of this discourse is undermined by the existence of racialised discourses, divisions and conflicts in Scotland. In other words, the day to day experiences of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in Scotland was not that different to the English counterparts.

The Roots of Racism in the Scottish press

Overall, what is evident is that there was a strong link between the racialisation of the 1958 riots by the state and how the Scottish press reported them. The Scottish press carried both the initial and long term responses by the British state. This can be explained in several ways. In chapter three, we noted that newspapers faced several structural constraints in the production of news on a daily basis. This, in turn, leads papers to rely on institutions that either pre-schedule events or maintain a steady supply of news through public relations departments, press officers and/or produce press releases. Invariably, these institutions happen to be the powerful institutions. It is they who have the resources to maintain a potent public relations machine. This dependence is increased because newspapers also search for 'objective' and 'authoritative' statements on news events. This means turning to accredited representatives who are deemed to have specialised knowledge in their field. Such representatives are usually the representatives of powerful social institutions. The 'flip' side of this is that groups that are not organised or do not have the aura of power and authority are seen to be less 'objective' and 'authoritative'. Consequently their voices become marginalised. In effect it means that newspapers carry the voices and definitions of the dominant social and political groups in society.

This was certainly evident in the Scottish newspapers reporting of the 1958 disturbances. Numerically, the dominant voices were those of British state officials (politicians, police officers and judges). We have already noted that in private many of these state officials were active in racialising South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, identifying them as a threat to the English/British 'racial' character and/or the cause of numerous social and economic problems (unemployment, slum housing and criminality). Initially these discourses were contained within the state because of the fear of

adverse public opinion. However, by the time of the 1958 riots, and the maturing of public opinion, we see that these debates were beginning to seep into the Scottish and English press. Sections of the Scottish and English press began to carry these definitions to their audiences. However, members of the press were also active in racialising South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in their commentary on these events (see below). Furthermore, in their coverage of news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, the press often gave space to the racialised comments of the 'white' population.

Either through sensationalist statements by M.P.'s such as Cyril Osborne or George Rogers, press releases by the Government, as well as the commentary and coverage provided by the press, the definition of the news events became racialised. The 'flip' side of this process was that there were very few voices heard from alternative perspective or less powerless groups. Only Norman Manley, the Chief Minister of Jamaica, received any sustained coverage. However, when Manley was reported his comments were often a response to the continual barrage of questions by the press around the issues of migration, crime and unemployment. In essence, Manley could only respond through the primary definition of the riots that had already been established by the state and indeed the press.

Through the access that state officials and other dominant groups had to the press the reporting of the 1958 disturbances became racialised. This, however, does not in itself explain why the Scottish press also played such an active role in racialising the 1958 disturbances in its editorials as well as its reporting style. By this I mean that simply because the Government racialised the 1958 disturbances it does not logically lead to the Scottish newspapers racialising the events in their commentary. One way we can address this issue is to point to the fact that racialised discourses were (and still continue to be) the dominant means by which certain economic and

social relations are interpreted. They have a phenomenal adequacy in explaining certain social relations. As such, the 1958 disturbances would actively be 'made sense' of by editors and reporters through the lenses of racialised discourses - they were 'race riots', caused by the problematic presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. In the subsequent coverage and commentary on these events racialised discourses would be used to convey and mediate the news event. This process would be strengthened because the news events would have to be made to 'mean' to the audience at large. As Hall (1978) notes, news events would have to be referenced to common points of cultural knowledge if they are to be understood by the audience at large. One of the common points of reference is certainly racialised discourses, which, as we have already seen in the previous chapters, had been woven into the 'common sense' of all classes and remained an important and influential part of the 'ideological atmosphere'.

Indeed, this can also help us understand the similarities between the English and the Scottish press. For both, the initial definition of the events, as well as their causes and solutions, came from state officials and politicians. Both would have been reliant on these as sources of regular, authoritative and 'objective' information. As such, the voices of state officials would be given space in the pages of the Scottish and English press. For members of the Scottish and English press, racialised discourses would have been the dominant means of interpreting certain aspects of the phenomenal world in both Scotland and England. As such, both would have 'made sense' of these events, their causes and solutions through the lenses of racialised discourses. Both would also have reflected (although in a distorted manner) racialised discourses and conflict as expressed by sections of all classes.

This can also help us understand some of the differences as well. Scotland still retained a strong sense of national identity through the Scottish civil society. As such, when attempting to 'make sense' of events, the Scottish

newspapers would also have made some reference to notions of 'Scottishness', including the ideas of supposed tolerance. This idea of supposed tolerance would also have had a phenomenal adequacy. The absence of 'race riots' as well as fascist politics would be explained by the fact that Scots are supposedly more tolerant and welcoming of strangers. Similarly, in England, ideas of nationhood remained, although they were now articulating in a new way with racialised discourses, leading to the racialisation of English politics. When news events would be made 'sense of', it would be within the boundaries of this cultural map.

Conclusion

Clearly, as far as the Scottish press is concerned, racialised discourses did cascade into the postwar period. However, the form and shape of these discourses were different. The discourse of 'race' was no longer as prevalent as it was before the Second World War. The use of the idea of 'race' in Nazi Germany made the term politically unacceptable. In its wake, scientific evidence, especially the work of geneticists during the 1930s, was finally drawn upon in an attempt to dispel the old biological idea of 'race'. In its place new forms of racialised discourse emerged that connected culture and notions of 'belongingness' to 'colour'. Nonetheless, the term 'race' was still used by the Scottish press to signifying groups with deterministic attributes on the basis of phenotypical differences, but it lacked the notions of hierarchy and biology which scientific racism carried.

From this two points need to be noted. Firstly, we saw in the first section that the roots of the disturbances, as well as the broader conflict against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, lay in the social and economic relations of society. However, the Scottish press rarely turned a critical eye towards these. Rather, it drew upon more immediate and dominant discourses, generated by sections of the political elite, to 'make sense' of

these events. These invariably happened to be racialised discourses. Secondly, this process also seemed to have been occurring in England. In other words, there was a continuity between the English and Scottish press. Racialised discourses did not suddenly disappear from Scotland nor did they suddenly stop south of the border. Rather, they were generated and reproduced anew in both the Scottish and English press.

There were also discontinuities. During this period we begin to see the emergence of the discourse of 'no problems'. In the absence of any 'race' disturbances or fascist activity in Scotland a common sense idea seems to have emerged that the 'race relations' situation was better in Scotland. Indeed, this seems to have been grafted onto the idea that Scots are supposedly welcoming, tolerant and liberal people. However, as we have seen, the claims made by this discourse were problematic. During the 1950s and 1960s there were numerous incidents where South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were the objects of racist violence and discrimination. Indeed, on the basis of the material we have here, the experience of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants on a day to day basis was not that different to those in England.

Chapter 7: The Kenyan Asian Crisis, Powell and the 'Race Relations' Act

Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated that the Scottish press was active in articulating racialised discourses during 1958. It also demonstrated that there were continuities in the substance of racialised discourses (especially around the question of immigration) and discontinuities (the discourse of 'no problems'). This use of racialised discourses, however, was not a 'freak' occurrence. Indeed, if we go on to examine the Scottish press reporting of several key events during 1968 then we see that the Scottish press was still active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses. There are also several other reasons for examining the use of racialised discourses by the Scottish press in 1968.

Firstly, I want to demonstrate that the substance of racialised discourses used by the Scottish press had changed subtly. Although the basic framework around the question of immigration was still in place there are several new 'twists'. Firstly, citizenship and nationality were key issues for the Scottish press during this period (evident in news stories around the Kenyan Asian crisis and the speeches of Enoch Powell). Secondly, the arrival of the dependants of migrants who had already settled in Britain. The Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962) restricted entry to voucher holders. However, no similar restrictions were made against the arrival of dependants. For many, the arrival of dependants represented an unchecked immigration that was adding to the growing 'alien wedge' in Britain. Thirdly, with the rise of nationalist movements in Scotland, the question of whether an independent Scotland would require immigration controls was raised. Finally, the idea of the 'alien wedge' and the question of whether the

British state should engage in a process of repatriation was raised in the speeches and commentary on Powell carried by the Scottish press.

Secondly, I want to demonstrate that the discourse of 'no problems' was also evolving. During 1958 this discourse seemed to have no internal consistency apart from the claim that Scots were not racist. However, by 1968, the internal structure of the discourse of 'no problems' had developed, through referencing several external discourses, which in turn provide a stronger rationalisation for the supposed absence of racism in Scotland. The external points of reference were the growing nationalist discourses and political movements in Scotland as well as racialised discourses around immigration.

Thirdly, I want to argue that the continuities and discontinuities that were evident in 1958 were still present, and indeed had grown, by 1968 through a comparative analysis of the English and Scottish press. On the one hand, there were continuities in the sense that the racialised discourses carried by the Scottish press were not that different to their English counterparts. As in 1958, this is important to note. The discourse of 'no problems' claims that racialised discourses and divisions are not a problem in Scotland. However, if we can show that racialised discourses were being generated and reproduced by at least one important social institution in Scotland, it will go a long way to dispelling the myth. On the other hand, I want to argue that there were subtle discontinuities. One of these was the generation and reproduction of the discourse of 'no problems'. There seems to be no similar discourse for England.

The focus of this chapter is the Scottish press and its coverage of several key events. Overall, the chapter is split in to several sections. The first section examines several key events in 1968: the Kenyan Asian crisis; the Commonwealth Immigration Act, and the speeches of Enoch Powell. As it will be demonstrated, these key events were important points of political and

ideological conflict around which racialised discourses were generated and reproduced during 1968. Secondly, I want to examine how the Scottish press covered these issues. Through comparing them with our analysis in the first section I want to go on and argue that the Scottish press did draw upon racialised discourses in both their coverage and commentary on these events. Finally, I want to examine several continuities and discontinuities in the coverage provided by the Scottish and English press.

The Kenyan Asian Crisis, Powell and 'Race Relations' Act

From 'Race Riots' to the Kenyan Asian Crisis

Solomos argues that the 1958 'riots' marked a watershed in the development of racialised politics. The internal debates within state departments, which racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem in the context of numbers and the cause of social and economic problems, were finally publicly aired in the wake of the riots and eventually became institutionalised in the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962). The Act withdrew the right of entry from Commonwealth citizens. British citizens living in Commonwealth countries could only enter Britain if they possessed a Ministry of Labour employment voucher, if they were a dependent of a person already resident in Britain, or if they were a student.

As Miles and Phizacklea (1984) note, the Act was directed at South Asian and African migrants as opposed to migrants per se. This was evident in the fact that it did not apply to the entry of migrants from the Irish Republic (in 1961 some 60,000 to 70,000 citizens of the Irish Republic were entering Britain annually). It was also evident in the fact that there was no large-scale political campaign against the entry of 'white' foreign workers under voucher schemes (the numbers coming under this scheme were greater than New Commonwealth and Pakistani migration, see table 7.1). Indeed, William

Deedes (1968, p.10), a Cabinet Minister at the time of the 1962 Act, noted that although the Bill applied to all Commonwealth citizens it was essentially directed at South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants,

" The Bill's real purpose was to restrict the influx of coloured immigration. We were reluctant to say as much openly. So the restrictions were applied to coloured and white citizens in all Commonwealth countries - though everybody recognised that immigration from Canada, Australia and New Zealand formed no basis of the problem."

However, if the Act's aim was to restrict the entry of South Asian and African- Caribbean migrants, it had the opposite effect. As Miles and Phizacklea (1984) argue, before the Act the rates of migration corresponded closely to the demand for labour in the British economy. But, as moves towards restricting New Commonwealth and Pakistani migration grew, so did the number of migrants. This migration grew for several reasons. Firstly,

Table 7.1: Migrant workers entering Britain under voucher and work permit schemes, 1965 - 70

	Commonwealth Workers with vouchers	Foreign workers (non-EEC) with work permit
1965	16,046	54,258
1966	8,300	54,837
1967	8,409	50,303
1968	8,120	51,476
1969	6,769	56,156
1970	5,563	56,006

Source: Racism, Who Profits?, CIS Report
From, R.Miles and A.Phizacklea, 1984, p.47

	Voucher holders	Dependants				Total
Table 7.2: Commonwealth immigrants, entering the United Kingdom 1955-1970 (excluding Australia, Canada and New Zealand)						
1955	-	-				42,700
1956	-	-				46,850
1957	-	-				42,400
1958	-	-				29,850
1959	-	-				21,600
1960	-	-				57,700
1961	-	-				136,000
1962 to June 30	-	-	94,900			
1962 (1 July - 31 Dec.)	4,217	8,218	12,435	total =	107,335	
1963	28,678	27,393				56,071
1964	13,888	38,952				52,840
1965	12,125	39,228				51,353
1966	5,141	39,130				44,271
1967	4,716	50,083				54,799
1968	4,353	42,036				46,389
1969	3,512	27,984				31,496
1970	3,052	21,334				24,384

Sources: Institute of race Relations Facts Papers, *Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom,* 1969, *Commonwealth Immigration Acts 1962 and 1968; Statistics, 1962-.*

Taken from J.Cheethan, 1972, p.496

from 1960 to 1961 New Commonwealth and Pakistani migration doubled in an attempt to 'beat the ban'. Secondly, after the Act came into force, migrants continued to enter under the voucher system (although this fell after 1965 when the number of vouchers available were reduced). Finally, many South

Asian and African-Caribbean migrants feared that they would not be able to return to Britain if they travelled back to their countries of origin. As such, they opted to stay in Britain, becoming settlers as opposed to migrants, and were joined by their dependants. Overall then, the number of migrants entering Britain increased because of the actions of the state (see table 7.2).

The continual entry of New Commonwealth and Pakistani migrants meant that immigration was kept alive as a political issue. Sections of the political elite could claim the 1962 Act was inadequate in controlling South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants and consequently demanded stronger controls. Indeed, the demand for stronger immigration control was often a vote winner. For example, in the 1964 Parliamentary contest for the seat of Smethwick, between Patrick Gordon Walker (a Labour Minister who was seen to be liberal on the question of immigration) and Peter Griffith (the Conservative candidate who demanded stronger controls), Griffith shot to victory on the back of slogans such as 'if you want a nigger for a neighbour vote Labour' (Solomos 1993).

Immigration as a political issue was also alive amongst the working classes. The Act did little to ameliorate the conditions that shaped the 'riots' during 1958. The state did little to provide the additional social resources that were required by the growing inner city population, including extra housing and educational facilities. This lead to the reproduction of racialised discourses that identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem. As Miles and Phizacklea (1984, p.51) argue,

> " Large numbers of working-class people, although no longer facing long-term unemployment, nevertheless had to cope with a shortage of adequate housing and inferior educational provision for their children. Moreover, these problems were encountered by many in a decaying urban context. When such sections of the working class

found that they were being joined in this environment by migrant workers from the New Commonwealth, the potential was there for them to conclude that these migrants would make it difficult to escape these conditions, if not that the migrant had actually helped create them. That many did come to such conclusions was not simply the consequence of media or political manipulation. It was an 'obvious' common-sense conclusion."

'Race' politics, however, reached its high point in 1968 during the Kenyan Asian crisis. Citizens of the United Kingdom living in an independent Commonwealth country were, in theory at least, exempt from the provisions of the Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962). However, in practice the rights of citizenship were limited by skin colour. This was evident during the Kenyan Asian crisis. During the 1960s Kenya followed an Africanisation policy that involved, amongst other things, pursuing labour market policies that favoured Kenyan nationals at the expense of non-nationals. One consequence of this was that a large number of South Asians (who had retained their British citizenship at independence) were dismissed from their jobs and/or were forced to close down their businesses. In the face of this marginalisation many Kenyan Asians began to use their British passports in order to migrate to Britain.

The arrival of Kenyan Asians in Britain between 1965 to 1968 did not go uncontested. During a Cabinet meeting in early February, the then Home Secretary, James Callaghan, proposed that,

> "...immigration controls should be extended to citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies who did not belong to this country in the sense of having any direct family connections with it or have been naturalised or adopted here." (CC 13 (68) p.7)

This extension was based on the argument that,

> "...unless we took action now, we might this year have to accept a total of 150,000 immigrants from this source and under the Commonwealth Immigration Act; this would be more even than in 1961 when immigrants had flooded in before the Act came into force. So large an influx was more than we could absorb, especially since Asian immigrants tended to concentrate in particular localities in this country..." (CC 13 (68) p.8)

Callaghan's arguments reflected the same demands that were being made some ten years earlier in the Cabinet - the control of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration. However, the language of 'race' is now largely missing from Cabinet discussions. Its place seems to have been taken by the public discourse of culture and nation that was being expressed by the Labour party towards the end of the 1950s (see Joshi and Carter 1984). It was a discourse that highlighted the idea of cultural difference, of 'Britishness, of whiteness, embodied in certain political and cultural traditions'. South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were represented as a problem in the context of numbers and the supposed threat they posed to 'British culture'. The solution to this problem was straightforward - immigration controls to regulate the entry of this 'problematic' migrant population. In the light of the Kenyan Asian crisis, the Labour Cabinet identified the arrival of Kenyan Asians as a problem in the context of numbers and advocated immigration controls as the solution.

The argument for immigration controls against the Kenyan Asians did not go uncontested in Cabinet. The Commonwealth Secretary, George Thompson, opposed the proposal on several points: the legislation would be 'racially' discriminatory; it would go back on legal and contractual obligations that were undertaken in 1963; it would make the Kenyan Asian second class

citizens (and in reality deprive them then of citizenship), and it would run counter to international declarations and agreements to which the United Kingdom was a signatory (see CAB 129/135 (34 - 36)).

Thompson's arguments, however, did not win out. This was because of the dominance of racialised discourses and the changing social and economic conditions. Firstly, there were no economic reasons to allow for the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. During the early 1950s the state was reluctant to introduce racist immigration controls, in part, because of the needs for labour in certain sectors of the economy. By the mid 1960s the need for labour had plummeted. As such, there was no economic demand for Kenyan Asians (besides, any immediate demands could be met by Irish or European migrants). Secondly, racialised discourses, from the state downwards, had already identified the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbeans as a problem in the context of numbers and the supposed social problems they caused (indeed Callaghan's arguments reflect this). The entry of more South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants was fitted into this paradigm, as was the solution - immigration controls. Indeed, as Crossman (1975, p.149) notes, to challenge this framework, especially after Smethwick, would be a certain vote loser,

> :...ever since the Smethwick election it has been quite clear that immigration can be the greatest political vote loser for the Labour Party if one seems to be permitting a flood of immigrants to come in and blight the central areas of out cities."

The Labour Government put forward the Commonwealth Immigration Bill (1968) in order to further restrict the entry of South-Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. It was passed in just three days. Under the Act any citizen of United Kingdom and its colonies who held a British passport would be subject to immigration controls unless they, or at least one of their

grandparents, were born, adopted, naturalised or registered as a citizen of Britain and its colonies. This in practice meant that the East African Asians, many of who initially migrated from South Asia but who were still British citizens, would now be restricted from entering the United Kingdom.

Indeed, as Miles and Phizacklea argue this legislative measure was clearly directed at controlling South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants rather than migrants per se, evident in the absence of any opposition to the control of 'white' patrials who would be allowed into Britain under the legislation,

> " The Commonwealth Immigrant Act (1968) was even more explicitly racist than its predecessor....It was an explicit response to the entry of 'coloured' UK passport holders whose right to enter Britain was then withdrawn. None of those involved in the agitation or the passage of the Bill through Parliament was concerned about the entry into a Britain which was supposedly 'bursting at the seams' of United Kingdom passport holders with a parent or grandparent born in Britain. Such people, of course, were, except in the most anomalous circumstances, 'white'." (R.Miles and A.Phizacklea, 1984, p.61)

The 'Race Relations' Act

The 'Race Relations' legislation of the 1960s was a product of its time. On the one hand, it was born out of the Labour Government's attempt to bolster it's moral authority at a time when immigration legislation was threatening to undermine it (Malik 1996). On the other, it was born out of an attempt to avert social conflict (Solomos 1993). Politicians feared that the growing presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants could lead to social conflict. Several key problems were identified. Firstly, 'racial discrimination' could become a volatile politics issue. The perception of some politicians was that too many South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants would

exacerbate social problems around housing, employment and access to social provisions. These problems would lead to growing tensions between South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants and the 'white' working classes. In turn, this could lead to the question of 'race' becoming a site of serious political and social conflict.

Secondly, politicians began to recognise the growing frustration of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Many were excluded and marginalised from equal participation in the labour and housing markets by racist practices such as the 'colour bar' (Daniel 1968, Deakon 1970, Rex 1973, Dennis 1975). The fear amongst politicians was that this frustration could manifest itself into political conflict and 'race riots'. This fear was, in part, fed by the belief that the growing social and political conflict that was occurring in the United States could also occur in Britain. Indeed, the American experience was constantly referred to in the debates on the 'Race Relations' Bill (MacDonald 1973).

Finally, there was a fear that sections of the 'white' working classes would take more radical forms of action in order to exclude South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants from social resources. As noted above, sections of the 'white' working classes in the inner cities racialised migrant labourers as the cause of social and economic problems. This, in turn, led to forms of political action directed at excluding South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. At a formal level, working class organisations acted to exclude migrant workers from the labour market (Ramdin 1987, Miles and Phizacklea 1992). At an informal level, sections of the 'white' working classes targeted South Asian and African-Caribbeans in acts of violence. There were are least three major sets of riots during 1948, 1958 and 1961 that targeted South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants (Bowling 1996, Panayi 1994).

The aim of the 'Race Relations' Act was to dissipate this social conflict. Indeed, James Callaghan, when introducing the 1968 'Race Relations' Bill, stated that his starting-point was that,

> "...a society is most healthy and most free from tension when it is based on the simple principle that every citizen within its boundaries shares equally in the same freedoms, the same responsibilities, the same opportunities and the same benefits." (cf. M.Freeman and S.Spencer, 1979, p.70)

The 'Race Relations' strategy, however, included immigration legislation. On the one hand, immigration legislation would control the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This was based on the argument, by members of the state, that it was the actual physical presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants that was the cause of social conflict (as opposed to racism). The problem was 'too many blacks'. As such, if the physical presence could be reduced through immigration legislation it would subsequently alleviate social conflict. On the other hand, the 'Race Relations' legislation would have the dual role of integrating South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants that were already resident in Britain and tackling 'racial' discrimination. However, both the immigration and 'Race Relations' legislation still identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem. Immigration legislation identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem in the context of social problems and numbers. 'Race Relations' legislation identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem by implying that it was 'their' presence that had led to social conflict, which in turn, required state intervention in order to secure integration. Both ignored or obscured the role of racism as the cause of social conflict.

The 1968 'Race Relations' Act (following on from the 1965 Act) was part of the dual strategy of control at the point of entry and 'integration' within the borders. Sitting alongside the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act, its aims were to overcome discrimination and to secure integration. The Act now made it illegal to discriminate in employment, housing, credit and insurance facilities (all of which were not covered by the 1965 Act). It also established Community Relations Committee (C.R.C.s), replacing the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants. The aims of the C.R.C.s were to promote harmonious community relations, to co-ordinate national action to this end through local C.R.C.s, and to advise the Home Secretary.

The Act, however, was weak and ineffectual. Firstly, it was largely unable to enforce these provisions. The Act relied almost entirely on conciliation and redress as opposed to legal measures. Secondly, the Act did not cover forms of indirect discrimination. Finally, it operated within a broader framework that identified the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem. Sivanandan (1982), in his bruising critique of the Act, went on to describe it as a form of neo-colonialism. On the one hand, the Act did relatively little. Although the 1968 Act extended the areas that were covered, 'the breadth of its concerns was belied by the unenforcability of its provisions' (A.Sivanandan, 1982, p.117). Indeed, Sivanandan argued that the sole purpose of the Act was the education of lesser capitalists in the way of enlightened capitalism. On the other hand, it sought to 'kill black struggles' by integrating South Asian and African-Caribbean 'leaders' into the political structure of the state, where they and the struggle could be controlled (see also MacDonald 1977).

Enoch Powell

During the period of the Kenyan Asian crisis and the 'Race Relations' Act one of the most influential figures was Enoch Powell. Powell helped to

popularise the message that even more stringent immigration controls were not enough to deal with the 'race problem' in Britain (for a detailed discussion on Powell's arguments see Solomos, 1993, pp. 54-58, Schwartz 1996, Gilroy, 1987, pp. 45-49, 85-88). For Powell, the growing presence of South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants and their descendants threatened the social and cultural fabric of British society. There are several strands to Powell's argument. Firstly, the continual migration of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants threatened English/British culture. Indeed, the threat was of such a magnitude that the whole social and cultural fabric of society was likely to be undermined by the presence of 'alien' immigrants from a different cultural and religious background. Secondly, 'white' people would become strangers in their own land as they were swamped by 'aliens'. In essence, Powell argued that 'white' people would soon be a minority in their own country. 'Whites' would be subject to the alien rule of a different culture and the 'the black man will have the whip over the white man'. Finally, there would be the danger that in the long run the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants would lead to increasing tension and social conflict. The only solution to this problem would be strict immigration controls, to stop the entry of any more 'alien' migrants, and repatriation, removing the 'alien wedge' from the national body.

Powell's views were far from marginal. Indeed, his arguments attracted widespread attention and support. All of his speeches during 1968 attracted massive media attention. On the 7th of May, a Gallup Poll revealed that 74 per cent of those questioned agreed with Powell's general views and 24 per cent said that they would like him to be leader of the Conservative Party if Edward Heath retired. Powell's popularity could be explained in several ways. Firstly, because he gave cruder forms of racism an articulate and logical expression. Powell made few references to 'race' or 'coloured' immigrants. Instead, he submerged crude 'colour' coded racialised discourses into notions of Britishness and culture. Secondly, sections of all

classes asserted that Powell spoke for ordinary people, who had never wanted South Asian and African-Caribbean migration, and who had been 'betrayed' by successive Governments because of their failure to control it. Finally, Powell rose to prominence during the political debate over the Kenyan Asian crisis and the 'Race Relations' Act. It was during this period that Powell's arguments began to be drawn upon in order to 'make sense' of aspects of the phenomenal world. For sections of all classes Powell's arguments began to 'ring true': despite immigration controls 'they' were still coming in and settling here; despite this being 'our' land we were being discriminated against by laws that gave special privileges to 'black' migrants.

Racism and the Scottish Press

Where these racialised discourses evident in Scotland? There is little evidence in terms of attitudes amongst the population as a whole or studies on patterns of discrimination. However, if we examine the Scottish press of this time what is evident is that they did articulate racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of these key events as well as other news stories concerning people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent. The next few sections provides a review of how The Scotsman, The Glasgow Herald, The Daily Record and The Evening Times reported these and other background news events. This review will examine headline words and structures, topics, editorials, and letters to the editor. After this review I want to go on and demonstrate that racialised discourses were still being used by the Scottish press in their coverage and commentary on news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants.

Headlines

During 1968 the words used and the headline structures reflected the main issues that were discussed above; the Kenyan Asian crisis, the 1968

Table 7.3: The most frequent words in headlines between January 1968 and December 1968

immigrants	32	Indians	4	discrimination	2
race	30	race-relations	4	exodus	2
immigration	29	racial	4	flood	2
Asian(s)	28	ban	3	home	2
Powell	27	coloured	3	integration	2
[race] Bill	27	cuts	3	jail	2
Tories	19	Ewing	3	leave	2
Kenyan	11	fraud	3	majority	2
Pakistanis(s)	9	Government	3	marchers	2
Heath	7	labour	3	parties	2
protest	7	M.P.	3	row	2
dockers	6	panic	3	stem	2
curb	5	racialism	3	warning	2
colour	5	revolt	3	workers	2
control	5	row	3		
India	5	Sandys	3		
rush	5	smuggled	3		
prejudice	5	strike	3		
NCWP*	4	white	3		
Britain	4	barred	2		
clash	4	colour-ban	2		

* New Commonwealth and Pakistan

Commonwealth Immigration Act, the speeches of Enoch Powell, and the 'Race Relations' Act (see table 7.3)

The most dominant words (bar 'race') were immigrants, immigration and Asian(s). These were mainly (although not exclusively) found in headlines dealing with the Kenyan Asian crisis and the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill. When these words were located in headline structures it became evident that they constructed the migration of Kenyan Asians as a problem in the context of numbers. They would often contain associative terms, such as flood and influx, that suggested Britain was being rapidly

'over-run' by the arrival of large numbers of Kenyan Asians. The headlines also contained associative terms, such as 'curb' and 'stem', that suggested this 'flood' should be controlled through stronger immigration controls. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Britain's bid to stem immigration (Glasgow Herald 19/2/68)

Immigrants to face tougher curbs (Daily Record 19/2/68)

500 Asians in 24 hours (Evening Times 21/2/68)

Government acts to curb flood of Asians: Immigration controls to be extended (Scotsman 23/2/68)

Mr Callaghan details curbs on immigration, influx causing 'serious strain on services' (Scotsman 23/2/68)

This definition, however, did not dominate the coverage to the exclusion of all else. There were several headlines that reported the criticisms and opposition to the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrant Bill. These criticisms were based on the fact that the Bill was racist because it imposed discriminatory immigration controls. This is evident in the use of words such as 'racial' and 'racialist' within headline structures. However, these headlines were numerically less significant. Overall, the press defined the arrival of Kenyan Asians as a problem in the context of numbers and defined the solution in terms of stronger immigration controls.

There were other headlines on the topic of immigration that stood independently from the Kenyan Asian crisis. For example, one clear strand questioned the legality of the South Asian and African-Caribbean presence. This is evident in the use of words such as 'smuggled' and 'fraud'. When

placed within the headlines structures these words were associated with, amongst other things, smugglers who supposedly attempted to break immigration laws, the idea of 'passport brides' (marriages designed to 'beat' the immigration laws), and forged passports. This particular strand also covered the deportations of illegal South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Pakistani to be deported (Scotsman 12/2/68)

Migrant smugglers face jail (Daily Record 24/2/68)

The 'bartered bride' will be staying single (Daily Record 9/11/68)

'Race' also scored high on the word count, reflecting the coverage of the 'Race Relations' legislation and the speeches of Enoch Powell. A large number of the counts for 'race' came through the coverage of the debate on 'Race Relations' legislation between the Conservative and Labour party (which was termed the 'Race Bill' by the press). Other counts came from the coverage of the internal wrangling amongst the Tories. Many Tories maintained the party line to oppose the legislation, arguing that while they were against racism, the Bill was a 'bad law' that would be impossible to enforce. However, there was also support for the Bill inside the Conservative Party. Several Conservatives argued that if this legislation was not passed 'race relations' would worsen. The headlines below are indicative of the coverage of the term 'race' and the internal wrangling within the Conservative party,

Tories will not support the Race Bill

Tory row over Race Bill simmers (Scotsman 15/4/68)

Tories divided on Race Bill (Glasgow Herald 15/4/68)

24 Tories rebel on race decision (Scotsman 24/4/68)

Young Tories criticise vote against Race Bill (Scotsman 24/4/68)

Both the words 'race' and immigration were also used in headlines covering the speeches of Powell and the subsequent reactions to them. Within these headline structures the word immigration was usually placed in the context of Powell's arguments. This acted to reflect Powell's own concerns over the question of immigration and his demands that immigrants should be repatriated. The word 'race', although not used by Powell, generally arose within headlines covering the subsequent political debate and conflict (e.g. 'race row'). The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Mr Powell turns heat on in race row (Scotsman 23/4/68)

Immigrants: Powell renews warning (Evening Times 10/10/68)

Powell says it again - send immigrants home (Glasgow Herald 18/11/68)

Powell's own name listed high on the word count reflecting, as we have already noted, the intense coverage of his speeches as well as the subsequent reactions to them. These reactions fell into two broad strands. The first, and much stronger strand, supported Powell. Indeed, many of the headlines argued that he was the voice of the 'ordinary working people'. For example,

'We back Enoch Powell', March by dockers, He is being victimised they say (Evening Times 23/4/68)

Wide support expressed for Powell's views (Glasgow Herald 23/4/68)

2,000 say thanks to Mr Powell (Scotsman 25/4/68)

Immigration Officers back Powell (Glasgow Herald 25/4/68)

Enoch Powell - 'voice of the workers' (Scotsman 26/4/68)

The second, and much weaker strand, criticised Powell. These headlines argued that Powell's speeches were 'racialist' and would lead to a decline in the 'race relations' situation, encouraging fascist and 'black' power movements to grow. However, the headlines that mediated Powell's views, aspects of his speeches, and reflected the widespread support that he received were numerically larger.

Overall, the bulk of the headlines in this period covered the key events described in the first section. However, what is important to note is that in their coverage of these events the Scottish press did not adopt a 'neutral' line. Rather, they often used racialised discourses to mediate these events. Hence, the Kenyan Asian crisis was constructed as a problem because Asian immigrants were 'flooding' into an overcrowded country. Rarely did the press portray Kenyan Asians as United Kingdom citizens who were exercising their right to enter this country. These themes were also evident in headline structures that focused on the speeches of Enoch Powell. Indeed, the main 'motif' of the bulk of these headlines seems to be 'keep them out'.

Topics

These key events were also extensively covered in the main text of the news articles. The main topics during this period were legislative measures (the

Table 7.4: Topics covered during January 1968 to December 1968		
Topics	No.	%
Legislation	71	40.1
Powell	46	26.0
Immigration	42	23.7
Racialised Relations	12	6.8
Law and Order	5	2.8
Human Interest	1	0.6
Total	177	100

1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act and the 'Race Relations' Act), Powell, immigration, racialised relations (news articles covering issues such as integration and multi-culturalism), law and order and finally human interests (see table 7.4).

Legislation

The largest topic was legislation. This referred to legislative measures that specifically targeted South Asian and African-Caribbean people. During this period the main legislative measures were the 1968 Immigration Bill (covered in 45 articles) and the 1968 Race Relations Bill (covered in 26 articles). The 45 articles that had the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill as their central topic can be broken down into several sub-topics; the general outlining of the legislation (occurring 11 times), the coverage of parliamentary debates (19 times) and the coverage of reactions and comments on the legislation outside of parliamentary debates (15 times).

The outlining of the legislation involved reporting the Government's intention to introduce the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill as well as

its main legislative points. However, in doing so, the arrival of the Kenyan Asians was racialised by both the Government and the press. With the Labour Government it came through Parliamentary debates and press releases that identified the arrival of Kenyan Asian migrants as a problem in the context of numbers and stressed the importance of controlling this 'unchecked immigration'. With the press it came through the unquestioning mediation of these statements and the use of associative terms that added credence to the state's definition. For example, in their coverage of the Parliamentary debates the Scottish press often represented Britain as being 'over-run' by the entry of a large numbers of immigrants (evident in the use of associative terms such as flood and flow) and emphasised the need to control this entry (evident in the use of associative terms such as 'curb' or 'stem'),

" Emergency measures to stem the flood of Asians coming into this country from Kenya were announced in the commons yesterday by the Home Secretary. A Bill is to be rushed through Parliament next week." (The Daily Record, 23/2/68)

" The Government has decided to curb the flood of Asian immigrants from East Africa. A Bill is to be introduced today to bring under immigration control British citizens holding United Kingdom passports but having 'no substantial' connection with Britain." (The Scotsman, 23/2/68)

Many of these themes where repeated during the coverage of the Parliamentary debates on the Commonwealth Immigration Bill. The press, often unquestionably, conveyed the arguments made by senior state representatives that supported the legislation. For example, senior state officials, who raised the spectre of thousands of Kenyan Asians (as well as

other United Kingdom passport holders living overseas) 'flooding' into the country, often managed to get their definitions carried by the press,

> " During the six hour debate Home Secretary James Callaghan revealed that at least 1,000,000 people living overseas had the right of free entry into Britain under the present law.
> This is in addition to 200,000 Asians in East Africa.
> The majority of this million would never seek to come here he said.
> But it took little imagination to realise what would happen if they were allowed in." (The Daily Record, 28/2/68)

The debates on the Commonwealth Immigration Bill, outside of Parliament, were also reported. Of the fifteen articles that provided 'external commentary', 9 were in favour of the legislation, 5 were against and only 1 was neutral. Those articles in favour of the legislation took the form of reports on the speeches and statements of politicians outside Parliament. In supporting the legislation, politicians once again racialised the arrival of Kenyan Asian migrants as a problem in terms of numbers, integration, and socio-economic problems. The articles that reported the opposition to the legislation covered public demonstrations against the Bill (e.g. Daily Record 26/2/68, 1/3/68) as well as the statements of politicians, which usually repeated the line of opposition in Parliament. This included the argument that the legislation was immoral, 'racialist'; that it broke promises that were made to East African Asians guaranteeing their right of access to Britain as United Kingdom passport holders, and that it essentially left East African Asians stateless.

The external commentary on immigration legislation continued after the Commonwealth Immigration Bill had became enshrined in law. This came mainly in the form of articles written by journalists implicitly and explicitly demanding even more stringent controls. This was often rationalised

through presenting the spectre of the growing 'alien wedge'. For example, the Daily Record pointed to the arrival of dependants, 'unhindered' by controls, as another growing problem and implicitly demanded stronger controls to avoid 'future problems',

> "Britons can expect to open their doors to ten dependants for every entry permit now being granted to Commonwealth immigrants.
>
> This ratio is being maintained despite the controversial Immigration Act, Parliament's first attempt to bring an element of selection to their traditional unrestricted entry...
>
> It has been estimated that by the year 2000 there will be a coloured population of around 3,000,000 out of 70,000,000.
>
> **Twice as big a problem as we have today.**" (Daily Record 24/4/68)

The other major piece of legislation that accompanied the Commonwealth Immigration Act was the 'Race Relations' Bill. Indeed, both were seen to be part of the same package. While immigration legislation was designed to 'keep out' South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, the 'Race Relations' legislation was designed to 'digest' and integrate those already in Britain. Overall, there were 26 articles that referred to the 1968 'Race Relations' legislation. These, in turn, can be broken down into several sub-topics; those articles that outlined the presentation of the Bill (occurring 4 times), the Parliamentary debate on the Bill (16 times) and reactions and comments outside of Parliament (6).

The Race Relations Bill (1968) was presented as an attempt to strengthen the existing legislation against 'racial' discrimination. This representation was shaped, not least, by the space given to the Government's representatives when outlining the legislation. For example, James Callaghan was quoted justifying the introduction of this legislation on the grounds of 'disquieting

reports from the Race Relation Board's on continuing discrimination' (The Scotsman 9/2/68).

The vast bulk of the material dealt with the parliamentary debate over the Act. This was largely made up of reports covering the Conservative leaderships attempts to wreck the Bill. The line of argument taken by the Tories was that, while they were against discrimination, the legislation was a bad law, it would be difficult to enforce, and would give special privileges to one part of the population. The internal divisions in the Conservative party, however, blunted this attack, over the Bill (see above). Other aspects of the debate included laying out the proposed new powers of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Councils, and providing a clearer definition of 'racial' discrimination.

External reactions included statements made on the legislation outside Parliament. On the whole these were largely negative. Powell's statement that the 'Race Bill' would be like throwing a 'match on gunpowder' (The Scotsman 22/4/68) was widely carried by the Scottish press. Other negative statements focused on the supposed special privileges that South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants would receive under the Act. For example,

> " The National Federation of Owner-Occupiers are to make a strong protest to the Government about the Race Relations Bill as it affects house sales.
> This was described at their annual meeting in Manchester on Saturday as a move to deprive the owner-occupier of his right to sell his house to whom he chose." (The Scotsman, 29/2/68)

> " The Government should be prepared to underwrite bad debts if traders were compelled under the Race Relations Bill to extend credit to their customers for reasons other than credit-worthiness. This was

suggested by Mr Reginald Williams, General Secretary of the Retail Credit Federation, in a statement yesterday.

The Government should do this he said 'if they intended to insist that credit be granted for reasons of race, colour, or creed to persons whom traders for purely commercial reasons, do not consider worthy of having credit terms'." (The Scotsman 18/4/68)

Overall, legislative measures were represented through racialised discourses. The debate around the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill defined the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as problems in the context of numbers and the supposed social problems they caused. In turn, the Scottish press presented immigration as a solution to this 'problem'. Those articles that challenged this construction, pointing to the fact that Kenyan Asians were United Kingdom citizens who should possess the right of entry, were in a minority. Similarly, the 'Race Relations' legislation was presented as unfairly giving special privileges to one 'racial' group at the expense of another. Indeed, the argument in several articles was that the only way to improve 'race relations' was to limit the number of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This constructs the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the problem as opposed to racism.

Powell

There were 46 articles that had Powell as their central topic. These, in turn, can be broken down into several sub-topics; articles which reported the popular support given to Enoch Powell (appearing 18 times), coverage of the political debate around Powell (16 times), articles that gave space to outline Powell's key ideas (9 times), and critical articles, either written by journalists or reporting demonstrations against Powell (3 times).

The bulk of the coverage on Powell covered the support that he received from 'ordinary people', such as the dockers, factory workers, immigration officers as well as members of his constituency. Supporters of Powell argued that the British people had never wanted South Asian and African-Caribbean. However, the British state had ignored their wishes and had 'sold them out' by importing foreign labour. It was only Powell, with his demands for stronger immigration controls and repatriation, who was now finally speaking for the 'ordinary man in the street'. The articles below provide indicative examples,

> "...150 strike at Deptford, where shop steward Mr Harvey Potter said 'Now MP's must realise how the working men of this country feel about the position of unlimited immigration'.
> 'Ours is a dirty job and hard work, but we haven't had to fall back on coloured labour. Give the white man a decent wage and he will do the menial jobs, but we are not going to stand for coloured men coming in to keep wages down at their level.'" (Evening Times 24/4/68)

> " Nearly 2,000 London dockers stopped work today and marched on Westminster in protest against the 'victimisation' of Mr Enoch Powell by the Tory Leader Edward Heath...the asked the Government to consider 'the continuing threat to our living standards by this blind policy of unlimited immigration'." (Evening Times, 23/4/68)

> " A thousand London dockers today pledged support for Mr Enoch Powell and decided on a 24 hour strike tomorrow when they will march on Westminster with a petition." (Evening Times 25/4/68)

The support that Powell received in Scotland was also covered. The Glasgow Immigration Control Campaign predictably gave their support. Sections of the steelworkers at Ravenscraig sent a petition in support of Powell. Harold

Winston, President of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, also voiced his support for Powell. He also went onto claim that Scotland did not suffer any serious problems because of the small number of immigrants and attacked the 'Race Relations' Bill,

" Support for Mr Enoch Powell and his views on the race question came today from Mr Harold Winston, president of Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, when he called for a stop on permanent entry of immigrants to Britain until the situation can be controlled or dealt with...

Mr Winston said that Scotland had not so far been affected by the problem. We have a comparatively small numbers of immigrants, many of whom did valuable work and if this situation existed in the south, he said, there would be no call for any Race Relations Bill on the present lines 'with its potentially dangerous infringement of personal liberty both in freedom of speech and private discretion in decisions on such matters as insurance credit, and so on.

After the meeting Mr Winston told reporters he supported Mr Powell in his views 'but not exactly in the way in which he presented them.'"

(The Evening Times, 29/4/68)

Although there was mass support for Powell his rhetorical style led to his sacking from the Cabinet by the then Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath. Nonetheless, Powell carried on his attacks against the Government, warning against the continual migration of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants and demanding a Ministry of Repatriation. The Scottish press played a crucial role in mediating these arguments to a larger audience. Powell's speeches were often reprinted in full without any additional commentary. When commentary was provided, it was often banal or even implicitly supportive of Powell. For example, the only real criticisms carried in the articles were of Powell's *rhetorical style* as opposed to the content of his

speeches. Indeed, there were only three articles that were critical of the *content* of Powell's speeches. One of the few perceptive criticisms during this period came in an article covering the Glasgow Trade Council's reaction against Powell,

> "Glasgow Trades Council stepped into the colour row issue today by issuing a statement 'viewing with concern the recent statement by Mr Enoch Powell and the actions of sections of misled workers which can only lead to open discrimination against people based on colour, religion or race'.
>
> The statement issued after a meeting of the councils executive committees goes on - 'leading public figures have the responsibility to oppose prejudice based on colour and the right to free speech can never be given to fan the flames of racialism'.
>
> They say that the problems of low wages, bad housing, unemployment, and inadequate social services have always been with us and are not caused by coloured immigrants 'but are the results of policies advocated and carried out by people like Powell and the class that he represents'." (Evening Times 25/4/68)

The other two articles reported on demonstrations and protests against Powell. However, the reporting style used by the journalists marginalised these demonstrations. For example, in the coverage of one demonstration, the article was headlined '2000 Marchers in protest against Mr Powell: Coloured groups want 'militant action''. It went on to describe the representatives of this march as '50 delegates representing 20 militant immigrant organisations' (The Scotsman 29/4/68). The use of terms such as 'militant' begins to place these organisations 'outside' of what is considered to be the margins of reasonable political debate and action. As such, their comments and demands are seen to be 'extreme' and 'unreasonable'.

What seems to come through in this coverage is that the press was implicitly and explicitly supportive of Powell. The press often provided Powell with a platform, printing his speeches in full without any commentary. When the Scottish press did comment on Powell's speeches the criticism was limited to their style as opposed to their content. Indeed, the Scottish press often showed that Powell's ideas were actually well received by 'ordinary people'.

Immigration

The next major topic was immigration. This dealt largely with the entry, and consequences of, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Although there were overlaps between this topic and legislative measures, the topic of immigration was kept separate. This was because the question of immigration dealt with how South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were broadly covered by the Scottish press while legislative measures dealt with specific policy issues aimed at controlling migration. Similarly, this topic category did not include the political controversy around Powell - which stood in its own right. Overall, there were 42 articles in this topic category. These articles can, in turn, be broken down into the following sub-topics; numbers entering and leaving the country (appearing 18 times), illegal immigrants (11 times), immigrants as a social and economic problem (5 times), migration of dependants (3 times), repatriation (2 times), the refusal of entry (2 times) and immigrants as an economic drain on the country (occurring once).

The major sub-topic here was the number of immigrants entering the country. The bulk of this coverage focused on the arrival of Kenyan Asians. Overall, the arrival of Kenyan Asians was represented as a problem in the context of numbers. This is evident in the use of terms such as 'flood' and 'influx' that suggested Britain was rapidly being over-run by the entry of immigrants. For example,

" It is expected that by Thursday well over 5,000 migrants will have flooded into Britain within a single week.

If joined by their relatives, they could be followed by over 20,000."
(The Evening Times 27/5/68)

"...more than 25,000 holders of British passports from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar have arrived here in the past three years, most of them from Kenya..."(The Scotsman 16/2/68)

" One hundred and twenty Asians from Kenya with British passports landed last night at Gatwick Airport, London...

Three more charter flights from Kenya are due at Gatwick next week with a total of 360 Asians...

During 1968 B.U.A. expected to carry a total of 4,920 passengers from E.Africa." (The Scotsman 21/2/68)

" The influx of Asians to Britain continued yesterday when another 120 landed at Gatwick airport and were admitted as British passport holders.

More flights are scheduled into Gatwick today and tomorrow. The total number of Indians and Pakistanis arriving this week is expected to reach 750." (The Scotsman 23/2/68)

The second major sub-topic was the discovery of illegal immigrants. This was made up of several news articles that had as their central focus the discovery of illegal immigrants at various ports of entry and/or their subsequent deportation (e.g. The Scotsman 1/3/68, 11/4/68, 25/5/68, Glasgow Herald 11/4/68). In this sub-topic also fell one news article that questioned the legality of Asian arranged marriages. It implicitly suggested that these were simply designed to 'beat' immigration controls,

" A young Indian who hoped to beat the immigration laws by marrying a young British Sikh girl, was yesterday refused a special licence to marry.

Now he will have to leave the country by next Saturday.

Last night his pretty teenage 'bride' admitted it was to have been a marriage of convenience to enable the groom to stay in this country."

(The Daily Record, 9/11/68)

The third major sub-topic identified South Asian and African-Caribbean immigrants as causing or exacerbating social and economic problems. This claim was usually accompanied by demands for stronger immigration controls against the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This is evident in the reporting around Birmingham City Council demands that immigration should be halted because the city's social, educational, and medical facilities could no longer cope with the increased demand (e.g. The Scotsman 15/5/68, 16/5/68). In another article, the Glasgow Herald put a different 'spin' on the speech by Harold Winston at the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. Although his support for Powell was not reported, his demand for stronger immigration controls in order to alleviate social and economic problems was covered. The Herald also reported Winston's claim that racism was not a problem in Scotland,

" 'Permanent entry of immigrants to this country should be stopped until the present situation can be brought under control and dealt with' said Harold Winston, president of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce...

'The ideal of free entry for all British and Commonwealth citizens was all very well...but the pressures created on housing and education bare most heavily on those people already worst off in these respects'.

'Fortunately Scotland had not been affected by this problem so far' he added. 'There was a comparatively small number of immigrants here, many of them doing valuable work'." (The Glasgow Herald, 30/4/68)

The next major sub-topic was the entry of dependants. These articles followed two arguments. Firstly, despite existing controls, immigrants were still coming unhindered into Britain as dependants. This, in turn, was adding to the growing numbers of immigrants already in Britain (e.g. Glasgow Herald, 11/4/68). Secondly, many of those seeking entry were not really dependants. They only claimed this relationship in order to enter into Britain unchecked by immigration controls (e.g. The Glasgow Herald, 11/4/68, The Scotsman 16/3/68).

The remaining sub-topics contained news articles that dealt with the question of repatriation, the refusal of entry to immigrants, and the economic drain caused by immigrants. All the articles in the first two sub-topics were relatively short and covered the refusal of entry to South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants or demands for repatriation by politicians (outside of the context of the political debate around Powell) or Government schemes for voluntary repatriation (The Scotsman 30/4/68). The last sub-topic contained one article that covered the Parliamentary question by the Conservative M.P., Henry Kerby, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on whether the Minister knew that an estimated 20 millions pounds a year of immigrants savings were leaving Britain for the Indian sub-continent in contravention of the Exchange Control Act (The Evening Times 6/5/68).

When covering immigration, we see that the Scottish press were generating and reproducing racialised discourses that were established more than a decade previously. South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were still seen still as a problem in the context of numbers and the cause of social and economic problems. The motif of 'keep them out' is still evident. There are,

however, several new twists such as the question of dependants and repatriation. These new twists though did little to challenge the established motif of 'keep them out'. If anything, they added new dimensions to it, pushing the debate towards stronger entry controls and/or repatriation.

Racialised Relations

This topic included articles that discussed, in one form or another, the issue of relations between racialised groups (beyond legislative measures such as the 'Race Relations' Act). A dominant strand in this topic was the hostility and suspicion against any measures (no matter how effective) designed to eliminate racism. For example, one article, headlined 'Courses to end race prejudice: indoctrination fear' warned that educational courses designed to eliminate racism might lead to indoctrination by left wingers (The Scotsman 9/2/68). Another article reported the comments of Duncan Sandys M.P. berating the ideal of multi-culturalism, and in doing so, reproducing, without and adverse comment, the idea of the 'alien wedge'. Here the spectre of an England that has had its national characteristics destroyed by the arrival of 'alien' elements is presented,

" Mr Duncan Sandys, Conservative M.P...today said 'This is St. Georges day. It is said there will always be an England. But it must be something more than a geographical expression.

'Those who are intent upon creating a so-called multi-racial society are in danger of destroying the distinctive character and traditional way of life of the British people." (The Evening Times, 23/4/68)

Another strand in this topic focused on what could be termed 'black hostility'. These identified 'black' people as discriminating or acting against 'white' people. For example, one article focused on a strike by Asians who refused to work with a 'white' man,

" Two hundred men went on strike when Bill Marshall was moved by his bosses to a new job. The men refused to work with him - because he's white...

Strikers, all Asian, wouldn't start work until he was moved again.

Now 100 white men and West Indians have downed tools complaining of racial discrimination by their Indian and Pakistani workmates." (The Daily Record, 23/11/68)

The final strand dealt with the activities of the 'Race Relations' Board. One article covered the success of the Board and noted that 94 per cent of the cases brought to them were resolved through voluntary conciliation (The Scotsman 23/4/68). Other articles focused on calls by the 'Race Relations' Board, as well as Churches and Unions, for more tolerance (e.g. The Scotsman 23/5/68).

Law and Order

This category included all articles that dealt with some form of infringement of the existing laws (outside immigration legislation). This category included an eclectic mix of news stories; two articles covered fraud cases by South Asians (The Evening Times 25/1/68, The Glasgow Herald 28/2/68), two involved the coverage of attacks on, or intimidation against, South Asian and African-Caribbean families (The Scotsman 21/2/68, The Daily Record 21/5/68) and one involved the coverage of a libel case by a Tory M.P. against a newspaper that had descried him as a 'racialist' (The Evening Times 29/5/68).

Human Interest

The final topic area was human interest. The only article that fell into the category was a report on Glasgow's first Asian police constable. This article, however, seemed more about the supposed tolerance of Scots. For example, Muhammod Tahir when asked why he had become a special constable was quoted 'in order to serve the Glasgow people because they are so nice and kind' (The Daily Record, 4/6/68).

Editorials

Overall there were 27 editorials in this period focusing on immigration and the Kenyan Asian crisis (occurring 10 times), Powell (9 times), and the Race Relations Act (8 times).

Powell

The editorials that commented on Powell's speeches were largely hostile. Indeed, there was only one editorial that supported Powell's views. This particular editorial, in the Glasgow Herald, argued that Powell was expressing the opinions of 'ordinary people' who had never wanted South Asian and African-Caribbean migration, opinions which successive Governments had ignored. This particular editorial went on to argue,

> "...stop immigration except where this could be an inhuman cruelty to immigrants already here. It is also perfectly right and human to help those who want to return to their home countries...These, essentially, are the policies which Mr Powell is advocating." (Glasgow Herald 18/11/68)

All of the other editorials were openly critical of Powell. However, they rarely focused on the content of his speeches. Rather, the bulk of their attack was directed at the rhetorical style of his speech and the possible implications, including the growth of racism amongst the masses and 'legitimising' racialised discourses (bringing them into mainstream political debate and giving them an air of authority). The editorials below provide indicative examples,

" It is sadly inevitable that Mr Powell would become a martyr overnight. The worst aspect of his notorious speech on race relations lay in its popularity and the imprint of authority which it gave to prejudice. There are those who argue that prominent politicians ought to reflect the whole spectrum of public opinion. But no political code or moral law says that a bad opinion becomes good because it is widely held. Jew baiting was popular in the East End of London in the 1930s, yet that was no excuse for Sir Oswald Mosely's espousal of anti-Semitism. Mr Powell resembles Mosely in that they both illustrate the common divorce of intellect from wisdom and common sense. The mailbag of support for Mr Powell is depressing to people of good will..." (Scotsman 23/4/68)

"...the dockers are entitled to march in support of Mr Powell's point of view, as long as they recognise that instead of defending freedom of speech they are providing a springboard for putting racialist views before the public with the maximum publicity.
No one seriously challenges Mr Powell's right to state his opinions. But the opinions, the manner in which they are expressed, and the timing are all open to question." (Evening Times 24/4/68)

The editorials carried by the Scottish press seem to be at odds with their reporting of Powell. In the news articles, Powell's views were often carried

without comment and the bulk of the reports reflected the support that he attracted. These editorials are critical of Powell. However, if we examine the division more carefully we see that these editorials reflected the main line of attack against Powell. The editorials identified the rhetorical style of Powell's speeches as the problem as opposed to their content. As such, Powell is criticised not for his ideas but for his rhetorical style and the dangers that this posed to the 'race relations' situation.

Immigration and the Kenyan Asian crisis

While many of the editorials expressed outrage against Powell, this moral high ground was soon surrendered when commenting on immigration and the Kenyan Asian crisis (both of which were synonymous in the editorials of this period). The majority of these editorials identified the arrival of Kenyan Asians as a problem in the context of numbers as well as causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems. In turn, these editorials campaigned for stronger immigration controls as a solution to this 'problem'. However, the demand for stronger immigration controls was not limited to Kenyan Asians. Rather, the Kenyan Asian crisis was used as a springboard to launch demands for the control of all South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This is evident in the demands for the control of all 'coloured' migrants and dependants. For example,

> " Nobody who is honest, or tries to be, can duck the issue of immigration, 1968....
>
> The Record, therefore, states today, unequivocally, just where it stands in the nagging, turbulent, distressing controversy.
>
> • Britain's present Commonwealth immigration controls set an example to the world. They are liberal and humane and must remain so.

- But controls framed in 1962 and modified in 1965 do not meet the suddenly and drastically changed circumstances of 1968.
- The country now faces the prospect of an UNCONTROLLED flood of Asian immigrants from Kenya.

About 200,000 Asians living in Kenya before independence chose to keep their British passports rather than become citizens of Kenya.

More than a thousand a month are already passing into this country...

How is it possible for Britain in the space of a few months or a year to absorb 10, 20, 50 or 100,000 EXTRA coloured immigrants from Kenya.

Thoughts

Today we offer some candid thoughts on the immigration explosion.

1 - The Indian and Pakistanis from Kenya, merchants, tradesmen, mechanics - will retain their right to become first class citizens in Britain rather than second class citizens in Kenya.

Britain can absorb them; but some adjustments are inevitable. Kenya needs these lively hard-working Asians. But if they are to be driven out they should leave gradually.

The two Governments must agree to regulate Asian immigration to Britain at a rate which Britain can reasonably sustain.

2 - Even if the Kenya immigrants slow down from a flood to a trickle they will swell the immigrant rate beyond the safe and rational level which British has worked out by experience.

While the Asians are coming in from Kenya the number of other immigrants who come through the Commonwealth Immigration Act must be halted or halved.

3 - Four out of five of the 50,000 Commonwealth immigrants each year are dependants - wives and children.

It would be easy - but wrong and inhumane - to slash immigration by barring the women and children.

4 - It would be difficult - but right and humane - to insist on stricter scrutiny of relations before they leave for Britain.

It would be right and sensible to prevent bogus relatives from exploiting the regulations.

5 - Illegal immigrants must be squashed. By deporting all immigrants who are smuggled into this country - however late they are discovered. By providing positive penalties - in fines and imprisonment - for racketeers who ship them here." (The Daily Record, 15/2/68)

This was a rare and extensive front page editorial by the Record (that displayed the importance the paper attached to this issue - editorials nearly always appeared on the inside pages throughout the sample). It opens with a disclaimer - 'Britain's controls are 'humane and should remain so'. However, in the rest of the editorial it goes on to demand stronger controls directed against South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, their dependants, and illegal immigrants. This demand is rationalised by arguing that the country cannot 'absorb' another large influx of immigrants. The whole tone of the editorial, in essence, is 'how can we keep them out'. Such an argument not only racialises the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem but also racialises the solution. This is evident in the absence of any discourses that identify the entry of Irish and European migrants as a problem or any demands that their entry should be controlled. In other words, it is only South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants, not migrants per-se, who are the problem.

Another interesting editorial comes from the Herald,

" Many feel, understandably, that after a long history of welcoming all to come free to these shores, we should not raise barriers, especially when these barriers bear a close resemblance to colour barriers. This is a very small island, already overcrowded. Immigrants of any country, whatever their condition or colour, encounter difficulties of

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integration...the greater when the country entered is small...greater still for reasons that seem quite irrational when the immigrant's skin is a different colour. The choice seems to be between coloured immigration and a possible easing of the problems of integration, and uncontrolled immigration and almost certain multiplication of these problems." (Glasgow Herald 23/2/68)

This editorial, like others, was based on several erroneous assumptions. Firstly, Britain does not have a long history of welcoming migrants. Indeed, across the centuries there has been considerable hostility to migrants from all sources (see Fryer 1984, Miles and Phizacklea 1984, Holmes 1988, Hiro 1991, Bowling 1996, Pilkington 1988, 1996). Secondly, the editorial argues that the key problem is that Britain is overcrowded and cannot take in any more immigrants no matter what their colour. However, the last section of the editorial makes it clear that the real problem is 'coloured' migrants (rather than migrants per se). 'Coloured' migrants are presented as a problem because of the supposed social problems that 'they' cause and 'their' refusal to integrate. Other editorials in this strand also wove together aspects of the same arguments: the continual 'coloured' immigration was damaging 'race relations' in Britain; the problems of numbers and integration; the future 'problems' posed by the immigration of dependants; illegal immigrants and immigrants causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems.

There were, however, several editorials, mainly from the Scotsman, that criticised the passing of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill. These criticisms focused on the promises that were made to the Kenyan Asians in 1963, which were now being broken, and the change in the concept of British nationality that left thousands stateless (although the former point was tempered in some cases by the suggestion that an 'uncontrolled flood' of immigrants would also cause social problems in Britain). However, this was the weaker strand in the editorials on the Kenyan Asian crisis and

immigration. Overall the editorials carried by the Scottish newspapers actively campaigned for stricter immigration controls. This demand was rationalised through the continual racialisation of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in the context of numbers and the supposed social and economic problems caused by their presence.

'Race Relations'

The editorials that fell into this topic dealt with the 1968 'Race Relations' legislation. Overall, the editorials were split. Numerically, there was a balance in the editorials expressing opposition and support for the legislation. Those editorials that opposed the 'Race Relations' Bill argued that this legislation would introduce 'special privileges' to one 'racial' group at the expense of the 'white' population. In turn, it was argued that the granting of privileges to one 'racial' group would lead to increasing social conflict. Hostility would grow amongst the 'white' population, as they become the objects of discrimination in their own land. The only solution to the 'race relations' problem for these editorials was stronger controls governing the number of immigrants entering Britain. In doing so, these editorials identified the number of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the root of the 'race relations' problem as opposed to racism. The editorial below provides an indicative example,

"...all legislation in favour of a specific group in society is itself a form of discrimination - and this is surely undesirable. Moreover, a change in the law of this nature could easily create resentment and fan the flames of racial hatred...

Any successful policy must be based on understanding the source of racial prejudice - fear. Racial bigots are usually motivated by what they take to be a threat to a settled manner of living, and this can undoubtedly have ugly manifestations.

One way of easing the situation would be by a firmer policy on coloured immigration, as suggested by Mr Powell." (Glasgow Herald 12/2/68)

Another line of opposition carried by the editorials was to suggest that the main points of the legislation should be used as a set of guidelines as opposed to being enshrined in law. Indeed, in one editorial this was implicitly supported by arguing that Scotland, with it is supposed natural tolerance, provided a perfect example of a 'race relations' situation,

" In Scotland, where foreigners have always been cheerfully accepted, regardless of their origin, we have little experience of discrimination on the grounds of colour.

Equally, we know little about the problems of integration in Birmingham, England, as in Birmingham, Alabama.

The new Bill should be regarded not so much as a set of rules for enforcing fairness [but] as a code of standards." (The Evening Times, 10/4/68)

The editorials that welcomed the 'Race Relations' legislation did so on the basis that it would lead to a 'multi-cultural' and 'multi-racial' society of tolerance and equality. This, however, was often placed as part of a policy that included strong immigration legislation (once more identifying the entry presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem). It also shifted the nature of the problem. In its support for the 'multi-cultural' and 'multi-racial' aspects of the legislation the focus was shifted away from racism to cultural misunderstanding.

Letters to the editor

Overall, there were 81 letters to the editor during this period, focusing on Powell, the Kenyan Asian crisis, immigration, the 'Race Relations' legislation and racialised relations (see table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Letters to the editor during January 1968 to December 1968

Topics	No.	%
Powell	34	42.0
Kenyan Asian crisis	19	23.5
Immigration	15	18.5
Race Relations Legislation	7	8.6
Racialised Relations	6	7.4
Total	81	100

Powell

Of the 34 letters on Powell 23 supported his views, arguing that he was speaking 'plain sense', 'common sense' or that he was 'expressing the feelings of the British public'. Indeed, in rationalising the demands for stronger immigration controls and/or repatriation the letters drew upon and articulated the idea of the 'alien wedge'. The letters below provide indicative examples,

" ...I must point out a sad but true point of our times. There is but one type of country in which there is no racial problem. That is the country which allows no immigration of people with differing racial origins.

This may not be a pleasant fact, but it is true and we must accept it as such. We must base our future policy on immigration, on this fact until such a time as the fact is no longer." (Scotsman 23/3/68)

" It is my opinion that we have now passed the point of no return. Each of the ethnic groups within our borders is sufficiently large and concentrated to reproduce themselves in perpetuity. They do not want integration and it is quite possible that any one group or combination of groups could by outbreeding the natives of these islands create, huge pockets of alien power." (Glasgow Herald 20/11/68)

The remaining letters were broadly critical of Powell on several counts. Firstly, there were those who criticised Powell for the content of his speeches arguing that they were 'racial' or 'racialist'. Secondly, there were those who were critical of his rhetorical style and argued that it would damage 'race relations' in Britain (e.g. The Scotsman 26/4/68, 29/4/68). This latter criticism, however, was often tempered by arguing that there may be some element of truth in Powell's arguments. Nonetheless, the letters on Powell were largely supportive of his views and campaigned for stronger immigration control and/or repatriation.

The Kenyan Asian crisis

This topic included all letters that focused on the Kenyan Asian crisis.
Overall, there were 19 letters in this topic, all of which focused on immigration controls and the Kenyan Asian crisis. The vast majority of these letters on the Kenyan Asian crisis campaigned for stronger immigration controls. These demands were rationalised by arguing that the immigration of Kenyan Asians would cause or exacerbate existing social and economic problems. It was further argued that Kenyan Asians were not 'kith and kin'. In other words, this meant that they were not British, even though they

possessed British passports, because they were not of the right 'cultural stock'. The letters below provides indicative examples,

" The unemployment rate is high, the housing position is desperate, and in some areas teaching facilities are almost non-existent. Is it any wonder that people are becoming alarmed?

A recent TV programme indicated clearly that the majority of the Asians leaving Kenya for Britain were unskilled. Are they to be given work priority over those on the dole at present, or priority with housing, teaching and other amenities which at present stem out of the reach of a large percentage of British people?

...Regarding their British passports, bits of paper like passports have been ignored before when the interest of the country has been at stake. Let me add that there are many people in this country at present who are too near the breadline to have seen a passport, let alone have need of one." (Evening Times 13/3/68)

" Surely there is more to being British than to be accorded a blanket type passport as have been the Asians in Kenya to whom you refer in your leader today. What is to become of national values and aptitude if by a mere stroke of an official pen harmony and citizenship can be conferred. The fact of being British is not a bureaucratic matter but a matter of ancestry and nothing more.

One is reminded of the decline of the Hellenic states when, after the battles disastrous to the nationhood of Athens, citizens of any origin were pressed by edict. What followed was the total collapse and abandonment of essential Hellenism." (Scotsman 16/2/68)

Only three letters provided any critical comment on the Kenyan Asian crisis. These criticisms focused on the Commonwealth Immigration Bill, who was described as 'racialist', and on the Government for 'shamelessly reneging' on

the promises that were made to the Kenyan Asians in 1963. It was also argued that 'it is ludicrous to blame immigrants for the poverty they did not create'. The letters below provide indicative examples,

" Can we honestly say that the coloured immigration caused the housing shortage or unemployment? I'm just waiting on someone blaming them for the foot and mouth epidemic.

We should also remember that our high standard of living has been achieved to a large extent by our exploitation of the wealth and resources of these countries." (Evening Times 14/3/68)

" They [the Government] have already shown themselves to be incapable of keeping promises in this case it is something worse. These people are British citizens, and it is a piece of downright immorality to refuse them entry to the country. The Bill, in effect, makes these people stateless. " (Evening Times 14/3/68)

Immigration Controls

This topic included all letters that dealt with the issue of immigration but with no references being made to the Kenyan Asian crisis. Overall, there were 15 letters. These could be broken down into two large sub-topics; immigration controls with no reference made to the Kenyan Asian crisis (10 times) and immigration controls for an independent Scotland (5 times).

There were 10 letters that dealt with this issue of immigration without any reference to the Kenyan Asian crisis. All of these letters racialised South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants in the context of numbers, the 'alien wedge' and/or exacerbating existing social and economic problems. Several letters also asserted that immigrants were an 'economic drain' on the country (e.g. The Scotsman 29/4/68). These arguments, in turn, were accompanied

by demands for stronger immigration controls and assimilation. For example,

> " I can't understand the reasoning of those people who don't cry out against the entry of immigrants into this country. The plain fact of the matter is that Britain is already overcrowded.
>
> There are families who are homeless, children getting part-time education because of the lack of teachers - and, in one case, a school with 80% immigrant children, with what consequences to the education of the 20% British children one can imagine.
>
> We have many unemployed and a health service on the point of breakdown. The answer is to ban all immigrants for a number of years until the ones we already have are assimilated into the community."
> (Evening Times, 4/3/68)

> "...should a distant relative with all his family suddenly descend on my small home, I must regretfully state that (a) although I once promised him shelter, I did not bargain for the others; and (b) overcrowding and limited means will never make for comfort and harmony as far as I am concerned; and (c) the spare room ought to be held over in reserve for my own family." (Evening Times, 5/3/68)

Another theme to the debate around immigration was the question of whether an independent Scotland should impose immigration controls. Overall there were 5 letters dealing with this issue. Most of them came in response to a Scotsman interview with Nationalist M.P. Winnie Ewing after she had voted against the Bill. Ewing opposed the Bill because it was 'racial'. However, she went on to note that an independent Scotland would need strict immigration controls because of its high unemployment (The Scotsman, 4/3/68). All the letters on this issue supported immigration controls for an independent Scotland. This was rationalised on the basis that, because the

nations economic and social problems were so severe, it could not take in any migrants. However, several of the letters were not adverse to suggesting that people of Scottish descent living abroad would be more than welcome to come back to an independent Scotland in order to help restore the nation to it's 'former glory'. This implicitly echoes the idea of 'kith and kin' that was being used by the British state in order to exclude South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Several letters also expressed the idea of Scottish tolerance while arguing for some form of racist immigration controls. For example,

" The S.N.P. seek the restoration of Scottish sovereignty, and all sovereign states in the modern world, so far as I know, have more or less strict immigration control. Particularly in the view of Scotland's housing and employment situation, it would be irresponsible for a Scottish Government not to be prepared to exercise such controls.

One hopes, however, that the present migrant flow out of Scotland will be reversed, partly by the return of people of Scots origin throughout the world, to restore to Scotland some of the vigour she has lost.

Other relevant points are:

1. The S.N.P. has clearly and repeatedly stated that Scotland will not be bound by international undertaking entered into by the United Kingdom Government, but only by undertakings freely entered into by the Government of a sovereign Scotland...

2. Scotland is a relatively under-populated and underdeveloped country at present capable of supporting a considerably expanded population, and historically Scotland has shown herself capable of absorbing with benefit considerable immigrant groups, and turn them into Scots. But we should aim to have immigrants from a variety of sources and not overwhelmingly from our Southern neighbour.

3. From friends of several races in several parts of the world I gather that black and brown visitors to Britain find themselves more accepted and more at home in Scotland than in England." (Scotsman 12/3/68)

" The question of an independent Scotland applying strict immigration control is another matter. Our chronic unemployment problem, masked it its true entirety be excessive emigration as it is, makes it quite impossible for any Scottish Government in the foreseeable future to permit unrestricted immigration of outsiders, no matter what their colour." (Scotsman 14/3/68)

What is evident from the letters section on immigration is that the Scottish press was still carrying letters that generated and reproduced racialised discourses constructed more than a decade before. However, there were several new dimensions. Firstly, the question of who counted as a British citizen was increasingly coming to the fore. This is evident in the letters around the Kenyan Asian crisis. Secondly, the idea of the 'alien wedge' was becoming far more pronounced. Finally, the question of whether an independent Scotland should have immigration controls was raised.

'Race Relations' and Racialised Relations

The final areas covered were the 'Race Relations' legislation and racialised relations. Overall there were 13 letters in this area. These, in turn, can be broken down into several sub-topics; the 'Race Relations' legislation (occurring in 7 letters), demands for integration (2 letters), demands for referendums on immigration and the 'Race Relations' Bill (2 letters). Of the 7 letters on the 'Race Relations' legislation 6 were critical and only one was supportive. The opposition to the legislation was rationalised in several ways. Firstly, the legislation was a form of inverse discrimination against the 'white' population. Secondly, and following on from the first point, this

would inflame 'racialism' as opposed to solving any problems. Resentment, tensions, and conflict would grow as 'white' people became the objects of discrimination in their own land. Indeed, the majority of these letters argued that the only way to achieve a good 'race relations' situation was through stricter immigration legislation and for the immigrants already in Britain to 'integrate' to the British way of life. The letters below provide indicative examples,

" The Race Relations Bill before Parliament is another example of muddled thinking by a party which has imposed a succession of laws designed to destroy personal freedom. Not only will this law be unenforceable it will exacerbate the bad feelings already existing between native Britain's and coloured immigrants...

Before harmony is possible between white and coloured the latter must be prepared to show evidence of willingness to integrate. The Sikhs must discard their turbans, Hindu women their Saris, and Moslems their outward symbols of apartheid. African negroes too must abandon customs not acceptable to the people they have chosen to live among, such as importing brides below the age of puberty. Even in a permissive society we, the natives of this country, are not prepared to accept habits and customs which offend our feelings." (The Evening Times, 15/3/68)

"...I am not a racialist, I am a realist. We allow large numbers of Commonwealth Immigrants into the country, many unable to speak English and then to assist them we have to pass laws which discriminate against our own white population.

The country at present is economically down, we have large scale unemployment, we have probably the worst housing conditions in Western Europe, and yet we aggravate the situation by accepting immigrants, 95% of whom are unskilled." (Glasgow Herald 24/4/68)

Only one letter supported the legislation. It argued that the legislative and legal system had a definite role to play in overcoming discrimination (Evening Times 18/8/68). The remainder of the letters in this topic area were an eclectic mix. Two letters demanded that immigrants should integrate (but with no reference to the 'Race Relations' legislation) (Glasgow Herald 24/4/68, Evening Times 23/4/68). This was rationalised along the same lines noted above. Two other letters demanded referendums on the issues of hanging, immigration and the 'Race Relations' Bill (Evening Times, 2/5/68, 25/4/68). Finally, one letter attacked racialism as immoral, while another came from an Asian teacher unable to find work even though he was qualified (Scotsman, 25/4/68, 3/4/68).

Broader Representations of South Asians and African-Caribbean migrants

It is clear that the Scottish press drew upon and sustained racialised discourses in their coverage of, and commentary on, the key events above. It was also evident that racialised discourses were used beyond these four events to represent news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This becomes even clearer if we break down the sample according to how the newspapers signified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants and the associative context in which they were placed. The newspapers signified people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent on the basis of phenotypical differences (coloured and black), nationality (Pakistani and Indian), 'supra-nationality' (identifying places of origin that encompassed more than one nation, e.g. Commonwealth Immigrant and Asians) or simply as immigrants. What is interesting to note here is that people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent were rarely represented as ordinary United Kingdom citizens or Scots. Rather, they were always signified as 'outsiders' on the basis of their nationality or phenotypical differences

This becomes clearer if we examine the context in which signified groups were represented. Through carrying out a simple count of the newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor, and 'coding up' the results, it becomes evident that people of South Asians and African-Caribbean descent were only represented in certain contexts (see table 7.6). The four groups that received the most extensive reporting were Kenyan Asians, Commonwealth Immigrants, immigrants (the latter being distinct in that there is no pre-fix to indicate the sending country) and 'coloureds'. All four groups were reported in the associative context of numbers entering the country and the dangers that this posed to the national character of the country. This migration was also seen to causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems. This is evident from the high number of counts against these groups in the context of numbers and illegal immigrants. These counts also show an association with the creation of general social and economic problems, unemployment, housing problems, burdens on the health system, crime and welfare dependency.

It should, however, be noted that some groups were disproportionately represented in certain contexts. The context of citizenship was one in which Kenyan Asians were solely placed. Through the news articles, editorials and letters to the editors the Kenyan Asians were identified as 'aliens' even though they held United Kingdom passports. This was rationalised on the basis that 'they were not British' - they were not of the same national and cultural stock as the British. As such, in their commentary on this issue, the editorials and letters that their entry should be restricted in order to control the growing 'alien wedge'.

There were also counts for Asians and to a lesser extent Indians, 'coloureds', and Pakistanis in the context of cultural exclusiveness. These articles basically identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants refusal or

reluctance to integrate as a source of conflict. They also went on to argue that the continual entry and growth of numbers of Asian immigrants who, because of their refusal to integrate, were establishing 'alien' enclaves within the inner cities were exacerbating this problem. This, it is argued, would be a source of even more intense conflict in the future. There were other groups that were also signified but not included on the table because they were one-off references. For example, the term 'ethnic groups' only appeared once, in a letter to the Glasgow Herald, in the associative context of numbers and the threat this posed to 'native Britons'. Similarly, religious groups such as Sikhs, Hindus and supra-national groups such as Africans were mentioned in reference to 'cultural exclusiveness'.

Gender Divisions

Table 7.6 also contains counts that indicate division around gender. The signified groups of immigrants, coloured immigrants and Indians were strongly associated with question of dependants. This referred exclusively to the arrival of wives and children of migrants already settled here as well as questions around the 'legitimacy' of dependants. This was one of the few times that women were represented in the sample as a whole. However, this representation often saw women in 'passive' roles as dependants and subsumed under the debate around numbers.

The 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act originally did not give migrants any automatic right to bring their spouses with them to Britain. This was latter amended to allow men to bring over their wives and children under the age of sixteen. Women, however, were not given the same rights to bring in their husbands and children. This has been justified by successive Government on the basis of two related points. Firstly, immigration policy reflects the common practice that men determine where the family should live. Husbands are seen as heads of the households and the wife acquires his

domicile. Secondly, immigrant men pose more of an economic threat than women. In other words, women are 'passive' dependants rather than workers (Gordon and Klug 1985, WING 1985).

This argument was also woven into the provisions of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act. A special voucher system was introduced to control the entry of overseas United Kingdom passport holders. The vouchers would be issued to the heads of households for them and their families. Translated, it means that they are issued only to men unless a woman is widowed, divorced or single. In effect, it prevented women who hold British passports, but are married to non-British men, from passing on their patriality to their husband and settling in Britain. In addition, the Instructions to immigration officers, that explained how the 1968 Act was to be administered, introduced the sole responsibility rule (which is still in operation). Basically, it meant that where only one parent lives in Britain, dependent children under 18 can join that parent only on demonstrating that they have sole responsibility for the child's upbringing. When discussing this clause, MPs emphasised the fact that many women from the Caribbean came to Britain as independent workers and later sent for their children who were being cared for by relative at home. The legislators were therefor fully aware that this new rule represented a severe attack on the rights of Caribbean women who clearly did not have sole responsibility for the children they were supporting in these circumstances. Many women have remained separated from their children indefinantly as a result (WING 1985).

This was evident in the press coverage, where women and children were on the whole represented in the contexts of dependants arriving in Britain. However, the migration of dependants, unrestricted by immigration controls, was seen to be adding to the growing numbers (and hence problem) of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants already in the country. For example, in one letter to the Scotsman it was noted that,

" In the very simplest economic terms, the gross product of one working age immigrant in industry yields less than the value of the social services which he enjoys. When that immigrant has a 'tail' of six, eight or ten children and 'dependants' we are, in effect, paying for the privilege of putting a millstone around our own necks." (The Scotsman, 29/4/68)

There are several problems with this argument. Firstly, migrant women were far from simple dependants or 'passive'. Although some 'black' women came to Britain to join husbands, many more came independently as recruits or simply seeking employment. Between 1962 and 1972 nearly 20 per cent of all Commonwealth workers, and almost half of all non-Commonwealth workers, who came to Britain on employment vouchers or work permits were women. Secondly, even though the majority of South Asian women came to Britain in order to join kin already here, the marginal incomes of South Asian men meant that women had to enter into the labour market out of necessity. In 1961, the number of women who migrated to Britain was equal to the number of men and nearly three quarters were single. In 1965, research showed that 85 per cent of African-Caribbean women were send money to support families at home (Bryan et al 1985). The 1966 Census showed that 74,000 women born in the Caribbean and 40,000 born in South Asia were in paid employment. The 1971 Census showed that 171,000 women from the New Commonwealth, just over 50 per cent of the female New Commonwealth population, had paid employment. Finally, the 1974 PEP survey found that 74 per cent of African-Caribbean women, 45 per cent of non-Muslin Asian women, and 39 per cent of Muslim women were in paid employment, compared to 43 per cent of the general female population (Bryan et al 1985, WING 1985, Brah 1996)

South Asian and African-Caribbean women worked in those industries where pay and conditions were poor and where indigenous labour had long fled. Although South Asian women, on the whole, came as dependants they still entered the labour market in order to supplement meagre family wages. However, the type of work was shaped by overlaps of class, gender and 'racialised' discourses. The work given to South Asian and African-Caribbean women was often simply seen as an extension of their 'natural' domestic roles.

South Asian and African-Caribbean women were beginning integrate into semi-skilled and unskilled work. In the service industries women worked as cleaners, canteen workers, laundry workers and chambermaids. In the National Health Service women occupied the lowest grades and were filtered into those parts of the service where pay and conditions were poor. South Asian and African-Caribbean women were also filtering into factory work, especially in small, non-unionised sweat shops. Homeworking, usually sewing or light assembly work, represented another major area of economic activity. It provided one means of overcoming the lack of childcare provision and helped supplement meagre family wages. It also provided a cheap source of labour for employers, allowing them to off load overheads (such as heating, lighting and electricity) onto their workers. Since homeworkers were also classified as 'self-employed' it freed employers from paying National Insurance contributions and fringe benefits such as sick or holiday pay (Parmer 1982, Bryan et al 1985, Lewis 1993, Brah 1996).

One of the other contexts in which South Asian women were represented was as 'bartered brides'. This representation pathologies the Asian family. It represents the family structure headed by tyrannical males who wed their daughters to unknown men in the sub continent (Lawrence 1982, Brah 1996). Furthermore, it singles out the South Asian arranged marriage system as a mechanism for economic active male migrants to circumvent immigration

controls. Indeed, this representation has been used to restrict the entry of husbands and fiancés. However, South Asian men in Britain have had fewer problems when the migration of wives and fiancées is concerned. This, permeably, relates back to the argument used by members of the state that a women's domicile is with her husband and that they are not economically active (WING 1985, Brah 1996)

At times, the issue of dependants overlapped with representations of sexuality. For example, Asians and 'immigrants' were represented as 'naturally fertile' in several letters. As such, they were presented as a threat in the context of a rapidly growing 'alien wedge' that threatened national identity and would cause social and economic problems. For example,

" We have at the moment over 1,000,000 Asians with other minority groups. With their natural fertility and plural marriages allied with increasing emigration from these shores, the result could be an Asian majority within a century.

It is significant that these Asians and others have shown an anxiety to claim British citizenship only since the introduction of the welfare state. As one who lived among them for many years I can assure you that any loyalty they have is to their ancestral homeland." (The Evening Times, 8/3/68)

"...we have at the moment over a million and a half and with the proposed 50,000 annual intake plus dependants, there will be over a total of five million in twenty years.

This is optimistic as the birth rate of these immigrants is well above the British average, and the 'tiny' coloured population in 50 years would be 20 per cent of the whole when allied to massive emigration of those not prepared to submit to eventual alien domination.

We are witnessing at the moment passive race suicide which I can only assume is at best influenced by genuine liberal feelings, or at worst is a deliberate plot engineered by forces I can only dimly understand.

Lets make no mistake about it: coloured immigrants will not be assimilated." (Glasgow Herald, 23/4/68)

Racialised Discourses and the Scottish Press

The above sections provided a review of how the Scottish press reported on news events dealing with South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants during 1968. From the review, it becomes clear that the Scottish press were using racialised discourses in their coverage of, and commentary on, news events. This is evident in how the Scottish press reported on the four key events.

The Kenyan Asian Crisis and Immigration

The Scottish press used racialised discourses in both their coverage of, and commentary on, the Kenyan Asian crisis and immigration. The underlying motif was 'keep them out'. This encapsulated two strands. Firstly, the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants was a 'problem' in the context of numbers and causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems. Secondly, this problem would only be solved through stronger controls that restricted the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. Both of these strands were evident in the headlines, main articles, editorials and letters sections. However, the editorials and letters sections actively campaigned for the control of all 'coloured' immigration, to check and/or control the entry of dependants, as well as assist the return of those migrants who wished to return to their country of origin.

While there are similarities with the 1958 coverage and commentary on immigration there were several important differences: the question of who belonged to the British 'imagined community' ('kith and kin'), the arrival of dependants, repatriation, and immigration controls for an independent Scotland. The issue of the 'imagined community' really gained a public life during the Kenyan Asian crisis. Through mediating the voices of politicians, 'ordinary people', and by the commentary provided by journalists and editors, Kenyan Asians became located outside the British 'imagined community'. To be British meant more than simply holding a passport. It also involved carrying the British national and cultural identity. It was this identity that South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants lacked (and were also destroying in Britain). Because the Kenyan Asians sit outside this community their entry had to be controlled.

The discourse around dependants was also a new addition. In the first section, it was noted the number of dependants arriving in Britain increased after 1962 as families were reunited. However, the Scottish press used racialised discourses to present the arrival of dependants as a problem (as opposed to United Kingdom citizens exercising their rights). The Scottish press used several arguments to support this claim. Firstly, although immigration controls were in place, dependants could still enter unchecked into the country. Indeed, the style of reporting used conjured the picture of dependants 'seeping' through the gaps left by immigration controls. Secondly, the arrival of dependants would add to the growing social and economic problems in Britain. Thirdly, there was the possibility immigrants were abusing this right in order to enter the country by claiming to be dependants (this argument is evident in the articles questioning the 'legitimacy' of relations and dependants). Finally, the press raised the spectre of South Asians' 'natural fertility' that would, over time, add to the growing 'alien wedge' (and hence to the problems) in Britain.

The question of immigration controls for an independent Scotland was also an important addition. This was rationalised on the grounds that an independent Scotland could not 'support' any immigrants because of its poor social and economic conditions. However, this argument did little to break the established equations around immigration. Firstly, South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants were still presented as causing or exacerbating social and economic problems (such as unemployment and over crowding). No similar arguments were made against Irish or European migrants nor against those of Scottish origin living abroad who may have wanted to return to Scotland. Secondly, and following on from the last point, the assumption that all immigrants are 'black' was never seriously challenged.

The question of repatriation also marked an important addition. By 1968 the political debate on immigration had moved on. Many, for example Powell, felt that simple controls at the point of entry were not sufficient to deal with the 'problem' of the growing 'alien wedge' in Britain. Stronger measures were necessary, for example, the voluntary or forced repatriation of 'alien' populations.

Overall, the Scottish press used racialised discourses to 'make sense' of the processes of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration and settlement. The underlying motif for this discourse was simple - 'keep them out'. Nonetheless, there are several new embellishments to the 1958 discourse on immigration: who belonged to the British 'imagined community' ('kith and kin'); dependants, repatriation, and immigration controls in an independent Scotland. However, these new twists, and the general discourses on immigration, were never sustained by any evidence in the Scottish press. There is no demographic evidence to examine patterns of emigration and immigration in order to sustain the claim that the country is being overrun. There is little in the way of criticism against the 'colour coded' nature of immigration legislation. There is little in the way of a critical analysis on

labour needs in the Scottish economy in order to sustain the claim that 'they' caused of unemployment. Most importantly of all, there is little or no analysis of the vagaries of the capitalist system that led to the social and economic problems that large sections of the Scottish working classes were facing. Indeed, if anything, the press used racialised discourses to displace the cause of these problems onto the South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants.

Powell

The Scottish press in their coverage and commentary of Powell also used this theme of 'keep them out'. In his speeches, Enoch Powell argued that immigration controls were not enough to solve the growing problems presented by South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants already in Britain. Rather, Powell argued that repatriation is necessary in order to remove the supposedly cancerous 'alien wedge' from Britain. The Scottish press, in their coverage of Powell, uncritically carried these arguments. The headline structures and main articles conveyed elements of Powell's arguments, often without adverse comment, as well as mentioning the support that he received from 'ordinary people'. There were articles that noted opposition to Powell's arguments. However, these were numerically less significant and often tempered by criticism of Powell's rhetorical style as opposed to the content of his speeches.

In the commentary on Powell there was a division between the editorials carried by the Scottish press and the letters to the editor. The bulk of the editorials were critical of Powell. Again, these criticisms focused on style as opposed to content. In contrast the letters to the editor were overwhelmingly supportive. This support is based on the claim that Powell was speaking for the 'ordinary man in the street'. The letters also reproduced many of Powell's key ideas such as the 'alien wedge'. However, like the issue of immigration,

the Scottish press carried little evidence to support these claims. Indeed, it seems that the Scottish press unquestioningly carried Powell's 'colour coded' ideas of nationality and citizenship.

'Race Relations' legislation

The Scottish press constructed the 'Race Relations' Bill as a piece of legislation that would give special rights to one specific 'racial' group at the expense of others. The 'Race Relations' Bill is constructed as a piece of legislation designed to discriminate against 'white' people, in their own land, for the benefit of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This argument rests on the assumption that equality already exists between 'racial' groups which this legislation would disrupt. In other words, the legislation would favour one group at the expense of the other. However, studies demonstrated that this equality did not exist. Indeed, during this period South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants faced a considerable amount of racism and discrimination in the fields of employment, housing, and commercial services (see Daniel 1968, Deakon 1970, Rex 1973, Dennis 1975 racialised divisions in England).

In the editorial commentary, there is an equal number of editorials supporting and opposing the Bill. The editorials against the legislation argued that the Bill gave special privileges to one 'racial' group at the expense of another. This, in turn, would worsen 'race relations' and inflame conflict as 'white' people became the objects of discrimination in their own country. Those editorials that supported the Bill argued that the legislation would lead to a 'multi-cultural' and 'multi-racial' society. However, in doing so, these editorials either obscured or reinforced racialised discourses. They obscured them because the support for 'multi-culturalism' assumed that the problem was cultural misunderstanding as opposed to racism. They reinforced them because they argued that the legislation would sit within the

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framework of the immigration controls. The assumption here is that the problem is 'too many blacks'. On the one hand, immigration controls would halt their entry. On the other hand, the 'Race Relations' legislation would absorb those already here.

While the editorials on the legislation are equally balanced the letters are largely critical. The letters main line of argument was that the legislation would give special privileges to one 'racial' group (indeed many echoed Powell's argument that 'white' people would soon become strangers in their own land). This, in turn, would inflame tensions and 'racial' conflict. For many, the only real solution to the 'race relations' problem would be firmer immigration controls. Thus the Scottish press used racialised discourses in order to construct the 'Race Relations' Bill as a piece of legislation that gave preferential treatment to South Asian and African- Caribbean migrants at the expense of the 'white' population.

'Keeping them out'

The theme of 'keeping them out' underpinned much of the coverage of these four events. The emphasis was not on the right of United Kingdom passport holders to enter Britain. Rather, it was how we could keep 'them' out and the dangers of 'their' growing presence in Britain. Importantly, who 'they' were was clearly defined - South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. There was no debate or moral panic around the entry of Irish and European migrants or those considered to be 'kith and kin'. This is evident in the coverage and commentary on Powell, the Kenyan Asian crisis, and the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill. Similarly, in the coverage of the 'Race Relations' Bill the discussions often emphasised the need for stronger immigration controls and/or the dangers that the Bill presented to 'race relations' in Britain. This danger is also laced with a Powellite motif. The press presents the Bill giving special privileges to one 'racial' group at the

expense of another, implicitly echoing Powell's warning that the 'black man will soon have the whip over the white man'.

However, there was not a total closure around this theme. For example, several articles attacked the 1968 Commonwealth Bill because it was 'racialist' and immoral, that it broke promises which were made to East African-Asians guaranteeing their right of access to Britain as United Kingdom passport holders, and that it essentially left East African Asians stateless. However, although these articles challenged the dominant theme of 'keep them out' they were numerically weaker and only carried by one newspaper, the Scotsman.

Continuities and Discontinuities

I want to argue here that there was a good deal of continuity in the substance of racialised discourses as expressed by the English and Scottish press. In other words, racialised discourses did not stop at the border and they were not that different to those in England. This is significant to note because it begins to undermine the discourse of 'no problems'. However, I also want to emphasis that there were subtle differences and discontinuities. One of these was the reproduction of the discourse of 'no problems' itself. During 1968 the discourse of 'no problems' became more evident and was more strongly rationalised by the press than in 1958.

Continuities

There are several studies on racism and the English press during the 1960s. Undoubtedly, one of the most well known studies is Hartmann and Husbands (1974). Their analysis of four daily newspapers between 1963 and 1970 demonstrates that the English press used racialised discourses in their coverage of a number of areas,

" The press handling of race has presented as most salient, questions of *immigration*, particularly of keeping blacks out, the relationship between black and white, particularly inter-group hostility and discrimination against blacks, the legislation machinery introduced to regulate these matters, and the views of Enoch Powell. Peripheral to this picture has been the questions of coloured housing, education and unemployment." (Hartmann and Husband, 1974, p.141)

Like its southern neighbour the Scottish press identified similar themes: the question of immigration ('keep them out'); the views of Enoch Powell; and South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems. However, there were subtle differences. Apart from articles on the 'Race Relations' legislation and racialised relations there was little in the way of articles on the relationship between 'blacks' and 'whites'.

Critcher et al's (1977) study of the local press in West Midlands found similar patterns. The main news topic included crime (especially violent crime), immigration and white hostility. The only substantial difference between the Scottish and the West Midlands press was the focus on crime. In the Midlands press, crime represented a significant proportion of the press coverage (representing 17.4 per cent of articles). Further, over half of the reported crimes were listed as violent crimes (assault to murder). As Critcher et al note, this racialised 'black' people as criminals. However, in the Scottish press crime did not feature in any extensive way as a topic. Where it did it related mostly to crimes such as fraud.

In the coverage of other issues, however, there were similarities in the substance of racialised discourses between the Scottish and English press. For example, in their coverage of immigration the dominant themes focus on the

numbers coming in and how 'we' can 'keep them out'. This definition appears through the advocacy of immigration controls and stories around illegal immigrants. Other topics, including education and housing, also provided a negative assessment of the effects of South Asian and African-Caribbean immigration, for example, overcrowding and housing shortages. However, like the coverage in the Scottish press, there was little evidence provided to support these claims.

Discontinuities

One of the most significant discontinuities is the discourse of 'no problems' in Scotland. In the previous chapter we saw that the discourse of 'no problems' was beginning to emerge in 1958. However, during this period it had little in the way of internal coherence beyond arguing that Scots were naturally tolerant. By 1968, the discourse of 'no problems' began to develop a set of references that gave it more coherence.

There are several key points to note when explaining the generation and reproduction of the discourse of 'no problems'. Firstly, this discourse emerged because of the fractured nature of the 'ethnic social carrier'. During the 1960s social and economic decline was 'made sense' of through the filters of nationhood and racialised discourses, so that in England, economic decline was 'made sense' of through the articulation of racialised discourses and English/British nationhood. This lead to a racialisation of English politics, which saw economic decline as the result of an 'alien wedge' of immigrants, and advocated racist immigration controls as a solution (Miles and Phizacklea 1984, Layton-Henry 1992).

Scottish politics, however, did not become racialised in the same way. Scotland retained a distinct civil society under the Act of Union which, amongst other things, reproduced a sense of Scottish identity. This strong

sense of Scottish identity sat alongside a fluctuating relationship with the Union. Although still strongly identifying themselves as belonging to Scotland the Scottish population seemed to be content with the nature of the Union for much of the 1950s. It was delivering the material goods and welfare for the mass of the population on an unprecedented scale. However, the credibility of the system began to decline towards the end of the 1950s as the state was less able to deliver material welfare. This scepticism became more pronounced during the 1960s by a perception that the U.K. state in Scotland was economically incompetent. The Scottish economy - still resting on the same staples as in the second half of the nineteenth century - was threadbare. The Labour Government of 1964 - 1970 attempted to modernise but failed, as did the Labour Government of-1974 - 1979.

It is in this context of economic decline sections of all classes in Scotland began to take up nationalist discourses (still being generated and reproduced by Scottish civil society) in order to understand aspects of their own material experiences. Nationalism involves drawing on the memory of a nation's past in order to understand the present and plot a political solution for the future. Scottish nationalism began to argue that the nation's economic decline was a result of English control and the indifference of mainstream political parties. In turn, nationalists advocated an independent/devolved Scotland, which would be able to focus on Scottish concerns and issues, as a solution. Thus, Scottish politics became dominated by the 'national' question. This is evident in the rise of popular support for the Scottish National Party in the late 1960s, culminating in their winning of the Hamilton by-election (from Labour) in 1967, and in their widespread electoral success in the local elections shortly after (Finlay 1994, Lee 1995, Brown, McCrone and Paterson 1996).

Scottish nationalism, however, has little to do with the question of 'race' and ethnicity. It was a more politically sterile nationalism directed at political independence. It can be suggested here that sections of the political and

economic elite took the absence of any overt political conflict over the question of 'race' as an indication of the absence of any deeper 'racial' conflicts. This would have been 'reaffirmed' through a comparison with the English political scene. In turn, this would have created the space in which the discourse of 'no problems' was generated and rationalised through reference to immigration and numbers (see below). In other words, the discourse of 'no problems' was taken up to rationalise the absence of any phenomenal conflict around the question of 'race' in Scotland.

Secondly, the substance of the discourse of 'no problems' was shaped by the on going debates around Scottish independence and immigration. On the one hand, we can *suggest* that the independence movement generated the space in which the idea of Scots as naturally tolerant grew (although there is no available evidence from the Scottish press to sustain this claim). We have already noted that nationalism draws on the memory of the past to understand the present and project a future solution. In the Scottish case the memory of an independent Scotland lies before the Act of Union in 1707 and its involvement in colonialism. This conveniently ignores 250 years of history, which included Scottish involvement in the slave and colonial modes of production as well as the generation and reproduction of racialised discourses.

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that the debates on immigration provided some of the substance of the discourse of 'no problems'. When dealing with immigration, the state used a basic 'equation'; large numbers of South Asian and African Caribbean immigrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration. From the news stories, editorials and letters, it is evident that the same equation is drawn upon to rationalise why there are supposedly no problems in Scotland. This always took on the form of arguing that Scotland's good 'race relations' situation is due to the small number of immigrants (which at that time there were, see

table 7.7) In other words, small numbers of immigrants = fewer socio-economic problems + fewer problems of integration. To this equation was added, occasionally, the factor of Scottish tolerance.

Table 7.7: National Distribution of Population by birthplace in 1966

Region	Total Population	West Indies	India	Pakistan	W.Indies, India, Pakistani as a % of the total pop.
England and Wales	47,135,510	267,850	232,210	73,130	1.2
Scotland	5,168,210	1,480	8,090	2,030	0.2

Adapted from J.Cheetham, 1972, p. 497

The discourse of 'no problems' is, at best, problematic. There were no objective studies carried out in Scotland on the existence of racialised discourses and divisions during 1968. Indeed, the limited work done is this period reaffirmed the discourse of 'no problems'. Barker (1968), in his survey of attitudes to 'coloured' people in Glasgow, argued that racism was not a problem in Scotland. Hanley (1969a, 1969b) argues that, compared to England, there is a relative absence of 'racial' tension in Scotland. This is explained in various ways: the Scots are seen to be more tolerant because they themselves have often been migrants; that the sectarian divisions between Protestants and Catholics was so fierce that any potential hostility against migrants workers had been deflected, and finally, the appointment of migrant teachers had contained 'racial' problems.

However, there are numerous cases of racism reported in the press during this period. This evidence, however, needs to be treated sceptically because

of the credibility of the press (see chapter 3 and 6). Evidence shows that racialised divisions did exist in Scotland (although the extent of these could not be discerned from the newspapers). By the mid 1970s several articles covered cases of racism against doctors of South Asian descent (see Glasgow Herald 17/9/74, 23/5/75), in housing (see Glasgow Herald 10/8/76, 27/9/76) and employment (see the Evening Time 24/4/79). The mid 1970s also saw the National Front beginning to actively recruit in Scotland. The first reports of National Front activity in Scotland came in 1974 when the party fought the Govan by-election in Glasgow. The National Front candidate, Michael Brookes, campaigned on the platform of compulsory repatriation of immigrants. However, he only received 84 votes.

The Scottish press allowed the National Front to express their opinions, often without adverse comment. For example, Michael Carfield, the Edinburgh Secretary of the National Front, was given a full page to argue that: the integration of the 'races' was impossible; that 'black' people were muggers and criminals, and Asians and 'blacks' were being used by extreme left wing groups as 'cannon fodder for the reds' (Daily Record 19/8/77). Similarly, David Bruce, chairman of the National Front North London Region, was also given space in the Scottish press to argue that 'blacks are flooding into this country', 'no one knows how many are already here [no] one knows how many are still arriving', and 'the floodgates are still open' (Daily Record 2/6/77).

Towards the end of the 1970s the campaign against the National Front in Scotland began to emerge. By 1978 the Anti-Nazi League (A.N.L.) was organising meetings within the central lowlands to fight against the National Front. However, the A.N.L. approach in Scotland echoed the idea that Scotland did not suffer racism. For example, in one article, Peter Hain, the then leader of the A.N.L., was asked whether the establishment of the organisation 'would not...be drawing attention to a problem which really

does not amount to much north of the Border'. The reporter's own question perpetuates the idea that Scotland does not suffer racism as does Hain's reply,

> " 'The National Front has tried to form an alliance with the U.V.F. in Ulster and Protestant extremists in Scotland' he said.
>
> 'I am aware that there is no real race problem in Scotland, but you have other major problems'.
>
> 'The National Front organises wherever there is high unemployment or bad housing, people living in bad areas suffering big local authority expenditure cuts'.
>
> 'In areas with problems of that nature you find that fascism flourishes if it is nurtured'.
>
> 'So in Scotland we shall be making a pre-emptive strike, when the National Front tries to mobilise, as it has begun to do, it will find its message falling on stony ground.'" (Glasgow Herald, 30/6/78)

On the one hand, Hain's argues that there are no 'real race problems', although he points to 'other major problems'. These, in the light of his initial remarks, seem to be sectarian divisions. On the other hand, Hain seems to indicate that the establishment of the Anti-Nazi League is a *pre-emptive* strike. This seems to imply that there are currently no real problems in Scotland.

However, during this period, there are numerous articles, which reproduce the discourse of 'no problems'. For example, Bashir Maan, who won the council seat for Kingston in Glasgow in 1970, attributed his victory, in part, to the 'natural tolerance' of Scots,

> " I have always told my friends that the Scots are more tolerant and broad minded than any other people but I could not prove what I said at first. Now I can." (Glasgow Herald, 7/3/71)

Similarly, the Glasgow Herald quoted a Mr Kapoor, president of the Indian Graduates Society, claim that,

> " Integration was easier in Scotland than elsewhere in Britain... He did not know of any cases of discrimination in Scotland." (Glasgow Herald, 2/8/71)

The continuities and discontinuities that emerged between the Scottish and English press in the 1950s carried on into the 1960s. On the one hand, there was continuity in the expression and substance of racialised discourses. On the other hand, there were discontinuities, most notably the discourse of 'no problems'. By the late 1960s the latter began to develop a stronger internal coherence through external points of reference, such as nationalist discourses and discourses around immigration. However, from what evidence is available for this period, it is evident that the discourse of 'no problems' is essentially false. Both racialised discourses (in the press) and racialised divisions (in housing and employment) were present in Scotland during this period.

Explaining Press Reporting

These continuities are explained by the structural and ideological 'constraints' placed on the press. In chapter 3, we argued that the press faces certain structural constraints in the daily production of news. These lead it to depend on dominant institutions as well as the voices and interpretations of dominant state actors. In the construction of many of the above news events state actors set out the initial interpretation. This initial interpretation then provided the template for all subsequent reporting of the key event (see pp.). What is evident is that both the Scottish and English press operated under the same structural constraints - they were both dependent on, amongst

other institutions, the British state. Thus, they both received the same information, hence the continuity.

There are also discursive constraints on the press. News events - the unexpected, the unpredictable, social conflict - all have to be communicated and made compressible to the audience at large. One of the ways to achieve this is through 'cultural maps' (Hall et al 1978). Cultural maps are representations of a shared cultural knowledge. In order for news events to 'make sense' to the audience they have to be plotted onto cultural maps. These cultural maps have numerous markers but for our purposes it is crucial to note that racialised discourses are key points of references for the 'British' cultural map. Both Scotland and England share these points of reference. These similar points of reference were forged out of the history of colonialism (see chapters 4 and 5) and reworked in order to understand the process of migration (chapter 6). In other words, racialised discourses are key points on the cultural maps of both Scotland and England and have been used by the press in both nations to 'make sense' of and mediate news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants.

The use of cultural maps also explains the discontinuities. It is important to note that there is not one homogenous British cultural map. Rather, the British cultural map is essentially fractured because of the fractured nature of the British ethnic social carrier. For example, Scotland still retains a strong civil society and a sense of its own nationhood. In their reporting of news events the Scottish press moves between a 'fractured national cultural map' and a Scottish cultural map in order to make news events 'mean'. On the one hand, when reporting on British news events around immigration the Scottish press seems to focus onto the fractured national cultural map. On the other hand, when reporting on issues specific to Scotland, including the question of immigration into Scotland, they shift to Scottish cultural maps.

Conclusion

Figure 7.1: Continuities and Discontinuities in the Scottish and English press during 1968

The 'fractured' ethnic
social carrier

British state	
Scotland	England

Continuities

(i) both use the motif of 'keep them out' in their news reports and commentary on South Asian and African-Caribbean migration
(ii) both give space to the reproduction of Powell's key ideas as well as the ensuing political debate
(iii) both identify 'race relations' as a form of inverse discrimination

Discontinuities

The discourse of 'no problems'. This discourse was now begining to develop an internal coherence because of:-
(i) development of Scottish nationalist politics, from which it drew ideas of Scottish tolerance
(ii) development of racialised discourses around immigration, 'race relations' and numbers, from which it drew ideas of 'no problems' due to a small number of 'coloured' immigrants

Discontinuities

Substantive differences around what news events were covered.
No equivalent discourse of 'no problems'.

During 1968, the Scottish press had taken a largely uncritical approach in its coverage and commentary on the Kenyan Asian crisis, the speeches of Enoch Powell and the 'Race Relations' Act. Indeed, the Scottish press uncritically drew upon and reaffirmed racialised discourses in their reporting and commentary on these key events. The key motif to this discourse was 'keep them out'. For example, in relation to the Kenyan Asian crisis, the bulk of the news stories, editorials and letters emphasised the need for stronger immigration controls in order to regulate the entry of Kenyan Asians. When the fact that Kenyan Asians were British citizens was raised, it was by sections of all classes that they were not really British because they were not really 'kith and kin' dismissed it. Similarly, Powell's demands for stronger immigration controls and repatriation were widely carried by the Scottish press. However, this was done uncritically. The Scottish press never launched any serious attack on Powell's message or the content of his

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speeches. Indeed, the only criticism against Powell was against his rhetorical style. Finally, the 'Race Relations' legislation was presented as a form of inverse discrimination against 'white' people in their own land. Indeed, in these articles, it was argued that the only way to ease 'race relations' in Britain was to control or remove the supposed problem - South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants.

The Scottish press displayed continuities with their English counterparts in this coverage and commentary. However, there were discontinuities between the Scottish and English press. One of the most important here is the discourse of 'no problems' itself. In 1958 this discourse was beginning to emerge. However, it had no real internal consistency beyond stating that Scots were somehow naturally tolerant and welcoming of strangers. By 1968 this discourse had achieved a stronger internal consistency through its counterpoising itself with nationalist discourses and discourses around immigration. As we noted, the basic equation used by the state up to that point was that large numbers of South Asian and African Caribbean immigrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration. Sections of the Scottish political and economic elite used the same equation to rationalise why there are supposedly no problems in Scotland; small numbers of immigrants = fewer socio-economic problems + fewer problems of integration. The press in both their reporting and commentary on racism in Scotland also drew on this argument. As ever, these claims and arguments were never supported by evidence.

Chapter 8: The Scottish Press and the Racialisation of the 1980s Inner City Disturbances

Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore the development of racialised discourses and the discourse of 'no problems' during the 1980s. As we have already noted, the Scottish press was active in generating racialised discourses. During 1958, the Scottish press racialised African-Caribbean and South Asian migrants as the cause of 'riots' in London and Nottingham as well as a variety of other social problems. In turn, it actively campaigned for immigration controls as a solution. By 1968, the equation linking 'immigrants' with social problems was firmly established (high number of immigrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration). Of course, the notion of who was an immigrant was now firmly 'colour coded'. Running parallel to racialised discourses was the discourse of 'no problems'. In 1958, this discourse, beyond arguing that Scots are naturally more tolerant, had no real internal coherence. By 1968, however, those who articulated the discourse of 'no problems' began to draw upon our 'racialised equation' in order to explain the supposed absence of racism in Scotland. Specifically, it was argued that because of the small numbers of immigrants in Scotland the nation suffered fewer problems (small number of immigrants = fewer socio-economic problems and fewer problems of integration). This was occasionally embellished with the claim that Scots are more tolerant.

By the 1980s racialised discourses and the discourse of 'no problems' had evolved. On the one hand, sections of the state and the media drew upon and reproduced discourses around criminality in order to explain the disturbances in England's inner cities during the 1980s. On the other hand, sections of the Scottish media and so called leaders of South Asian

communities in Scotland drew upon and reproduced the discourse of 'no problems' in order to explain the absence of any similar disturbances in Scotland. In this process, the discourse of 'no problems' was embellished with new meanings. Sections of the Scottish media argued that the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland was due to, amongst other things, small 'immigrant' numbers as well as strong South Asian family and community structure (unlike the supposedly pathological African-Caribbean family).

This chapter has several aims. Firstly, through examining the Scottish press coverage of the 1980s inner city disturbances, I want to demonstrate that the Scottish media generated and reproduced racialised discourses. In doing so, I also want to demonstrate the evolving substance of racialised discourses. Secondly, I want to demonstrate continuities in the substance of racialised discourses. In other words, I want to demonstrate that how the Scottish press reported the 1980s disturbances was not that different to the English press. Thirdly, I want to demonstrate discontinuities. There were some differences between how the Scottish and English press covered the disturbances. One of the most significant was the discourse of 'no problems'. Finally, I want to demonstrate the misleading nature of this discourse because, by the 1980s, a growing body of work showed the existence of racism in Scotland.

The first section of this chapter examines the 'roots' of the disturbances as well as the political reactions. The second section provides a review of how the Scottish press reported and commented on these events (examining headline structures, topics, editorials and letters to the editor). For reasons of clarity and the management of information, the analysis of the press coverage and commentary on the 1981 and 1985 riots was carried out separately. The third section begins to critically examine this reporting and commentary. Through contrasting it with the analysis of the roots of the inner city disturbances, it will be demonstrated that the Scottish press did use racialised discourses in their coverage and commentary of the 1981 and 1985

inner city disturbances. The final section goes on to demonstrate the continuities and discontinuities in the use of racialised discourses between the Scottish and English press.

Roots and Reactions

The Roots of the Inner City Disturbances

In the 1980s, England's inner cities became sites of social conflict and violence. In April 1980, in the St. Paul's district of Bristol, violence erupted between the predominantly African-Caribbean residents and the police. A year later, Brixton and Southall (both in London) and the Toxteth area of Liverpool also experienced similar disturbances. Further large scale riots occurred between September and October 1985 in Birmingham, Tottenham, Birmingham and Liverpool. Although these were not the only cities or towns in which the disturbances occurred they were certainly the ones in which the social conflict was most intense (for a more detailed description of the events see Joshua and Wallace 1983, Benyon 1987, Benyon and Solomos 1987, Keith 1987, Solomos 1993).

For some, including state actors such as the police and politicians, the inner city disturbances had no recognisable roots. Indeed, they simply 'flared up'. However, a closer examination reveals certain social and economic relations that 'shaped' the disturbances. Firstly, economic relations. In the early 1980s, the British economy was going through a period of economic recession and high unemployment. Certain parts of the economy, including the manufacturing sector, so long the main staple of the British economy, went into decline. Employment in this sector fell from nine million in 1966 to just under seven million in 1980 (Cairncross 1995). In turn, unemployment rates soared, almost matching the depression rates of the 1930s. Unemployment, however, hit certain groups particularly hard. South Asian and African-

Caribbean workers, who had been drawn in as a reserve army of labour during the 1950s and 1960s, were concentrated in the manufacturing sector in the 1960s and 1970s (Castles and Kosak 1972, Smith 1977, Brown 1982, Miles 1982). As this part of the economy went into decline, so South Asian and African-Caribbean unemployment increased. In the autumn of 1985 the national unemployment rate was 13 per cent, but in Birmingham, which had traditionally relied on manufacturing, it was 21 per cent, and in Handsworth, the area of South Asian and African - Caribbean settlement in the city, it was 35 per cent (Benyon 1987).

The economic recession of the 1980s hit the inner cities particularly hard. On the one hand, the residents of the inner cities, working in the manufacturing sector, became increasingly vulnerable to unemployment. On the other hand, there was growing social deprivation. In the previous chapters, we noted that the arrival of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants highlighted the problem of inner city deprivation. However, the state did little to alleviate these problems. In the 1980s the situation was little better: environmental decay, poor educational facilities, low levels of social provision, inadequate recreational facilities and high levels of crime were all prevalent. Housing was especially poor. The 1981 census showed that 1 per cent of households in Britain were overcrowded, but in Birmingham the figure was 6 per cent, and in Handsworth it was over 15 per cent (Benyon 1987).

The residents of the inner cities faced economic hardship. They also faced political marginalisation. This brings us to the second set of factors that shaped the disturbances - political relations. Few opportunities existed for the residents of the inner cities to express their grievances or to bring pressure to bear on those with the political power to introduce change. Decisions tended to be top-down by local and national Government as well as agencies such as the Urban Development Corporation. Political

marginalisation was also accompanied by a mistrust and hostility towards one arm of the state - the police. In the inner cities there was growing disquiet over increasingly aggressive police tactics (Smith 1983, Small 1983). Police operations, such as the 'Sus' laws and 'Swamp 81', brought in their wake allegations of police harassment, abuse and assault (Southall Rights Action Group 1980, Lambeth Borough Council 1980). Indeed, Greaves (1984, p.63), writing after the disturbances of 1981, argued,

> " There is no doubt in my mind that large sections, particularly of the black community, regarded the police as an oppressive force which disregarded their civil rights and dignity as human beings."

There is, however, a danger that we homogenise the experiences of all inner city residents. As we have already suggested, South Asian and African-Caribbean residents experienced these problems more acutely. Hall (1987) argues that, although the experiences of all sections of the working classes within the inner cities were poor, this was exacerbated for South Asian and African-Caribbean residents because of the effects of racialised discourses. South Asian and African-Caribbeans occupied marginal positions in the labour market (see Brown 1984, Ohri and Faruqi 1988), received little in the way of support or representation from the main political parties (Carter 1980, Jones 1986, Layton-Henry 1992, Saggar 1992, Sewell 1993), experienced police abuse and harassment (Roys 1990, Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991), experienced poorer social conditions (Luthra 1990), and received fewer of the 'positive' benefits of the welfare services (Roys 1990) because of the impact of racialised discourses and their material effections in discrimatory acts.

Taken together, these social and economic relations created an explosive cocktail. South Asians and African-Caribbeans, and indeed the poorest sections of the working classes, had become economically and politically marginalised. With few legitimate channels of protest available alternative

routes were found. In the face of increasingly aggressive police action, political opposition spontaneously erupted in the form of the inner city disturbances, with the police as the main focus of attack. Thus, the inner city disturbances were an outburst of tension and frustration by an alienated population that targeted a visible and oppressive arm of the state, the police.

Political Reactions

The inner city disturbances were 'read' in contrasting ways by different sections of the state. On the one hand, state actors and parties, such as the Labour party, identified the inner city disturbances as an outburst of frustration caused by poor social and economic conditions. In July 1981, during a Parliamentary debate on the disturbances, the then shadow Home Secretary, Roy Hattersley defended police actions. However, he went on to argue that the areas that had suffered urban unrest shared common features: high levels of unemployment, lack of social, welfare and cultural amenities, inadequate housing and education. In turn, Hattersley argued that public policy must be geared to alleviating these problems (Solomos and Rackett 1991, Solomos 1993).

On the other hand, other state actors, specifically the Conservative Government and the police, defined the disturbances as a simple outbreak of criminality. This definition rejected or downplayed any causal links that socio-economic factors had. For example, in 1981, William Whitelaw, the then Home Secretary, emphasised the 'need to remove the scourge of criminal violence from our streets'. The immediate response of the Government was to support police actions and to set up an inquiry on the Brixton 'riots'. The Scarman Report, when it was finally published, identified the importance of unemployment, urban deprivation, racialised disadvantage, poor relations between young African-Caribbeans and the police, and political exclusion as key causal factors. The Government, having

commissioned the inquiry, was forced to implement Scarman's recommendations. However, as Layton-Henry (1992) notes, the state was more enthusiastic in developing the recommendations concerning law and order and less energetic as far as social reforms were concerned.

The Government's response did little to tackle the roots of the inner city disturbances. Indeed, from 1982 to 1984 there were sporadic disturbances across the country. In 1985, however, they reached a new intensity. The state's response was overwhelming. It defined the disturbances as an outbreak of criminality. Sections of the state also used racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of the disturbances. Senior police officers argued that 'black drugs barons', whose businesses had become threatened by police activities, had initiated the 'riots'. The Home Secretary's initial response to the Handsworth disturbances also set the tone: 'it was not a cry for help, but a cry for loot' (The Guardian 13/9/85). In the same year, the Prime Minister's speech to the annual party conference, also criminalised the disturbances,

" We utterly condemn anyone who takes part in riots in Britain. Whoever these people are who riot, burn, murder - whoever they are organised by - there is no excuse, no justification whatsoever for such crime and vandalism. Those who take to the streets on the first available pretext, to fire, loot and plunder, will be subject to the full rigours of the criminal law." (cf. Z.Layton-Henry, 1992, p.206)

This definition came to dominate the political debate on the disturbances. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there was reluctance by the Government to accept that social and economic conditions shaped the disturbances. The Labour opposition was lambasting the Conservative Government on their 'free market' policies that had created, amongst other things, high rates of unemployment and social decay in the inner cities. Labour politicians argued that these social and economic conditions, created

by Government policies, 'caused' the disturbances. If the Conservative Government conceded this they would, in all practical terms, be undermining their own 'free market' policies (Kettle and Hodges 1982, Layton-Henry 1992, Solomos 1993).

Secondly, racialised discourses provided a phenomenally adequate account of the disturbances. Going back to our metaphor of the ideological atmosphere (see pp), it can be argued that the disturbances did not occur in an ideological vacuum. Rather, they occurred in an ideological atmosphere heavily charged with racialised discourses. Sections of the state, such as the police, had already racialised African-Caribbeans as a problem in the context of crime (Cashmore and McLaughlin 1991). When it came to explaining the disturbances, politicians and the police simply drew upon and reaffirmed racialised discourses around 'black' criminality.

This definition of the disturbances served several purposes. Firstly, it distanced the disturbances from social, economic, political and other grievances (Kettle 1982, Solomos 1993). Secondly, it located the cause of the disturbances outside of the social problems in the inner cities and in the supposed criminal activities of the African-Caribbean community and/or outside agitators (Solomos 1993). The legitimate grievances of those protesting against poor social and economic conditions, in effect, became obscured under the cloak of 'law and order'.

The inner city disturbances became racialised and criminalised. The underlying social and economic relations that had shaped the disturbances became obscured under the cloak of law and order and racialised discourses. However, how did the Scottish press report these events? We have already seen that the Scottish press was active in generating and reproducing racialised discourses during 1958 and 1968. I want to show that this process continued in 1981 and 1985. Rather than identifying the underlying social

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and economic roots of the disturbances the Scottish press used racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of the disturbances. The next section examines how the Scottish press covered the disturbances. For reasons of clarity and the management of information the analysis of the Scottish press coverage during 1981 and 1985 were kept separate.

FEBRUARY 1981 - DECEMBER 1981

Headlines

Table 8.1 shows the result of the word count from the headlines of The Scotsman, The Daily Record, The Glasgow Herald and The Evening Times. As expected most of the headlines covered the inner city disturbances (around 70% of the sample dealt with this topic).

The words that received the most counts were riot(s), police, 'race' and Brixton. These referred largely, although not exclusively, to the disturbances. The use of the word 'riot' defines the disturbances as an outbreak of criminality and lawlessness. This definition is reinforced through the use of associative terms such as mobs, terror, rampage, battle and war. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

> BRIXTONS BLAZING FURY (Evening Times, 13/4/81)

> Battle of Brixton Flares up again: 1,000 try to stem violence (The Scotsman, 13/4/81)

> Blood Saturday: How Terror took over a community (Daily Record, 13/4/81)

MOBS RUN RIOT AGAIN: New trails of destruction as Britain counts the cost of violence (Evening Times, 11/10/81)

Table 8.1 Most Frequent Words in Headlines February 1981- December 1981

79	riot(s)	6	aid	3	battle
51	police	6	action	3	Bristol
49	race	5	crime	3	brutal
47	Brixton	5	equality	3	charges
19	inquiry	5	law	3	cleared
17	racial	5	leader	3	commission
15	Toxteth	5	MPs	3	committees
15	violence	5	plan	3	community
15	Whitelaw	5	probe	3	danger
14	black(s)	5	softly	3	deaths
14	city(ies)	5	street(s)	3	defeat
12	relations	5	accused	3	defiant
10	Asians	4	ban	3	demanded
10	Bill	4	bias	3	denied
10	flares	4	bobbies	3	fair
10	fury	4	bomb	3	faith
10	hate(red)	4	defended	3	firm
10	immigration	4	deported	3	flames
10	raid	4	discrimination	3	flashpoint
10	rebels	4	fight	3	frustration
9	fear(ed)	4	Front	3	gangs
8	court	4	ghetto	3	Glasgow
8	mob(s)	4	group(s)	3	halt(ed)
8	Powell	4	home(s)	3	hits
8	rioters	4	job	3	hooligans
8	Tories	4	Moss-Side	3	house(s)
8	urging/urged	4	racist	3	hurt
8	warns	4	rampage	3	immigrants
7	attacked	4	refugees	3	jailed
6	Britain(s)	4	rejected	3	justice
6	chief	4	schools	3	Labour
6	Nationality	4	shock(s)	3	petrol
6	peace	4	slam	3	pledges
6	plea	4	speed	3	pressed
6	report	4	tension	3	racialism
6	row	4	terror	3	room
6	trial	4	white	3	station
6	trouble	3	anger	3	war

The headlines also identified the main actors involved in the disturbances (the police, 'blacks' and Asians) and the roles they played. The police are overwhelmingly presented as the upholders of law and order and the 'real' victims of the 'riots' through the injuries they sustained in attempting to

maintain peace. People of African - Caribbean and South Asian descent are portrayed in various manners. On the one hand, African-Caribbeans (who were often described as 'black') are presented as the instigators of the 'riots'. South Asians, on the other hand, are portrayed as victims because of the destruction caused to their property and businesses during the 'riots'. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

> **FURY OVER RACE RIOT**: Asians slam police after night of fear and flames (Evening Times, 4/7/81)

> Black Gangs in Terror Rampage (Daily Record, 21/4/81)

> Ghetto of Fear: 70 police hurt by wild mobs (Daily Record,   6/7/81)

> Mersey Police Casualties Soar as Fresh Riots Flare (Glasgow Herald6/7/81)

The word 'race' rarely appeared in the initial coverage of the disturbances. Rather, its appearance came in the subsequent coverage of court cases on the disturbances, described as 'race riots' in the headline structures. The term 'race' also appeared in a variety of other contexts: in describing the activities of fascist groups in inciting the disturbances ('race' conflict), racist attacks and cases of discrimination (both described as 'race' and 'racial'), and to describe legislative measures concerning South Asians and African-Caribbeans (such as the 'Race Relations' legislation and the 1981 Nationality Bill).

As we have already noted, the headlines racialised African-Caribbeans as the main instigators of the disturbances. However, another theme was that there was no real underlying explanation to the 'riots' - they simply 'flared' up. It was a sudden and unexplainable outbreak of violence that spread itself

across the inner cities of the country. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Violence flares again in Brixton (Daily Record, 13/4/81)

Fury Flares in Hate City (Daily Record, 7/7/81)

Brixton violence flares again (Daily Record, 16/7/81)

The Scottish press dealt with numerous other issues beyond the inner city disturbances (see below). However, during this period most of its coverage dealt with this area. The Scottish press constructed the disturbances as a 'riot', an outbreak of criminality and violence. The press went on to identify African-Caribbeans as the main instigators of the 'riots'. On the other hand, the press identified the police and South Asians as the victims of the 'riots' because of the injuries they sustained and the damage done to their businesses. The term 'race' was largely missing from the early coverage on the disturbances, although it did come into use later on, during the coverage of court cases, in order to describe the events as a 'race riot'.

Topics

During the period under review, the Scottish press focused on only a few topic areas dealing with South Asian and African-Caribbeans (see table 8.2). As will become evident, the Scottish press only focused on news events marked by 'negativity'. Thus, the substantive topics, carried by the Scottish press, identified South Asians and Africa-Caribbeans as a 'problem'.

Table 8.2. Topics covered by the newspapers during February 1981 to December 1981

Topic	No.	%
Inner city disturbances	154	72.3
Racialised Relations in Scotland	18	8.4
Racialised Relations in England	16	7.5
Immigration	10	4.7
Legislative measures	9	4.2
Fascist activities	4	1.9
'Black' Hostility	1	0.5
Human Interest	1	0.5
Total	213	100

Figure 8.1: Thematic map of the 1981 disturbances

Number of times each theme occured indicated in brackets

Inner city disturbances

Initial Definitions

'riots' (126)

Causes

police malpractice (28) -
accompanied by 14 disclaimers

socio-economic conditions (24)
accompanied 14 disclaimers

African-Caribbean criminality (20)

outside agitator (17)

fascist organisations (8)

lack of parental responsibility (4)

copy-cat riots (2)

lead intoxication (1)

Solutions

restore law and order (18)

challenge poor socio-economic
conditions (11) - accompanied
by 6 disclaimers

tackle racism (3)

stronger immigration controls (2)

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Although not explicit in all articles, the identification of South Asians and African-Caribbeans as a problem was often couched in a racialised framework. This is evident in topics such as the inner city disturbances (which presented African-Caribbeans as a problem in the context of crime), as well as immigration and legislative measures (which replayed the theme of 'keeping them out').

Inner city disturbances

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with the inner city disturbances (including initial definitions of the disturbances, their causes, the Scarman enquiry and subsequent responses). There were 154 articles. Unfortunately, there was some difficulty in breaking these articles into sub-topics. This was because many of the newspapers collapsed numerous aspects of the disturbances within single articles. Because of these problems, it was decided to examine the articles using the same procedure outlined in chapter 6. The analysis of the articles dealing with the riots focused on the initial definitions of the disturbances, causes of the disturbances, and finally coverage and commentary on the political/policy responses to the disturbances (see figure 8.1 for a thematic map)

Initial Definitions

The initial definitions constructed the disturbances as 'riots', outbreaks of criminality and violence. The articles also identified 'immigrants' or 'blacks' as the perpetrators of the 'riots', although several articles did note that both 'black and white' were involved. On the other hand, the articles also identified the police as the 'upholders' of law and order and as victims of the 'riots' through the injuries that they sustained. The articles below provide indicative examples,

" Pitched battle in the heart of the city's immigrant area began on Saturday. They followed clashes on Friday when a crowd of fifty youths, many coloured, prevented police arresting a coloured motor cyclist." (Scotsman, 6/7/81)

" Police were under siege again last night in the continuing Battle of Brixton.

It was the worst street violence in Britain for 20 years, policemen and women faced a non-stop barrage of petrol bombs, bottles and stones.

Cars and buildings are set alight as shops were looted in the ghetto of hate.

More than 1,000 police fought a desperate battle to contain the rampaging mobs of both black and white youngsters." (Daily Record, 13/4/81)

" A wild mob of more than 1000 teenagers fought an 8 hour battle against 200 police in Toxteth, Liverpool.

Petrol bombs were hurled, cars hijacked and set alight, buildings burned down and shops looted.

Police were attacked with bricks and iron bars in the heart of Liverpool's black community." (Daily Record, 6/7/81)

Causes

Numerically, the dominant explanation for the 'riots' identified provocative police actions, such as harassment and saturation policing, in 'sparking' the disturbances. However, this explanation was often accompanied by counter arguments from politicians, senior police officers and members of the judiciary that drew upon racialised discourses. For example, senior police officers justified the heavy-handed policing of Brixton because of the high levels of crime in the area. Similarly, senior officers argued that the 'riots'

occurred because of police attempts to curb African-Caribbean criminality. Indeed, at times both of these themes overlapped in the idea of the 'ghetto'. The article below provides an indicative example,

" Det. Jeremy Plowman who devised Swamp '81 operation...argued that without it Brixton would turn into another Harlem....'I have never been to Harlem, but if nothing at all was done, we would end up with a situation where you cannot walk the streets or drive through an area like Harlem without fear of being stopped and robbed'...

He gave the March crime figures for the district, including four reported rapes, one alleged against a white man and three against blacks.

There were 110 robbery cases, 90 by blacks, and 9 out of 12 cases of assault with intent to rob were by blacks and other three by whites.

Eighty nine of the 109 theft cases allegedly involved blacks and there were 447 burglaries." (Glasgow Herald, 19/6/81)

The next explanation for the disturbances identified the poor social and economic conditions in the inner cities. However, while these articles correctly identified the factors that structured the disturbances they were accompanied by counter argument. These were made mostly by representatives of the state and argued that poor social and economic conditions were not sufficient reasons to 'riot' or that the 'riots' were simply an outbreak of criminal activity. These counter arguments brought the definition of the disturbances back full circle. The disturbances were isolated from social and economic conditions and their origins became located in a supposedly criminal African-Caribbean community.

While the racialisation of African-Caribbeans in the context of criminality emerged as a defence against police actions and poor social and economic conditions, it also stood in its own right as an explanation for the 'riots'. In its

substance it overlapped with the idea of the 'alien wedge'. It presented the idea of 'alien enclaves' in the inner cities that had become criminal centres. In these 'alien enclaves' and 'ghettos' crime is prevalent, and it is exactly this criminality that caused the disturbances. The article below provides an indicative example,

" ... the area around Upper Parliament Street - where most of the rioting took place - is virtually a black ghetto. The streets in this area are lined with high decaying Victorian houses...

Many of the large houses have been converted into flats or seedy night clubs which are dotted throughout Toxteth. It is well known that the district is the city's red-light area although recently some local residents have tried to improve its image.

Many people, particularly the elderly in the area, live in fear of their lives. Not a day goes by without someone being mugged in the streets for just a few pounds and the police will not walk alone in the area... "(Glasgow Herald 6/7/81)

Another explanation for the 'riots' pointed to the role of outside agitators in fermenting the disturbances. In these articles, the 'riots' are seen to result from extremists organisations using the inner city communities as 'cannon fodder' for their own revolutionary goals. The articles below provide indicative examples,

" In Brixton last night community leaders warned outsiders to stay away and stop using the area's young people as 'cannon fodder for their so called revolutionary goals." (Glasgow Herald, 14/4/81)

" Riots in Manchester Moss Side resulted from a well organised invasion of the area by outsiders, an inquiry into the disturbances was told yesterday.

Jamaican born, Mr William Fredericks who had lived in the area for 36 years, told the hearing that many of the strangers had come from London and Birmingham.

'I believe that they were in the employ of people who want to make more trouble in this country', he said.

'There are certain groups who use the immigrant society to further their own political ideals. They are the real enemies of the country."
(Glasgow Herald, 25/8/81)

There were a variety of other causes identified by the newspapers to explain the inner city disturbances. The role of fascist organisations was identified 8 times. This referred exclusively to the disturbances on the 3rd of August when a skinhead march through Southall led to violent conflicts between the local Asian community, skinheads and the police. Lack of parental responsibility was identified 4 times. The article suggested that parents did not control their children or instil in them a sense of respect for law and order. This in turn meant that the children had a 'predisposition' to 'riot'. The spread of the 'riots' to other areas was explained as 'copy-cat' incidents in two articles. The underlying theme in these articles was that the 'riots' in many of the other localities were simply mimicking what was occurring in Brixton. Finally, one article identified 'lead intoxication' as the cause of the disturbances. The article noted that 'because of the high levels of lead in their bones...the rioting youths could be suffering from a form of lead intoxication which lowered their flashpoint to the stresses of life in the inner cities...'
(Scotsman, 13/7/81).

Solutions

There were only two main policy responses carried by the Scottish press. The first, voiced by the police and politicians, emphasised the need to restore law and order. This included demands for a new Riot Act and stronger powers to

deal with the 'riots' (e.g. better 'riot' equipment, the use of overspill camps and the strengthening of the Special Patrol Group).

The second policy response emphasised the need to challenge poor social and economic conditions. However, accompanying it was a disclaimer that denied the social and economic roots of the disturbances. In other words, while politicians agreed that money should go into the inner cities, they disagreed that social and economic conditions caused the 'riots'. One possible reason for this is that the Conservative Government, publicly at least, was reluctant to accept that its free market policies helped shape the 'riots'. There were other policy responses that were numerically less significant. For example, three articles emphasised the need to tackle racism and discrimination. On the other hand, two articles identified the need for stronger immigration controls and repatriation (demands made by right wing politicians). The article below provides an indicative example,

" The Brixton rioters should be deported, Mr John Carlisle, Con. M.P. for Luton West said yesterday. He said he would be pressing for a change in the law so that even coloured people born in Britain could be expelled to their families country of origin." (The Scotsman, 15/4/81)

Constructing the 'riots'

The Scottish press defined the inner city disturbances as a 'riot', an outbreak of criminal activity. Several explanations were offered: provocative police actions, social and economic conditions, African-Caribbean criminality, outside agitators, fascist organisations and the role of parents. However, in identifying police action or social and economic conditions, the press often carried disclaimers from senior police officers and politicians. For example, senior officers argued that heavy handed policing was required in the

'ghetto', and politicians argued that unemployment was not a reason to 'riot'. These disclaimers 'chipped' away explanations that focused on socio-economic conditions. Indeed, they placed the disturbances outside of socio-economic conditions in the inner city and/or racialised African-Caribbeans in the context of criminality. The dominant policy responses follow on from this definition. Firstly, to restore law and order. This is the dominant response carried by the Scottish press. However, it constructs the 'riots' in the context of general lawlessness as opposed to social protest. Secondly, the redevelopment of the inner cities, alleviating social and economic problems. However, this definition was numerically less significant and also undermined by the numerous disclaimers that accompanied it. In essence, the Scottish press constructed the inner city disturbances as an outbreak of criminal activity, instigated by an equally criminal African-Caribbean community, which in turn required stronger law and order measures.

Racialised Relations in Scotland

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with cases of discrimination or with 'relations' between racialised groups. There were 18 articles in the category. These, in turn, can be broken down into the following sub-topics: reported cases of racism (occurring 6 times), claims that racism did not exist in Scotland (4 times), refugees (3 times) the Middleton case (2 times), comments on legislation, demands for repatriations and racism against Scots (in each case occurring only once).

During this period several articles covered cases of racism and discrimination in Scotland: assaults and threats made against staff dealing with 'race relations' in Glasgow (Glasgow Herald, 6/7/81), attacks on people of South Asian descent (Daily Record, 6/7/81, Evening Times, 6/7/81, Scotsman 6/7/81), and discrimination occurring in places of public resort (Glasgow Herald, 19/2/81, Glasgow Herald 13/3/81). However, these articles often

carried disclaimers denying the existence of racism and discrimination. For example, in an article titled 'City race hate claim denied', the police essentially rejected the claim that racist attacks were on the increase,

> " Police today denied a claim by a leading member of Glasgow's Asian community that acts of violence against coloured people in the city have increased in the last few months....
> ...a police spokesman said 'We have no knowledge of an increase in racialist attacks in Glasgow'." (Evening Times, 6/7/81)

The claim that racism is not a problem in Scotland was a distinct sub-topic in its own right. This claim is rationalised in several ways. Firstly, the relatively high levels of public services in Scotland meant that many of the conditions that had caused the 'race riots' in England were absent (e.g. Scotsman, 13/7/81). Secondly, South Asians had integrated into Scottish society, whereas in England 'ethnic' enclaves existed that, in turn, engendered conflict. The article below provides an indicative example,

> " Mike Dawson, Research Fellow at Glasgow University [noted that] 'In England...the coloured and black communities have their own culture to gather round and protect, a phenomena which draws the rest of the community together against the "outsiders"'.
> His view is shared by representatives of ethnic minorities in Glasgow.
> Mr Faroog Saleem, a member of Glasgow Immigrant Committee and vice-president of the U.K. Asian Society said 'we have been warmly accepted by the people of Glasgow.
> There are attacks on shops and properties, but this happens to everyone and I don't think we can describe them as racial attacks.
> The only real evidence of racism is a few slogans which have been written on the walls of some Pakistani property.'" (Glasgow Herald, 28/11/81)

The next major sub-topic covered refugees. The articles in this sub-topic all covered the demonstrations by the residents of Overtown, Lanarkshire, against the arrival of Vietnamese refugees. The coverage focused on the claims made by 'local' residents that refugees were being given preferential treatment in the allocation of council housing (e.g. Evening Times 8/8/81). The Daily Record did carry one article that noted the 'English based' Refugee Action Group's attack on the Overtown villagers (26/8/81). Interestingly, the use of 'English based' could be read to suggest that the Group are outsiders who know little of the social and economic conditions in Overtown. This, in turn, acts to blunt the criticisms made against 'local' residents.

The next sub-topic covered the Middleton case. The Middleton case referred to the controversy around comments made by Sheriff Middleton during the trial of a man charged with the rape of a 13 year old Asian girl. Middleton had claimed that 'girls mature much faster in the East' and went on to argue this may have been one of the reasons why the actual rape occurred,

> " In the forms of marriage which take place there [in South Asia], intercourse occurs before the marriage. This may have pre-disposed her to this action." (Glasgow Herald, 30/4/81)

Both articles in this category made some reference to Middleton's arguments and covered attempts by members of the Asian community to remove him from his position.

The article on repatriation dealt with the activities of 'Choice', an organisation that was campaigning for the repatriation of immigrants. 'Choice' had leafleted over 1,500 homes demanding, amongst other things, that employers should always choose 'their own countrymen first' (Glasgow Herald, 3/4/81). The case of racism against Scots dealt with the English

Football Association's decision to ban ticket allocation north of the border for the May 1981 international between the two nations. This, claimed several Scottish fans, was a case of 'racial' discrimination. Indeed, fans even went as far as putting together an application (albeit unsuccessful) for an interim order stopping the Football Association's plan under the 'Race Relations' Act (Glasgow Herald 15/4/81).

The Scottish press coverage of the racialised relations in Scotland seems to suggest that racism is not a problem in the nation. On the one hand, while it covered cases of racism and discrimination (such as the racist attacks) it carried disclaimers that suggest there is no problem at all. On the other hand, the claim that racism is not a problem existed in its own right, supported by, amongst other things, the 'fact' that South Asians have integrated well into Scottish society. However, this claim is never supported by concrete or objective evidence.

Racialised Relations in England/Britain

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with general statements concerning racialised relations, the Commission for Racial Equality (C.R.E.) and reported cases of discrimination in England. There were 13 articles that fell into this topic category. These can, in turn, be broken down into the following sub-topics: reported cases of discrimination (occurring 5 times), general statements on racialised relations (5 times), racist attacks (3 times) and comments on the Commission for Racial Equality (3 times).

There was an eclectic mix of articles covering cases of discrimination. These included reported cases of discrimination by banks in giving business loans to African-Caribbeans (e.g. Scotsman, 7/8/81) and discrimination in employment (Glasgow Herald, 26/8/81 and 1/10/81). The general

statements on racialised relations also represented an eclectic mix. They included: a statement by William Whitelaw that pledged the Government to a policy ensuring a 'multi-racial' society and 'equality of opportunity and justice for all' (Scotsman, 7/4/81); the introduction of the practice of ethnic monitoring in employment (Glasgow Herald, 11/12/81), as well as general statements in praise of multi-culturalism (e.g. Scotsman 25/3/81)

Three articles referred to racist attacks. Two covered an arson attack in Walthomstove, South London, in which an Asian woman and three children were burned to death (Evening Times, 10/7/81, Scotsman 13/7/81). The remaining article covered the police refusals to establish a special squad to investigate and deal with racist attacks. Instead, they emphasised the role of community policing in dealing with racist attacks (Glasgow Herald, 15/12/81). The news articles on the C.R.E. covered the organisations call for stronger powers. It also covered criticisms against the C.R.E. on the grounds of political interference and restricting the liberty of the individual (e.g. Scotsman, 1/4.68, Glasgow Herald, 16/12/81).

Immigration

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with immigration. There were 10 articles that fell into the topic category. These articles can be broken down into the following sub-topics: the arrival of dependants (occurring 4 times), illegal immigrants (2 times), the refusal of entry (2 times), numbers and repatriation (both occurring only once). The arrival of dependants focused on the renunciation of families from the Indian sub-continent, after long legal battles (e.g. Scotsman, 15/4/81). As WING (1985) notes, the assumption made in many immigration applications is that children are in fact nephews, nieces or other relatives. Immigration officers often refuse to believe that the children are 'related as claimed' to their parents and thus exclude them. This is used mainly against families from

South Asia, where documents such as birth and marriage certificates may not exist. In the context of the Scottish press, while the articles highlight the human interest aspects of these news events, for example, families being reunited, there was no critical attention paid to the discriminatory practices.

The articles on illegal immigrants, refusal of entry, numbers and repatriation all maintained the earlier motif of 'keep them out'. All of these articles sat within an already established framework that identified the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem in the context of numbers and the supposed social and economic problems that they caused or exacerbated. For example, in an article titled 'No Room For More Asians Says Thatcher', the then Prime Minister argued that, in the face of growing unemployment, Asian immigration had to be reduced. She went onto argue that,

> " This simply cannot go on, taking in more people...we cannot. It is a matter of common sense. But I think everybody should accept it, because otherwise we could have more problems of race relations and I do not want that in any way." (Glasgow Herald, 4/5/81)

Legislative measures

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with any legislative measures that targeted South Asians and African-Caribbeans. There were 9 articles that fell into this topic category, all of which dealt with the 1981 Nationality Bill. These articles can be broken down into the following sub-topics: Parliamentary debates on the legislation (occurring 3 times), commentary on the legislation by outside of Parliament (4 times), and 'factual' coverage by the press (2 times).

The 1981 Nationality Bill was introduced by the Conservative Government in order to rationalise existing nationality and immigration legislation, creating a British citizenship that automatically gave the right of abode in Britain. It did this by dividing the existing category of citizenship of the United Kingdom into three categories. First, there were British citizens. This included those citizens of the United Kingdom and the colonies who had close personal connections with the United Kingdom, either because parents or grandparents had been born, adopted, naturalised, or registered as citizens of the United Kingdom, or through permanent settlement in the United Kingdom. Second, there were British Dependent Territories citizens. This category included those citizens of the United Kingdom and the colonies who had that citizenship by reason of their own or their parents or grandparents birth, naturalisation or registration in an existing dependency or associate state. Thirdly, there were British overseas citizens. This was a residual category with virtually no rights. It was intended for those citizens of the United Kingdom and the colonies who did not qualify for either of the first two categories. It related mainly to holders of dual citizenship who lived in Malaysia and to East African-Asians. As Layton-Henry (1992, pp. 192 - 193) argues, it

> "...was hardly a citizenship at all - rather, the phasing-out of British subject status. In reality, it was a strong invitation to those British subjects permanently settled abroad with no close connection with the UK to acquire full local citizenship as quickly as possible and end the pretence of a continuing British connection. It was a further indication that the British Government wished to divest itself of overseas obligations that were a legacy of the imperial past."

The intention of the Bill was to bring notions of citizenship in line with immigration legislation. In doing so, it racialised the concept of British citizenship. As MacDonald (1983, p.69) argues, the Act 'enshrines the existing

racially discriminatory provisions of immigration law under the new clothing of British citizenship and the right of abode'.

The articles that focused on the debate in the House of Commons dealt more with the coverage of the political manoeuvres to push the legislation through and less with its substantive points. Indeed, the main points of the legislation only become explicit in the Scottish press through the coverage of statements made by politicians and others outside of Parliament. Undoubtedly, one of the most prominent was Enoch Powell. He supported the legislation on the basis that it would, for the first time, create a real notion of British citizenship (Scotsman, 21/3/81). However, Powell and other right wing politicians were not averse to attacking the Government over who belonged to the British 'imagined community'. For example, a proposal to make children born to British parents overseas, United Kingdom citizens came under attack by Enoch Powell and the Tony Marlow. Here the Scottish press carried Marlow's opposition,

> "...the proposal would men a child of Bangladeshi parents could have automatic right to British citizenship when a child of British stock did not..[this is not] the wish of the vast majority of British people." (The Scotsman, 13/3/81)

The Scottish press also covered opposition to the legislation. After the initial defeat of the legislation, the Scottish press quoted Roy Hattersley's claim that it was victory for those 'who had carried out an unremitting campaign against the racial provisions in the Bill' (Glasgow Herald, 7/12/81). Only three other articles noted any criticism or opposition to the Bill: two covered demonstrations against the legislation (e.g. Glasgow Herald 6/4/81), and one noted the opposition of 'community leaders' in Glasgow to the 'racialist' implications of the legislation (Glasgow Herald 7/12/81).

'Factual' coverage simply represented short reports that noted 'news' worthy points in the passage of the Bill without any additional comment or embellishments by the paper. The first was a short report covering demands for the resignation of William Whitelaw, the then Home Secretary, after the initial failure of the Nationality Bill. The second covered the eventual passage of the Bill. In both articles there was little or no additional commentary. Nonetheless, the reporting style of the Scottish press maintained the motif of 'keep them out'. Little, outside a few cursory comments by opponents to the Bill, was said about the fact that the legislation would strip many British citizens of their rights, including the right to enter into this country.

Fascist Activity

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with fascist activities. There were four articles in this topic category. Two covered the banning of National Front marches, one through south London and the other in Leeds, because of the fear that it could 'start serious race troubles' (Scotsman, 5/3/81 and 20/3/81). One article covered a court case where seven men, including one leading member of the British National Party, were charged with the possession of arms with the intent to provoke 'racial' violence (Glasgow Herald, 21/1/81). The other article covered a court case in which seven 'British Nazis' were accused of attempting to bomb the Notting Hill Carnival.

Black Hostility

This category included all articles where the central topic was forms of 'inverse discrimination' by 'black' people. There was only one article that fell into this category. This covered a court case in which eleven members of the United Black League Youth were accused of plotting to petrol bomb the police and skinheads (Scotsman 6/8/81).

Human Interest

The only article that fell into this category was an interview with a 'black' policeman, brought up in Scotland, but who now worked in Brixton. The basic claim of the article seems to be that there is no racism in Scotland. The interview, carried out against the backdrop of the inner city disturbances, highlighted the policeman's claim that Scots are naturally more tolerant than the English,

> " For a black policeman walking the beat in the ghetto of inner city London, it should not have shocked him. But it did. For PC Ainsworth is a Scot - born in housing scheme in Lanarkshire. Racial tension? It was only mentioned by barroom politicians talking about far away places.
> 'I was the only black guy and everybody treated me as one of the crowd. But I always knew I was different." (Daily Record, 22/10/85)

Editorials

There were 38 editorials and feature articles during this period, all of which focused on the disturbances. These, in turn, can be broken down into several sub-topics: socio-economic conditions and the disturbances (occurring 18 times), law and order (15 times) and racism in Scotland (5 times).

Socio-economic conditions and the disturbances

This topic category included all editorials and features that discussed the role of social and economic conditions in the disturbances. The editorials in this category usually identified social and economic conditions, such as inner city deprivation, racism and unemployment, as the main causes of the 'riots'. In

turn, they went on to argue that any policy solutions must involve strategies for alleviating the social problems in the inner cities and to tackle racism. Strategies should include stronger legislation against racism and positive action. The articles below are indicative examples,

" With [the] recent riot in Brixton and the riot in Bristol last year these events have a racial component in common. Already efforts are being made to see the latest trouble in non-racial terms. Similar claims were made in the other two cases, but these attempts cannot succeed for they involve self deception. The country has a problem in such areas and no prescription for curing it can be produced if the original diagnosis is so completely inaccurate as to deny the real nature of the trouble. What we must do is find answers...

Inner city decay and the social deprivation which accompanies it are such factors and they are compounded not just by high levels of unemployment nationally but the way in which its incidence varies in such a manner as to leave particular areas and young black people extraordinarily hard hit.' (Glasgow Herald, 6/7/81)

" [If Britain is to avoid] further destructive racial conflict the role of the Government must change...recent events and current fears only emphasise the point that strong legislation is overdue if racial discrimination and inequality are to cease. The Home Office must accept that racialism exists among the employers and the public, and worse, among teachers, civil servants and the police, and the Government actually carries a responsibility for encouraging it." (Glasgow Herald, 19/8/81)

However, some editorials carried disclaimers that sought to 'down-play' the importance of these factors. For example, a feature article by the Record, which had focused on the social and economic roots of the 'riots', ended by

suggesting that the disturbances were the fruition of Powell's 1968 'rivers of blood' speech. Other editorials argued that, while racism may have been part of the reason for the 'riots', it would still be necessary to pander to racist sentiments in order to quell any disgruntlement among the 'white' population. The editorial below provide indicative example,

" The extent of the rioting is indeed new, in living memory, and so is the looting, the mass destruction of property.

Enoch Powell asked in Parliament, in which city the next riot would take place. The answer was Manchester. And now?

Mr Powell not unusually inhibited about predicting disaster, could have asked whether the riots are the first seeds of revolution pushing their way relentlessly above ground.

If we had done so, would we have been right to laugh at him?" (Daily Record, 10/7/81)

The editorials in this category began to go someway to recognising the roots of the disturbances. The majority of the editorials focused on the poor social and economic conditions in the inner cities. In turn, they argued that the state should develop strategies to tackle these problems. However, some of the editorials carried disclaimers. These usually sought to shift the focus away from social and economic problems to, amongst other things, the presence of South Asians and African-Caribbeans.

Law and Order

This category included editorials where the central topic dealt with the law and order aspects of the disturbances. There were 15 editorials. Six of the editorials defended heavy-handed police tactics. These editorials usually identified police tactics as heavy-handed, but went on to argue that they were necessary because of the 'problems' the police faced in the inner cities.

The inner cities are represented as 'spaces' in which crime flourishes. Further, 'black' people are racialised as criminals who occupy these spaces. Thus, the police have to deal 'strongly' with both these areas and people. The 'riots', in turn, are seen to be ignited by a criminal African-Caribbean community in response to strong policing. For example, the follow editorial rejects that social and economic conditions shaped the 'riots' and goes on to implicitly argue that the 'riots' were a response by a criminal African-Caribbean community to heavy handed policing,

> "...accusations of police malpractice make the worst of the situation, though they have predictably been taken up by the liberal press. No doubt the police in Brixton have frequently displayed a lack of tact and understanding - how do you exercise these qualities in such an environment? No doubt some policemen have shown racial bias. Deplorable, but not necessarily the cause of the rioting.
>
> American cities in which over the last 15 years a predominantly white police force has been replaced by a predominantly black police one has not seen much diminution of anti-police sentiment. The fact is that feeling is likely to run high against the police in any area where criminal activity is above average. Brixton is one of those areas. The relation of the rioting to unemployment is another red herring...what has happened in Brixton goes far deeper than any reaction to Mrs Thatchers economic policies...it does not mean that the streets of Motherwell or Paisley are likely to foam with blood, and it would be foolish or mischievous to pretend so...
>
> Well what are the circumstances in which a member of the public, rich or poor, black or white, is likely to encounter the police? Obviously one of the most common, and one in which he is most likely to be 'disrespected, humiliated and insulted' is when he is suspected of some criminal activity. It follows, many of them encounter police or have friends who do. But what is the alternative? Are the police not to

enforce the law, in order that circumstance in which they may be accused of 'disrespecting, humiliating and insulting' their suspects should he avoided. That the police should discriminate simply because they have black skins? Neither English nor Scots law admits such discrimination." (Glasgow Herald, 24/4/81)

Four editorials supported police actions (without any explicit racialisation of people of African-Caribbean descent). These editorials usually went on to demand better equipment and stronger powers for the police in order to control the riots. One of these editorials, however, went on to argue that while the restoration of law and order was the primary concern, the search for the social and economic causes to the 'riots' should also be investigated in the long run.

Four editorials identified the problems between the police and local communities as a key factor in igniting the 'riots'. Indeed, the Scotsman carried an editorial which both challenged the racialisation of the 'riots' by the English press and went on to criticise aspects of the police operations in the inner cities,

> " The Toxteth rioting turns out to be not nearly so clear cut as readers of the *Daily Mail* hugh headline on Monday may have been led to believe. 'BLACK WAR ON POLICE' turns out to be rather whiter, or greyer, or more mysterious. Yesterday's *Daily Mail* - 'SEARCH FOR MASKED MEN' thought to have been behind the Liverpool violence - made it clear that the mob now consisted 'mainly of white youths'. The truth of the matter, as it can be perceived now, is that an incident between a small group of blacks and the police set off the rioting, which was multi-racial in character to start with although it latterly turned whiter and whiter and also younger and younger...

A discordant chorus of recrimination and contradictory solutions -
special police riots squads do not, for example, fit in with the efforts to
bring the police more closely in touch with racially mixed
communities..."(Scotsman, 8/7/81)

The final editorial in this category argued that the police were becoming tied
to the Government and pointed to the dangers of the right wing setting the
agenda (Scotsman, 14/7/81). However, the editorials on 'law and order'
generally supported the police and demanded better police equipment and
stronger powers to deal with the 'riots'. In doing so, they highlighted the
'law and order' debate and obscured discussions on socio-economic
conditions.

Racism in Scotland

A key question that accompanied the above editorials was why there were
no similar disturbances in Scotland. This question led to the development of
several indicative answers: there were no large immigrant populations in
Scotland and hence no social conflict; Scotland was welcoming of strangers,
leading to a good 'race relations' situation, and finally the structures of
immigrant communities in Scotland were much stronger than in England
and thus maintained social order. The editorials below provide indicative
examples,

" In Scotland we have yet to experience large-scale or dramatic
manifestations of racial tensions. Indeed the subject of race relations
hardly figures as a matter requiring either public or private thought,
and the prevailing attitude is comfortably full of praise about the
democratic nature of Scottish society and its traditional welcome to
foreigners. Further comforting thoughts come from comparisons with

England. Our black population is small and untroublesome and thus it can safely be concluded that all is well." (The Scotsman, 3/4/81)

" Scotland has around 20,000 Muslims, mostly Indian, Pakistani and Bengali. Recent warnings by MP's that racial violence could spread to Scotland seem to me to be irresponsible and ill-informed. The non-Chinese Asian community in Scotland largely revolves around Islam and is focused on the mosques, which are community centres as much as places of worship. You only have to visit a mosque to know how far removed the life of Muslims is from disorder and violence. The trouble in the south many have involved other ethnic groups who possibly lack such a well organised social machinery." (The Scotsman, 27/7/81)

Letters to the Editor

There were only 19 letters to the editor during this period. These can, in turn, be broken down two topics, the inner city disturbances (debated in 11 letters) and the 'Middleton' affair (debated in the remaining 8 letters).

The Inner City Disturbances

All of the letters in this category commented on the cause of the riots. Five letters identified socio-economic problems, such as inner city deprivation and unemployment, as the cause of the disturbances. For example,

" The main reason for the recent riots in Bristol, London and Liverpool is economic - the failure of Western Capitalism to provide jobs for young people. But it was in just such a climate of economic despair that Hitler's party flourished." (Scotsman, 11/7/81)

Another five letters argued that the 'riots' were a fruition of Powell's predictions in 1968,

" As this country's attitude (or rather the attitude of its leadership) becomes more blinkered the racial situation is assuming the aura of a Greek tragedy and if anyone still doubts where it will all end then let them refer to a man who saw dangers many years ago but was not in a position to overt them." (Scotsman, 15/7/81)

" If successive Governments had paid heed to the words of wisdom emanating from the lips of Enoch Powell regarding the influx of excessive coloured immigration into this country I doubt if scenes of violence being witnessed at the moment in Liverpool would have occurred." (Evening Times, 12/7/81)

The final letter emphasised the lack of discipline instilled into children. Apart from this letter, the commentary carried on the disturbances was numerically balanced. On the one hand, several letters identified some of the underlying social and economic conditions that shaped the disturbances. On the other hand, several letters also racialised the 'riots', locating their cause in the inevitable conflict between different 'racial' and cultural groups, which Powell had predicted over a decade ago.

The 'Middleton' case

The letters in this strand commented (and added to) the controversy around Sheriff Middleton's claim, during a rape case, that girls from South Asia mature faster. Six letters supported the demands made by the Lothian Community Relations Council 'race relations' advisor to remove the Sheriff while one letter attacked the organisation for generating more problems as opposed to solving them.

AUGUST 1985 - OCTOBER 1985

For reason of clarity and management of information the analysis of the articles were carried out separately. As in 1981, the analysis of the press, carried out between August and October, focused on headline structures, topics, editorials and letters to the editor.

Headlines

As expected, the words that appeared most frequently within the headlines covered the inner city disturbances (see table 8.3). The main words used to

Table 8.3. Most Frequent Words in Headline August 1985 - October 1985					
52	riot(ing)	4	bomb(ed)	3	increase
42	police(man)	4	controls	3	killer
20	Hurd	4	court	3	leader
14	black(s)	4	fury	3	locals
14	row	4	hurt	3	machete
13	mob(s)	4	law	3	naked
12	race	4	looting	3	ordeal
10	city(ies)	4	move	3	over
8	calls	3	MP's	3	petrol
8	deaths	4	probe	3	plan(s)
8	inquiry	4	racism	3	plea
6	Asians	4	tactics	3	racial
6	battle	4	tougher	3	raid
6	Brixton	3	abuse(ing)	3	remark
6	immigration	3	accused	3	repatriation
6	terror	3	bail	3	rule
5	blames	3	Britain(s)	3	seek(s)
5	bullets	3	burning	3	shot(s)
5	charged	3	cash	3	stabbed
5	fires	3	count	3	tension
5	hate(red)	3	criminality	3	urgent
5	headmaster	3	defended	3	wins
5	night	3	end	3	wrong
5	plastic-bullets	3	flames	3	years
5	Powell	3	gear	3	youth
5	street(s)	3	group(s)		
5	Toxteth	3	Handsworth		
5	Thatcher	3	forced		
5	violence	3	family		
5	warning	3	horror		

describe the disturbances were 'riot' and 'rioting', defining the inner city disturbances as an outbreak of criminal violence. This definition is reinforced through the use of associative terms such as mob(s), battle, violence, bombed, and looting. For example,

> Mob Rule: 20 hurt as petrol bomb terror grips riot city (Daily Record, 10/9/85)

> City of Fear: Looting and Mob Fury in the Flames (Daily Record 10/9/85)

> RIOT CITY: Looting mob battle with the police (Evening Times, 10/9/85)

> BURNING BATTLEFIELD: in the streets of death, tension if high (Evening Times, 10/9/85)

The headlines went onto identify the major actors involved in the 'riots': the police, 'black(s)' and Asians. The press identified the police in a positive manner, maintaining law and order, usually at the risk of their own lives. In later headlines the press often noted the support given to the police by senior politicians. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

> Riot police still on alert (Evening Times, 17/10/85)

> Riot police in danger of 'mauling' (Glasgow Herald, 17/10/85)

> Thatcher defends police role in riot (The Scotsman, 11/9/85)

The press identified African - Caribbeans as the main instigators of the 'riots'. However, the headlines did not provide any specific reasons why African-

Caribbeans 'rioted'. Nonetheless, the headlines do identify 'black' people in a confrontational counter position to the police, suggesting that 'black' people were the aggressors. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Fanning the flames of black revolt (The Scotsman, 1/10/85)

Blacks in hate warning (Daily Record, 20/10/85)

Blacks on collision course (Scotsman, 11/10/85)

South Asians were usually identified as victims of the 'riots' because of the damage inflicted on their properties and businesses. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Boys fire-bombed Asian Family (Scotsman, 13/9/85)

Burning of bloodlust city: Asians count the cost after the horror (Daily Record, 11/9/85)

The word 'race' was used only twelve times during this period. However, it was rarely applied to the inner city disturbances. Rather, one of the main uses of the term 'race' came in relation to the news event around the Bradford Headmaster Ray Honeyford. As Troyna and Williams (1986) note, Honeyford had published several articles within the right wing journal The Salisbury Review, for which he was temporarily dismissed. In these articles he rejected claims that the relatively poor educational performance of African-Caribbean students could be explained in terms of class and racism. Instead, Honeyford located low levels of educational achievement in African-Caribbean family structures and the work of 'radical teachers whose motives are basically political'. It was on this basis that Honeyford embarked on a crusade against the Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.) anti-racist

initiatives, insisting that the imperative should be to encourage students of African-Caribbean and South Asian descent to recognise 'British traditions of civilised discourse and respect for reason'.

The headlines carried by the Scottish press provide very little in the way of commentary on Honeyford's arguments or his conflict with the L.E.A. Indeed, they simply caricatured this conflict as a 'race row', and it is here that many of the 'hits' for the word 'race' came from. The headlines below provide indicative examples,

Race row head back at school (Evening Times, 16/9/85)

Race Row Headmaster Returns (Glasgow Herald. 17/9/85)

Race Row Head runs into fury (Daily Record, 17/9/85)

Fury hits Race Row Head (Daily Record, 16/10/85)

Nonetheless, the bulk of the coverage covered the inner city disturbances. In their headline structures, the Scottish press constructed the disturbances as 'riots', outbreaks of criminal activity and violence. In turn, African-Caribbeans were identified as the main instigators of the disturbances, while the police and South Asians were identified as 'victims' because of the injuries they sustained and the damage done to their property and businesses. However, the term 'race' was rarely used to describe these events.

Topics

During the period under analysis there were several topics covered by the Scottish press. There was a strong focus on the 'riots' during this period,

Table 8.4. Topics covered by the newspapers from August to October 1985

Topic	No.	%
'Riots'	102	81.6
Immigration	8	6.4
Education	8	6.4
Politics	3	2.4
Racialised Relations in Scotland	3	2.4
Racist Attacks	1	0.4
Total	125	100

Figure 8.2: Thematic map of the 1985 disturbances

Number of times each theme occured indicated in brackets

Inner city disturbances

Initial Definitions

'riots' (78)

Causes

criminality (40)

police malpractice (31) - accompanied by 8 disclaimers

outside agitators (11)

copy-cat riots (4)

socio-economic conditions (4), all accompanied with disclaimers

'alien wedge' (4)

Solutions

restore law and order (9)

immigration controls (5)

challenge poor socio-economic conditions (3)

tackle racism (3)

accounting for nearly 80% of the sample. The remaining topics covered news events that included immigration, education, politics and 'race relations' in Scotland (see table 8.4). As in 1981, the Scottish press largely carried news stories that identified South Asians and African-Caribbeans in a negative context (the 'riots' and immigration).

'Riots'

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with the inner city disturbances. There were 101 articles that fell into this category. However, like the 1981 analysis, there was some difficulty breaking down the articles into discrete sub-topics because of the overlaps. As with the 1981 analysis, it was decided to break down the articles into a thematic map (see figure 8.2 for a 'thematic' map).

Initial Definitions

The initial coverage of the disturbances constructed them as a 'riot' - an outbreak of criminal activity. The Scottish press managed to signify the disturbances as riots in several: firstly, through the use of associated terms and words used to describe the disturbances such as looting, bombing, murder, battle, rampaging, plundering and arson; secondly, through focusing on the damage to property and emphasising the criminal nature of the disturbances. Thirdly, through emphasising the injuries sustained by the police and those caught in the 'riots'. Indeed, there seemed to be a total closure around the definition of the disturbances as a 'riot'. There were no alternative definitions provided by the Scottish press. The articles below provide indicative examples,

" A policeman was hacked to death, and 54 others injured, last night as terrifying new riots swept London.

Shotguns, petrol bombs and bricks were used in pitched battles with more than 500 riot police.

At midnight they were forced to produce tear gas guns to clear the streets in Tottenham, North London.

By then dozens of officers and civilians had been taken to hospital. The policeman who had died had been bludgeoned with a machete."
(Daily Record, 7/1/85)

" Calm was restored to the streets of Brixton early today after sporadic violence during the night.

This included 58 burglaries, four serious arsons and two rapes both of 23 year old white women.

One of the rape victims, the daughter of an MP, was attacked when about four black youths stormed into her house...

The other victim was raped early yesterday morning as she walked home in the Stockwell Park area.

She was dragged off the street into the park and assaulted by a gang of about four black youths." (Evening Times, 30/9/85)

Causes

The dominant explanation for the 'riots' emphasised criminality. This explanation was made up of several strands. Firstly, greed and criminality had led to the 'riots'. Secondly, the 'riots' had been deliberately instigated by 'drug barons' in order to curtail police activities against their operations. Although not evident in all the articles, the press did racialise African-Caribbeans in the context of crime and 'criminal elements'. For example,

" Police are set to move against the black 'god fathers' behind the recent riots.

Among them are two people they believe were instrumental in causing the violence in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham...

The man has been on Special Branch files for about five years since he first became involved in black activist groups. But the police do not want to arrest him or his helpers until they can be sure of pinning a specific charge on him." (Daily Record, 9/10/85)

The press identified the role of the police in sparking the 'riots' 31 times. These articles usually identified heavy-handed policing methods and tactics as the 'spark' that lit the 'riots'. For example, several articles covered the heavy-handed police raids on the homes of Cynthia Jarrett and Cherry Groce. Other articles focused on claims of racist policing before and during the 'riots'. However, the Scottish press did not cover this theme in any depth, and when they did, claims of police culpability appeared towards the end of articles (reflecting the lack of importance placed on it by the journalist). Furthermore, eight of these articles also carried disclaimers. Through mediating the voices of dominant state actors, or indeed through the commentary provided by journalists, police culpability was denied. For example, one article quoted Sir Keith Newman arguing that it was a 'scandalous assertion' to claim the police had provoked the 'riots' (Evening Times, 7/8/85). Similarly, Sir Kenneth Newman, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, noted that the police would expect some righteous anger over the death of Cynthia Jarrett,

" But yesterday even the ferocity of the attacks on the metropolitan police officers was senseless beyond belief...Petrol bombing, arson, and looting are alien to our streets. They must not go on." (Glasgow Herald, 8/10/85)

The third explanation for the 'riots' focused on the role of 'outside agitators'. These articles usually claimed that outside agitators, such as Class War, the

Revolutionary Communist Party and 'black power' groups, had all used African-Caribbeans as 'cannon fodder' for their own political ends. The articles below provide indicative examples,

" The unprecedented hatred behind the riot was ignited by well prepared outsiders, locals claimed last night...

Residents said the cars were full of blacks who did not live in the area. The outsiders then joined local youths to begin terrorising white or elderly residents, to draw the police into the estate...

Unrest appears to have been growing in the last two weeks. A week ago scared residents of the estate reported up to 80 youths working on petrol bombs." (Daily Record, 8/10/85)

"...evidence is mounting that outside agitators are fanning the flames of riot. The use of at least one shotgun and a handgun have added a new dimension to the disorders that have beset London, Birmingham and Liverpool...

At a news conference at Scotland Yard, Sir Kenneth did not hesitate in blaming Trotskyte and anarchists agitators, from both outside and inside the capital, for their role in stirring up race riots. He also criticised local leaders who were spreading irresponsible rumours and encouraged disorder..." (Glasgow Herald, 8/10/85)

The fourth explanation for the 'riots' was that they were 'copy cat riots' caused by the television coverage of other 'riots' abroad and at home. For example, Mary Whitehouse, then president of the National Viewers and Listeners Association argued,

" Yet again we have been treated night after night to scenes of black youths looting and burning in the townships of South Africa. The power of television to teach and incite to violence knows no

boundaries and is something we cannot ignore." (Evening Times, 10/9/85)

The press identified social and economic conditions as a possible cause of 'riots' only four times. The articles usually made some reference to inner city deprivation and high levels of unemployment, especially among young 'blacks', as one of the main underlying causes of the 'riots'. However, all of the articles carried disclaimers. For example,

"[Mr Hurd] rejected claims by community leaders that unemployment and social deprivation were the causes of the worst violence in Britain since the Toxteth and Brixton riots in the summer of 1981. He said there was no logical link between unemployment and property being set on fire and people being killed" (Glasgow Herald, 11/9/85)

" Deputy Labour Leader Roy Hattersley put the blame firmly on 'violent criminals who were engaged in an orgy of mindless violence'. He said that unemployment and urban poverty were factors but could not justify street violence, fire bombing, murder, looting and damage on a massive scale." (Evening Times, 11/10/85)

The press also carried statements that identified the presence of South Asian and African-Caribbean immigrants as the cause of the riots. This, however, only occurred four times. All of the articles focused on Enoch Powell. Powell identified a close relationship between the disturbances and immigration. Indeed, his analysis of the 1985 'riots' revisited many of the arguments he made in 1968. Specifically, Powell argued that the conflict in the inner cities was a result of the presence of an 'alien wedge' of South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants and their descendants. For Powell, the solution to the 'riots' was the repatriation of South Asian and African - Caribbean migrants and their descendants. As in 1968, the Scottish press provided little in the

way of adverse commentary. The article below provides an indicative
example,

> " Mr Enoch Powell returned unrepentant yesterday to his forecast of a
> Britain in disorder because of its coloured community.
>
> He said there was a 'catastrophe' ahead because of the growth of the
> coloured African and Asian population.
>
> Mr Powell...described a Britain 'racked with dissension and violent
> disorder, no longer recognisable as the same nation or perhaps a
> nation at all.'
>
> He claimed that by the end of the century one in every twelve
> residents of Britain would be newcomers of African and Asian origin.
>
> He seized on the rioting in Birmingham to justify his 'rivers of blood'
> forecast 18 years ago, although he did not mention the words. The
> inference was clear. He had been right." (Glasgow Herald, 21/9/85)

Solutions

The Scottish press carried four main policy responses: firstly, restoring law
and order. This response, mainly made by senior politicians and police
officers, generally pointed to several measures: improving police equipment
to handle 'riots' (e.g. Glasgow Herald, 14/10/85); stronger legislation and
more punitive sanctions against 'rioting' (e.g. Evening Times, 6/11/85); and
finally, to restoring law and order and carrying out criminal investigations
on those who caused the riots (e.g. Glasgow Herald, 11/10/85).

Secondly, there were demands for immigration controls. This consisted of
statements, made mainly by politicians, which advocated immigration
controls and repatriation as a 'solution' to any further 'rioting'. For example,
the press conveyed Powell's demands for immigration controls and
repatriation. This usually followed on from the original 'diagnosis' of the

disturbances by Powell (see above). Similarly, during the coverage of the 1985 Conservative Party conference, the Scottish press carried Nicholas Bairne M.P.'s call for tighter immigration controls in the face of the 'riots'.

The need for social and economic regeneration received little attention. The articles that did emphasised the need to re-develop the inner cities and to bring in jobs (e.g. Glasgow Herald, 17/9/85). However, these demands usually appeared relatively late in articles (reflecting the lack of importance that the journalists attached to it). The need to tackle racism also received little attention, and when it did, it was patchy. Like the demands for social and economic regeneration, these usually appeared late in news articles and sat within a set of dominant definitions that had already racialised and criminalised the disturbances.

Constructing the riots

As in 1981, the Scottish press defined the inner city disturbances as 'riots': an outbreak of criminality and violence. There were no other definitions. In turn, the Scottish press identified several factors that had supposedly caused the 'riot': criminality, police actions, outside agitators, 'copy-cat' effect, socio-economic condition, and the presence of South Asians and African-Caribbeans. However, disclaimers accompanied several of the explanations. For example, the voice of dominant state actors often denied that police actions or socio-economic conditions caused the 'riots'. In effect, they 'chipped' away at this explanation. This began to add credence to other explanations of the 'riots', such as criminality and the role of outside agitators, which were largely unchallenged. Hence, the press defined the inner city disturbances as a 'riot' instigated by a criminal African-Caribbean community and outside agitators. It was on this platform that policy responses emerged. These included stronger powers to ensure law and order

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and immigration controls, and to a lesser extent, socio-economic regeneration and stronger powers to tackle racism.

Immigration

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with the issue of immigration. There were eight articles that fell into this category. All of the articles covered the supposed 'abuses' of special privileges granted to MPs. There are two main powers here. Firstly, MPs can ask the Home Office Minister to allow a person entry 'outside immigration rules', a power of administrative discretion given in the 1971 Immigration Act. Secondly, MPs can 'stop' a deportation and ask that the relevant minister of state at the Home Office to reconsider the case. As Cohen (1994, p.63) goes on to note,

" There is no doubt that many of the representations were conscientious responses to genuine cases of distress at the ports of entry. On the other hand, it has to become accepted that some MPs became well known as sympathetic to deportation cases and often pursued cases where there was no obvious constituency connection. Again, the power to ask for a 'stop', particularly if a number of members made this request, delayed matters long enough for an ordinary visitor - perhaps without the necessary visa - to see their families."

However, Conservative MPs accused Labour MPs of abusing these privileges, allowing immigrants into the country untroubled by existing legislation. The Scottish press carried these accusations, for example,

"...Mr David Waddington, the Home Office minister, caused anger on the opposition benches in the Commons yesterday when he accused unnamed MPs of abusing their powers to let about 4,500 people into

Britain this year who have been refused entry by immigration officials." (The Scotsman, 23/10/85)

In doing so, the Scottish press reproduced the motif of 'keep them out'. In other words, the coverage of news events around immigration dealt not with the rights of people to enter the country. Rather, the press focused on how we could 'keep them out'.

Education

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with education. All the articles in this category dealt with the Honeyford case. However, the articles did little to bring out the details of the case. Rather, they simply descried the event as a 'race row' and said little about the nature or source of the conflict. Nonetheless, the press presented Honeyford in a positive manner. Indeed, the press often portrayed him as the victim, and those who protested against his views as aggressors. For example,

" The headmaster who was suspended from his job for publishing comments with alleged racial undertones in a right wing newspaper was back behind his desk yesterday and he said he would 'not give way to bully boy tactics' of the demonstrators outside the school...

'If parents want to speak to me as an individual I am always available. I will not speak to demonstrators. I will not negotiate with the mob'

Asked about the demonstrators he said 'I will not give way to bully boy tactics. I will not be intimidated by anyone. The only time we have had problems in his school is when pressure groups behaved in a certain way.'" (Glasgow Herald, 17/9/85)

In this article, covering Honeyford's reinstatement, the press only conveyed his voice, and this in a sense sets the substantive agenda. On the other hand,

the demonstrators are 'excluded' from the article, and labelled as the unreasoning 'mob', which in turn, chips away at the legitimacy of their protests. Furthermore, the article only 'alleges' that Honeyford made racist remarks. In other words, the claim still has to be proved. Through these twists and semantic turns, the article implicitly questions the validity of the attack against Honeyford.

Politics

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with political struggles or discussions (outside of immigration controls and the inner city disturbances). There were only four articles in this category. Two articles focused on the capture of Sikh militants in Britain (Scotsman, 12/10/85 and 17/10/85). One article focused on the rise of Bill Morris in the Transport and General Workers Unions (Scotsman, 18/9/95). The final article reported on the debate around 'black' sections at the Labour Party Conference. This article, on the whole, simply repeated the opposition of senior members of the Labour party to 'black' sections, arguing that it was divisive and would ghettoise 'black' people from mainstream politics (Scotsman, 1/10/85).

Racialised Relations in Scotland

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with racism in Scotland. There were only three articles that fell into this category. All of these articles reported on the problems of racism in Scotland. Two articles also focused on various reports by the Scottish Asian Action Committee, the Scottish Council for Racial Equality and the Lothian Community Relations Council which indicated the general growth of racism and racist attacks in Scotland (Scotsman 15/6/85, 22/10/85). One articled reported on council housing in Scotland and showed the high levels of violence faced by South Asians and African-Caribbeans descent on council estates (Evening Times,

23/12/85). The articles made no reference to the discourse of 'no problems' or to its legitimacy in the light of these reports.

Racist Attacks

This category included all articles where the central topic dealt with racist attacks. There was only one article that fell into this topic category. It was a short piece that covered the proceedings of a court case in which several young men were on trial for fire-bombing an Asian family (Scotsman, 13/9/85).

Editorials

All of the 22 editorials collected in this period focused on the inner city disturbances. The editorials intertwined descriptions of the events, a search for their causes, and campaigned for possible solutions and/or necessary courses of actions. The editorials described the inner city disturbances as 'riots' - a criminal outburst. In turn, they identified African-Caribbean criminality as the main cause of the 'riots' (a prominent theme was drug trafficking). However, there were other explanations, for example, political agitators and violence on television. The editorials did identify social and economic factors, such as poverty, as a potential cause, but only sporadically and often accompanied by disclaimers ('poverty is no excuse to riot' or those in poverty are really the 'cannon fodder' of criminals and extremists). There was no real consensus on any immediate solution to the 'riots' in the editorials. However, a common theme was the need for another inquiry to provide a fuller investigation of the events. The editorial below provides indicative examples,

> "..it is hard to see just how our police are to contain tensions - let alone drug trafficking, the thefts and assaults - in our great cities....[there is]

the danger that some parts of or cities could become ghettos, no-go areas for even the police.

Handsworth is of course an area of multiple deprivation and acute unemployment, but so are may other inner city zones - including not a few in Scotland- which have been notably free from the kind of wicked, indiscriminate violence which erupted on Monday and continued yesterday. It is possible, of course, that the violence was not indiscriminate, that it was carefully fostered and targeted. Certainly Asians seem to have been the main victims and West Indians the main perpetuators; and the use of petrol bombs could suggest advance planning. But these are matters for an inquiry. Meanwhile the inhabitants of our cities- particularly those where there is a volatile racial mix - must hope and pray that violence is not, as many have suggested, easily contagious in this age of television image and instant communication." (Glasgow Herald, 11/10/85)

In 1981 the discourse of 'no problems' was reproduced in the Scottish press on order to 'make sense' of why there were no 'riots' in Scotland. However, in 1985 this discourse was largely absent. This was not because of any new or critical perspective adopted by the Scottish press. Rather, the Scottish press did not address the question of why there were no 'riots' in Scotland. The reasons for this can only be guessed at. Perhaps editors felt they had already answered the question in 1981. Yet, even if this was the case, it is surprising that they did not take this opportunity to reaffirm Scotland's 'natural tolerance' or the discourse of 'no problems'. Only one editorial made any reference to the 'race relations' situation in Scotland. This editorial reproduced the discourse of 'no problems' while also identifying the role of outside agitators in instigating the English 'riots',

"...In the light of recent riots in England and the resultant tensions in the inner city areas of these places, we have got to get the people and the police working towards the same aim. Peace at all cost.

We are fortunate in Scotland that we don't have this problem. Lets hope we never do. Community relations in Glasgow are, I believe, as good as anywhere in the world.

The police and the people have worked hard to make it so and we must all do our bit to ensure that the extremists don't cause disruption in our society.

I firmly believe that in Brixton, Tottenham and Toxteth there are agents working, stirring up unrest and creating resentment among ordinary folk who, perhaps, are unemployed and grab too hastily at the theoretical explanation of the agitators.

We must remember, too, that policemen are only human too and that they are subject to the same feelings we are. There must be agitators in our police force who would like nothing better than to get in amongst a crowd of rabble rowsers with batons flying and sort it out like that." (Evening Times, 18/10/85)

The editorials carried by the Scottish press defined the inner city disturbances as a 'riot'. In turn, it identified several causes: African-Caribbean criminality, outside agitators, violence on television, and poor socio-economic conditions. However, some of the explanations, such as socio-economic conditions, carried disclaimers. Hence, the definition of the 'riot' as a criminal outburst or the work of outside agitators becomes heightened.

Letters

There were only 18 letters to the editor, 15 dealt with the disturbances while the remainder dealt with an eclectic range of issues. The letters on

disturbances focused on their causes along with possible solutions. Overall, the letters defined the disturbances as 'riots'. In turn, the letters identified the cause of the 'riots' as South Asian and African-Caribbean 'immigrants' (followed far behind by socio-economic conditions and outside agitators). The majority of the letters implicitly and explicitly supported Powell's arguments. Specifically, they argued that the cause of the 'riots' was the presence of an 'alien wedge' of South Asian and African-Caribbean immigrants who were destroying national homogeneity and generating conflict. The letters below provide indicative examples,

"...Birmingham's riots may help to remind us that having failed to heed his warnings there is a price to pay. We imported 'racialism' when we invented the 'multi-racial' society to fill the vacuum caused by our own surrender of national identity and the loss of any unifying sense of moral purpose." (The Scotsman, 16/9/85)

" After the Handsworth riots, surprise, surprise! the police and unemployment are to blame!
Let's right away dispel a few myths! Firstly unemployment does not cause riots on this scale. Example - the 1930s.
Secondly, the police have not too much power, if they had, the mayhem of last week would never have occurred. Unemployment can never be used as an excuse for murder, and murder is exactly what these savages have brought to the streets of Birmingham." (Evening Times, 29/9/85)

The solutions put forward included repatriation and stronger immigration legislation. However, there was not a total closure around this definition. Several letters identified social and economic factors as causes. However, these were numerically less significant and often interwoven with racialised discourses. For example, one article not only argued that social and economic

factors need to be challenged but that 'ethnic minorities' also need to 'integrate',

> " The Government must recognise that the 'ghetto' attitude ferments distrust, disillusion and ultimately hatred.
>
> Especially when other symptoms like unemployment, poor housing and lack of amenities come into play.
>
> Action must begin to destroy the 'ghettos and relocate ethnic minorities where possible." (Evening Times, 17/10/85)

The remaining letters covered an eclectic mix of issues. There was one letter on the Honeyford affair that claimed 'white English speaking students are being held back by those whose first language was not English' (Glasgow Herald, 27/9/85). Another letter defended the Commission for Racial Equality against the political attacks from the right (Glasgow Herald 1/10/85). The final letter gave voice to the Minority Ethnic Teachers Association arguments for anti-racist education as well as defending the organisation against accusations of militancy (Glasgow Herald, 29/3/85).

The letters section, on the whole, drew upon racialised discourse more explicitly than the rest of the press coverage. Substantively, many of the letters drew on the arguments of Powell to 'make sense' of the 'riots' and to advocate solutions. The letters identified the presence of an 'alien wedge of immigrants' as the cause of the 'riots'. In turn, they went on to advocate stronger immigration controls and repatriation as the solution. The letters section is often a space in which editors attempts to generate discussion amongst their readers. The publication of these letters may have been an attempt to generate debate around the 'riots'. However, if it was, it was a one sided debate. The majority of the letters published racialised and criminalised South Asians and African-Caribbeans.

Racialised Discourses and the Scottish press

In the first section, I argued that certain social and economic factors 'shaped' the disturbances: firstly, economic recession and unemployment; secondly, growing social deprivation in the inner cities; thirdly, political marginalisation, and the existence of racialised discourses and divisions. Taken together, these factors created an explosive cocktail. In the face of increasingly aggressive police tactics, political opposition spontaneously erupted in the form of the inner city disturbances.

The political reaction to the disturbances varied. On the one hand, the Labour opposition identified poor social and economic conditions as the cause of the disturbances. In turn, they argued for policies that would alleviate these problems. On the other hand, other state actors, such as the Conservative Government and the police, defined the disturbances as an outbreak of criminality (by an equally criminal African-Caribbean community) or instigated by outside agitators. In turn, the Government advocated stronger measures to ensure law and order. It was this definition, one which racialised and criminalised the events, which eventually won out. This was due to the fact that the Conservative Government of the time was unwilling to accept any criticisms of its own free market policies and because of the dominance of racialised discourses as a way of 'making sense' of the world.

From our review, it is obvious that the Scottish press also followed a similar line. In 1981 and 1985, the headline structures racialised and criminalised the inner city disturbances. Through the use of words like 'riot' and associative terms such as 'mob', 'looting', 'war' and 'battle' the disturbances were constructed as an outbreak of criminality and violence. The headline structures also identified the main actors in the 'riots': African-Caribbeans were identified as the main instigators of the 'riots', while the police and

South Asians were identified as victims because of the injuries they sustained and the damage done to their businesses.

These themes were expanded on in the main part of the articles. Again, the press defined the disturbances as 'riots'. In turn, the articles focused on the causes of the 'riots'. Amongst the main causes identified by the press were police actions, poor socio-economic conditions, African-Caribbean criminality and outside agitators. However, several of these explanations were accompanied by disclaimers from politicians, senior police officers, and members of the judiciary. Heavy handed policing was defended because it was the only way in which the 'ghetto' could be policed. Similarly, politicians claimed that socio-economic factors were not a sufficient reason to 'riot'. In doing so, the 'explanatory strength' of the other articles became heightened. In other words, it helped to racialise and criminalise the disturbances. This was also evident in the subsequent coverage of policy response, which overwhelmingly identified stronger measures to ensure law and order as the solution.

The commentary provided by the Scottish press reaffirmed many of the above themes. Several editorials and letters identified socio-economic problems and heavy-handed police tactics as the causes of the 'riots'. However, they also carried disclaimers that sought to downplay the importance of these factors. Through various twists and semantic turns, the editorials describe the inner cities as 'ghettos', centres of crime (particularly drug trafficking), and suggested that African-Caribbean criminality was the main cause of the 'riots'. In effect the disclaimers carried by the editorials heightened the 'explanatory value' of the other editorials and letters that identified the cause of the 'riots' as African-Caribbean criminality and the presence of an 'alien wedge' of immigrants.

Broader Representations of South Asians and African-Caribbeans

The racialisation of South Asians and African-Caribbeans was not limited to the 'riots'. Throughout the whole sample South Asians and African-Caribbeans are attributed with a range of negative attribute. However, there was some variance in the way in which groups were represented. Carrying out the same analysis of identifying signified groups and context (see pp), it become clear that South Asians were not only represented as victims of the 'riots' but also as the 'enemy' at the gates. By this I meant that South Asians are still presented as a threat in terms of numbers, dependants and illegal immigrants. 'They' are still threatening to swamp 'us'. African-Caribbeans, however, are identified as a problem inside the gates. By this I mean the press represents African-Caribbeans as an actual physical threat to the stability of British society. This claim is usually rationalised through some reference to the 'alien wedge' and criminality. Nonetheless, both South Asians and African-Caribbeans are still presented as a 'threat' to British society.

The Enemy Inside

African-Caribbeans, under the various guises of 'black', 'coloured', West Indian, Afro-Caribbean and African-Caribbeans were only identified in a few contexts (see table 8.5 and 8.6). The context of 'riot' identified West Indians, African-Caribbeans and 'blacks' as the main instigators of the 'riots' (defined as an outbreak of criminality). The context of crime also identified these groups as being responsible for criminal acts (beyond the 'riots'). Both, nonetheless, racialised and criminalised 'blacks' and African-Caribbeans. This process was stronger in 1985 than in 1981.

Socio-economic disadvantage (covering unemployment, poor housing, disadvantage and discrimination) was a dominant context in which 'blacks', West Indians and African-Caribbeans appeared. This usually referred to socio-economic factors as one of the main causes of the disturbances. However, as we have already seen, it also was used in the context of a disclaimer. The emphasis given to socio-economic factors as a cause for the disturbances was greater in 1981 than it was in 1985. This difference can be explained by the fact that in 1981 the Government had to respond to the Scarman report and attacks by the Labour opposition on socio-economic conditions. This set up a debate that focused on socio-economic factors, one which was carried by the press. By 1985, however, the Government, now in a much stronger political position, rejected any causal relationship between the riots and socio-economic conditions. It overwhelmingly racialised and criminalised the disturbances..

As a side point, there is a historical continuity in how the Scottish press covered the 1958 riots and the disturbances in the 1980s. In 1958, the press 'made sense' of the disturbances by drawing on and reworking racialised discourses. Specifically, the press racialised 'coloured immigrants' as the cause of social and economic problems, which amongst other things, had driven local residents to lash out. In the 1980s, the press drew upon racialised discourses, this time around 'black' criminality, in order to 'make' sense of the events. As noted above, the 'riots' became racialised as a criminal outburst by an equally criminal African-Caribbean community. In both cases, the press did little to identify the underlying socio-economic factors that shaped the disturbances. Rather, in both cases, the press drew upon and reworked racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of news events involving South Asians and African-Caribbeans.

The Enemy at the Gates

In the coverage of the 'riots', the Scottish press usually identified South Asians as 'victims' because of the damage done to their property and businesses. However, there was another context in which the Scottish press identified South Asians. Signified under countries of origin (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), South Asians were usually identified in the context of numbers, illegal immigrants, refusal of entry, dependants, deportations and repatriation. The topics chosen and the style of the coverage suggested that South Asians are the enemy at the gate: 'they' are still trying to get in, 'they' will take 'our' jobs, sponge off 'our' welfare state. In turn, this style of reporting implicitly suggests that Britain still has to keep its gates closed, through stronger immigration controls, against the enemy outside.

Gendered divisions

The press coverage rarely picked up on news events dealing with women. When it did, the press often drew upon a narrow range of stereotypes in order to represent women. One was in the context of immigration as dependants. As we have already noted, women on the whole were represented as dependants of men under immigration legislation. In particular, by the 1970s the Asian 'arranged marriage system' was singled out as a mechanism potentially to be used by Asians to circumvent immigration controls (Brah 1992). Indeed, the fear that every South Asian woman with a British passport was a potential sponsor of an economically active male from South Asia led to the 'primary purpose' rule. The required that both partners must satisfy the immigration authorities that the primary purpose of marriage is not for the purposes of entry in the Britain. Even when the marriage is acknowledged to be genuine, the rules state that the couple must have to meet before the marriage to 'prove' that the primary purpose of their marriage was not immigration before they are allowed to

settle in Britain. The intention of this legislation was clearly to exclude South Asian men. In 1982 and 1983, the proportion of applicants from husbands and fiancés from Indian sub-continent who were refused entry partly or wholly because of the 'primary purpose rule was 47 per cent (Gordon and Klug 1985, Klug 1989, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Sachdera 1993, Brah 1996).

As in the late 1960s, these measures were supported by two inter-related sets of arguments. Firstly, men are the heads of households, and as such, determine where the family should live. While this argument reinforced patriarchal relations, it did so in order to exclude South Asian men from immigration to Britain. As the former Home Secretary, William Whitelaw stated in a speech to the Central Council of the Conservative Party,

> "...it surely cannot be unreasonable to argue that in accordance with the customs of Europe and the Indian sub-continent, that the abode of the husband in a marriage should normally be viewed as the natural place of residence of the family." (cf. F.Klug, 1989, p.27)

Secondly, men pose more of an economic threat than women (Gordon and Klug 1985, WING 1985). Both of these arguments were reflected in the news articles around South Asian women and immigration. These usually identified them as dependants, coming into the country in order to join their partners, or as fiancees attempting to bring their partners into the country (e.g. Scotsman 20/3/81, 15/4/81). These articles implicitly questioned whether the dependant arrived for the 'primary purpose' of marriage or reunion (WING 1985, Klug 1989, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992).

The Scottish press also conveyed racialised representations of South Asian women's sexuality. As Brah (1992, p.73) notes, Asian women's sexuality is categorised broadly in three ways,

" First, there is the image of the exotic oriental women - sensuous, seductive, full of eastern promise. Her sexuality is projected as suitably controlled but vulnerable...The second type of representation is almost an antithesis of the firs. Here Asian women are characterised as 'ugly', 'smelly', 'oily-haired' etc. This image plays a vital role in the substantial exclusion of black women from 'glamorous jobs' where women's femininity is required to be visible. In the third construction, Asian women's sexuality is portrayed as licentious."

The construction of South Asian women's sexuality as licentious is certainly evident in the coverage of the Middleton case. Middleton was the Sheriff who claimed that South Asian women 'mature' faster and this (somehow) may have been a contributing factor in the rape of a 13 year old South Asian girl. The Scottish press did little to attack this representation outside of reporting the opposition by Lothian Community Relations Council.

During the 'riots' women were on the whole seen in the passive role of 'victims' as opposed to the portrayal of aggressive young African-Caribbeans and 'blacks' (who were invariably presented as men). For example, the injuries sustained by Cherry Groce and the death of Cynthia Jarrett during police raids, which were the major flashpoints for the disturbances in Brixton and Tottenham during 1985, were noted. However, what is interesting about this coverage is that police denials often received greater emphasis,

" The riot followed a police raid on the home of a black women, Mrs Cynthia Jarrett, who collapsed and died on Saturday while officers searched for stolen property.
Mrs Jarrett, who weighed 20 stones, suffered from high blood pressure." (Evening Times, 7/8/85)

" There was evidence yesterday that Tottenham had been pinpointed for riots long before the death of Cynthia Jarrett, who collapsed during a police search of her home...The first signs of violence took place during the demonstration over her death.

Residents however said they had known since last Thursday that trouble was about to erupt, and the police have uncovered petrol-bomb making factories in the wake of the riot...

Sir Kenneth [Newman] said that in cases such as the death of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett the police would probably expect some righteous anger. 'But yesterday even the ferocity of the attacks on the metropolitan police officers was senseless and beyond belief'."
(Glasgow Herald, 8/8/85)

The death of Cynthia Jarrett was caused by the heavy handed police search of her home. Indeed, this was but one case in a growing number of incidents of police violence against 'black' women (Chigwada 1991, Mama 1993). However, rather than covering this aspect of the news event, the articles are made up of police assertions that Cynthia Jarrett's death was due to the fact she was overweight. It is almost as if the police presence was incidental. It was also denied that these incidents had anything to do with the disturbances, which were represented as the work of outside agitators or criminals.

Continuities and Discontinuities

In this section I want to argue that there are both continuities and discontinuities in the way that the Scottish press covered the inner city disturbances. In focusing on continuities, I want to emphasise that the Scottish and English press were substantively similar in the way they reported the disturbances. This in itself is important to note. The discourse of 'no problems' claims that racism is not a problem Scotland. If we can show

that at least one important social site generated and reproduced racialised discourses, we can go along way to dispelling the myth. In focusing on discontinuities, I want to emphasise that there were subtle differences in the way the Scottish and English press reported on the disturbances. Undoubtedly, one of the most important discontinuities is the discourse of 'no problems'.

Continuities

In their coverage of the disturbances the English/British press racialised and criminalised the events. As Gordon and Rosenberg (1989, p.18) note,

> " The image of innate 'black lawlessness' dominated press reporting of Britain's urban riots from Bristol in 1980 through Brixton, Toxteth and elsewhere in 1981, to the 1985 riots in Handsworth, Tottenham and Brixton."

Indeed, the very first confrontation in Bristol in the 2nd of April 1980 was racialised and criminalised by all the newspapers. The Daily Mail (3/4/80) headline was 'Riot Mob Stone Police' and the main article talked of 'mob's of black youth's roaming the street'. The Bristol Evening Post (3/4/80) front page headline was 'Violence rules In Nine Hours of Siege Terror'. The disturbances in Brixton received the same treatment. The Times (13/4/81) reported that 'looters and mobs of young people had virtually taken over the Brixton area from the police'. The Daily Mail (13/4/81) talked about 'an army of rioting black youths' taking to the street. The Sun's (11/4/81) headline defined the disturbances as the 'Battle of Brixton' and went on to describe how a' mob of 100 black youths battled with police in a London street last night'. The same article describes Brixton as 'the heart of Britain's West Indian community,...known to its inhabitants as "The Front Line"...It is

notorious for muggings, assaults and murders' (Cohen 1982, Murdoch 1984, Burgess 1985, Gordon and Rosenberg 1989, Solomos 1993).

During 1981, the editorials were at odds with the press reporting. While condemning the violence many seemed to show some awareness of the underlying causes of the 'riots'. The Daily Star (13/4/81) commented that 'as we condemn the senseless terror...we also condemn the deep seated social problems...which spawned them [we] must find the determination - and the money - to solve them'. On the same day the Daily Express argued that the first imperative was to contain and defuse the tension in the area, but went on to note that the inner cities, suffering from unemployment, bad housing and inadequate community facilities, were 'highly combustible'. The editorial went on to argue for the improvement of social conditions.

However, by the time of the 1985 'riots' the English editorial had largely abandoned any analysis of social and economic problems. The editorials identified the disturbances as 'riots', instigated by an equally criminal African-Caribbean community and by 'outside agitators'. For example, an editorial carried by the Daily Express (30/9/81), argued 'those who witter on about "inner city deprivation" seem incapable of seeing that there are people who think of rioting as a form of fun and a source of profit'. New explanation also emerged for the 'riots'. Firstly, numerous editorials argued the disturbances arose because of the rivalry between African-Caribbeans and South Asians. Most national newspapers attempted to show that the 'riots' were 'inter-racial', with African-Caribbeans as the perpetrators of the 'riots' and South Asians the victims. Secondly, editorials began to identify the cultural values and family structures of the African-Caribbean as pathological and the cause of social problems and conflict (Gordon and Rosenberg 1989).

There are certain points of continuity with the Scottish press. In 1981 both the Scottish and English press racialised the inner city disturbances as a criminal outburst instigated by an equally criminal African-Caribbean community. In doing so, they obscured the underlying socio-economic factors that shaped the disturbances. This basic explanation was kept in 1985. However, both now also drew on cultural pathology and 'tribal' violence to explain the disturbances. The focus on cultural pathology also shifted the causes of the disturbances away from socio-economic conditions to the structure of the African-Caribbean family and community.

There were, however, differences in emphasis between the English and Scottish press. The Scottish press had little time or space for 'new right' commentators such as Peregrine Worsthorne, Alexander Andrew and Roger Scruton. Consequently, the new right debates in feature articles were not as explicit or intense as in England. This absence of the new right commentators in the Scottish press can only be guessed at. However, one explanation maybe that these writers echoed Thatcherite arguments, which many Scots were extremely hostile to, especially in the context of a perceived English colonialism around issues such as the 'Poll Tax'. Hence, it may not have been in the financial interests of any of the Scottish press to carry these commentators because of the damage that could have been done to circulation figures as Scots abandoned them and their explicit Thatcherite stand.

Although there may have been differences in emphasis, there was still a good deal of continuity between the Scottish and English press. Both racialised and criminalised the inner city disturbances. This, in itself, is important to note. It demonstrates, counter to the claims of the discourse of 'no problems', that a least one important social site in Scotland was reproducing racialised discourses. In turn, it adds weight to the growing body of empirical evidence that shows the fictitious nature of the discourse of 'no problems'.

Discontinuities

One of the main discontinuities between the Scottish and English press was the discourse of no 'problems'. The Scottish press drew on the discourse of 'no problems' to explain the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland. In doing so, it reaffirmed the key elements of the discourse while also adding new substantive elements.

On one level, the Scottish press reaffirmed the basic equation that was evident in 1968. To recap, a basic equation had been formulated by the state in the late 1950s: high numbers of African-Caribbean and South Asian migrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration. The Scottish and English press reproduced this discourse during the 1980s in order to explain a range of social and economic problems, including the inner city disturbances in England. For example, in their commentary and rhetorical style, the English and Scottish press often presented South Asians and African-Caribbeans as the 'enemy', both inside Britain and at its gate. In turn, this echoed Powell's argument on the 'alien wedge'. However, the same equation was also used to explain the absence of inner city disturbances in Scotland. The Scottish press implicitly and explicitly argued that the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland was due to the nations small 'immigrant' community. In other words, small numbers of immigrants (in Scotland) = few socio-economic problems + few problems of integration. This was embellished with the occasional claim of Scottish tolerance.

On another level, the discourse of 'no problems' now contained several new substantive elements, which focused on the make up of immigrant communities in Scotland and England. On the one hand, the Scottish press argued that the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland was due to the stability of South Asian family structures and culture. Both the strong family systems

and cultures of South Asians had ensured social stability amongst Scotland's immigrant communities. In turn, this meant a smaller probability of Scotland's inner cities descending into social conflict. On the other hand, it is implicitly argued that African-Caribbean family structures and culture are weak and pathological. Both weak family structures and cultures mean that African-Caribbean communities are less 'stable'. In turn, the Scottish press concluded that there was a greater probability that England's inner cities will descend into conflict. In other words, the reason Scotland did not suffer 'race riots' is because it had the right kind and number of immigrants.

However, these arguments are extremely problematic. Firstly, they racialise the disturbances. The Scottish press argues that 'riots' have not broken out in Scotland because of the small numbers of 'immigrants' in the nation. In doing so, they implicitly suggest that the cause of 'race riots' is somehow linked to a high number of 'immigrants'. This fits into the equation used by both the Scottish and English press: high number of immigrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration. Hence, the press identifies African-Caribbean 'immigrants' as the cause of the 'riots' as opposed to socio-economic factors.

Secondly, these arguments racialised family and community structures. South Asian family and community structures are identified as somehow stronger than others are. This, it is argued, has led to social stability in the 'immigrant' communities in Scotland. However, the Scottish press implicitly argues the opposite for the African-Caribbean community. The press identifies the African-Caribbean community and family structures as weak, which in turn, has led to instability and a myriad of social problems. However, such an argument racialises the African-Caribbean family and community structures as pathological - a process that draws on wider notions of the pathological African-Caribbean family (see Lawrence 1982,

Bryan et al 1985, Brah 1996). It also once more draws attention away from the social and economic roots of the disturbances.

Thirdly, the claim that Scots are somehow more welcoming of strangers is historically incorrect. Indeed, much of the historical material that we have gathered points to how sections of the Scottish population have been extremely hostile to strangers, particularly if they are phenotypically distinct. Following on from these points, what is noteworthy here is that the discourse of 'no problem' contradictorily draws upon racialised discourses, while also developing an amnesia around racist violence, in order to rationalise its claim. Indeed, we can say that the discourse of 'no problems' sits within the orbit of racialised discourses.

The Validity of the Discourse of 'No Problems'

How true are the claims of this discourse? In 1958 and in 1968 no objective evidence existed by which we could test the validity of this discourse. However, by the middle of the 1980s, researchers were finally beginning to focus on racism in Scotland. Research in Glasgow by Walsh (1987) revealed that 80 per cent of those interviewed had been subject to 'racial' abuse, 58 per cent of Indian households and 40 per cent of Pakistani households had experienced physical attacks, which had involved hatchets, hammers, knives and iron bars. Women and children faced the brunt of these attacks. From 80 to 100 per cent of women of different ethnic groups interviewed said they suffered forms of racist harassment and attacks. All the school pupils interviewed said they had been subject to racist abuse and a third had been the objects of racist attacks. Work by Lee et al (1996) in Wester Hailes, Edinburgh, demonstrated that 60 per cent of those interviewed had experienced various level of racist harassment, including physical assaults, verbal abuse and damage to property. Twice, racist attacks have led to deaths, Hector Smith was shot dead in Glasgow in 1975 and Ahmed Shek

was killed in Edinburgh in 1989 (Lee et al 1996, see also Tayside Community Relations Council 1987, Bell 1991). The levels of racist violence in Scotland are comparable to those in England (Gordon 1990).

The Scottish Asian Action Committee also noted the existence of racism in numerous institutions of Scottish society and the lack of political will to challenge racism,

> " While the white establishment now addresses the issues of equal opportunities and money is put into many and various Black/ethnic minority projects, the underlying problem exists.
> After 10 years, mainline services are still not providing for, or meeting the demands of, Black people. The impression that one gets is that rather than tackle the discrimination, disadvantage and racism that exists within the institutions of society those with power would rather find individual and separate Black projects than tackle the racism in their midst." (S.A.A.C., 1994, p.1)

For example, Bowes, McCluskey and Sim (1990a, 1990b, 1991) have shown how South Asians and African-Caribbeans experience racism in council housing. This includes, amongst other thing, verbal abuse and attacks on South Asians and African-Caribbean living in council estates. Of those surveyed, 35.7 per cent had experienced violence, threats and harassment,

> " 'I'm too scared to let the children out because of attacks by white children. They get sworn and spat at. Abuse has been written on our door and it's been set on fire. We got a dead rat through the door at Christmas...Life is hell in this area and no one will do anything to help.'

'I was attacked when I had a shop in North Govanhill in the 1970s and went through a complete nightmare. My house was broken into, the van blown up and the children attacked.'" (cf. A.Bowes, J.McCluskey and D.Sim, 1990a, pp. 77 - 78)

As Bowes, McCluskey and Sim go on to note, one particular concern was that relatively few people bothered to report these experiences. The majority of the respondents felt that there was no point in contacting the authorities as nothing would be done. The majority of the respondents were also critical of the police apathy. Indeed, many of the respondents also felt that the police were guilty of racism. This pattern of racist attacks and perceived police apathy has also been shown to exist in Dundee (Community Development Project 1995) and in Edinburgh (Lee et al 1996). Again, these experiences as comparable to England (for a good review of the material in this area see Luthra 1990, Ginsburg 1992).

Institutional racism is also evident in the practices and procedures of various other institutions. South Asians and African-Caribbeans experience institutional racism in Housing Associations. This is particularly evident at the levels of access, eligibility and suitability of the accommodation (Lear 1987, Sim 1991, Dalton 1991). In social service provision, South Asians and African-Caribbeans were shown to have low levels of expectation and awareness of welfare services (which reflected the generally inadequate level of existing provision) and a lack of success on the part service providers play in communicating what actually is available (McFarland, Dalton and Walsh 1989). Many of the same problems are also evident in attempts to access and use the health service. Evidence has shown that this, in practice, means that South Asian women do not receive their full health care entitlements (Bowes and Tomokos 1993).

Racialised divisions also exist in employment. The 1991 Census shows that ethnic minorities are on the whole more likely to be unemployed (Table 8.7). In Scotland, unemployment rates for ethnic minority men and women are generally higher than for 'white' men. However, the rates of unemployment are not as severe as those experienced by ethnic minority men and women in England. The pattern varies slightly when we examine youth unemployment. Again, ethnic minority men and women are more likely to be unemployed that their white counterparts. However, young African-Caribbean and South Asian women in Scotland suffer the most severe rates of unemployment (see table 8.8). As Brah (1996) notes, unemployment figures for young Asians must take into account a marked tendency on the part of this group to stay on in full time education beyond the minimum school leaving age. Young South Asian women are especially more likely to stay on than young men. Brah suggests that the greater propensity for young Asians to stay on at school is in part a reflection of their realistic assessment on the restricted job opportunities available to them in the labour market.

One of the most significant differences in the labour market is the number of South Asian men and women who are self-employed or who are employers. This is significantly greater than the 'white' population in Scotland and the ethnic minority populations in England (table 8.9). However, this should not be equated with commercial success. High levels of rewards are confined to a small fraction of the community and are only won at extremely high costs. Although there is no systematic evidence, casual observations reveal that the majority of South Asian businesses in Scotland deal with retailing and distribution as opposed to the production of commodities. These industries tend to small, are unlikely to be major employers, and more likely to have a small turnover. Smith (1991) noted one half of South Asian men and one third of South Asian women were self employed in Scorland, 74 per cent still had incomes less than £10,000 a year (compared with 57 per cent for the 'white' population

Aldrich et al (1981) study of Asian businessmen in Bradford, Leicester and Ealing found a segregated economic sector relying of a 'ethnic sub-market'. However, Aldrich did suggest that one stimulus for setting up businesses maybe the experiences of racism in employment. Indeed, Waldinger et al (1990) and Ram (1992) also found that self-employment was one means by which South Asians circumvented racism in the labour market. Nonetheless, the economic position of South Asian and African-Caribbeans in Scotland is still relatively worse.

Conclusion

The coverage carried by the English and the Scottish press on the inner city disturbances shows both continuities and discontinuities. On the one hand, there are substantive continuities in how the papers covered the disturbances. Both the English and the Scottish press racialised the disturbances. This usually involved reworking notions around 'black' criminality in order to describe the disturbances as a 'race riot', an outbreak of criminality instigated by an equally criminal African-Caribbean community. It also involved drawing on and reworking notions of the 'alien wedge'. Indeed, one of the main commentators on the disturbances, outside members of the Government and the police, was Enoch Powell. In his commentary on the disturbances Powell was allowed to reaffirm the arguments he made in his 1968 speeches. Hence, from the late 1960s, racialised discourses had evolved in order to 'make sense' of growing social conflict in the inner cities.

Table 8.7: Percentage unemployment rates of economically active men and women by ethnic group, for Scotland and England

	Scotland		England	
	Male%	Female%	Male%	Female%
white	12.4	7.6	10.4	6.2
black C'Bean	17.5	12.3	23.8	13.5
Black African	14.2	16.4	29.0	24.8
Black other	17.3	12.5	28.6	18.4
Indian	11.4	13.0	13.5	12.7
Pakistani	18.5	22.3	29.1	30.8
Bangladeshi	15.0	15.1	31.5	34.9
Chinease	8.5	7.3	16.7	8.4
Asian	10	10.4	14.5	12.3

Adapted from the 1991 Census

Table 8.8: Percentage unemployment rates of economically active men and women by ethnic groups, between 16 - 25, for Scotland and England

	Scotland		England	
	Male%	Female%	Male%	Female%
white	28.3	34.9	28.3	35.8
black C'Bean	40.0	60.0	29.0	32.7
Black African	20.9	19.1	24.0	28.3
Black other	37.5	38.0	47.4	50.6
Indian	34.8	42.9	25.7	29.2
Pakistani	29.4	61.0	28.9	55.1
Bangladeshi	24.0	63.6	17.7	55.1
Chinease	27.0	32.8	18.5	25.5
Asian	25.0	11.3	26.2	23.4

Adapted from the 1991 Census

Table 8.9: Percentage of economically active men and women who are self employed or employers, by gender, for Scotland and England

Scotland

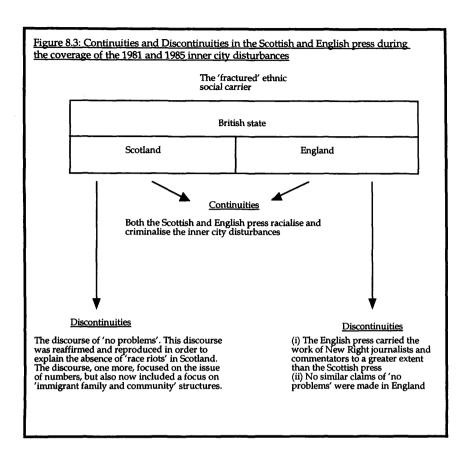|	Male%		Female%	
	with employees	no employees	with employess	no employees
white	4.9	6.9	2.0	2.7
black C'Bean	3.5	8.4	1.0	2.5
Black African	4.2	4.4	1.6	3.2
Black other	5.0	6.5	2.8	4.5
Indian	20.2	12.6	9.6	11.1
Pakistani	25.2	17.6	12.7	11.5
Bangladeshi	20.8	6.2	9.6	6.8
Chinease	25.1	7.9	13.7	6.4
Asian	9.1	5.1	5.0	5.0

England

	Male%		Female%	
	with employees	no employees	with employess	no employees
white	5.0	10.7	2.2	4.0
black C'Bean	1.7	5.9	0.5	1.2
Black African	2.2	5.8	0.8	1.7
Black other	2.1	9.0	0.8	2.3
Indian	9.4	11.8	4.1	6.5
Pakistani	6.0	10.8	3.1	6.1
Bangladeshi	10.1	3.4	2.4	2.5
Chinease	16.9	11.2	8.8	9.0
Asian	4.6	5.5	2.3	3.5

Adapted from the 1991 Census

Figure 8.3: Continuities and Discontinuities in the Scottish and English press during the coverage of the 1981 and 1985 inner city disturbances

The 'fractured' ethnic
social carrier

British state

| Scotland | England |

Continuities

Both the Scottish and English press racialise and criminalise the inner city disturbances

Discontinuities

The discourse of 'no problems'. This discourse was reaffirmed and reproduced in order to explain the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland. The discourse, one more, focused on the issue of numbers, but also now included a focus on 'immigrant family and community' structures.

Discontinuities

(i) The English press carried the work of New Right journalists and commentators to a greater extent than the Scottish press
(ii) No similar claims of 'no problems' were made in England

On the other hand, there were discontinuities. On the English side, new right commentators were given more space to push forward their pet theories on 'nationhood', 'belongingness' and to identify African-Caribbeans and South Asians as outsiders. On the Scottish side there was an absence of new right discourses. In its place was the discourse of 'no problems'. This discourse, with its emphasis on numbers, had maintained much of its substantive form since 1968. However, by the 1980s, new elements had been added. This included debates on family structures and community structures which, implicitly and explicitly, racialised African-Caribbean and South Asian communities. Indeed, one of the contradictions we noted above was that when social actors begin to articulate the discourse of 'no problems' they draw rationalisation from racialised discourses. Nonetheless, the discourse of 'no problems' had evolved in order to 'make sense' of the absence of social conflict in Scotland's inner cities.

Racialised discourses and the discourse of 'no problems' had both evolved, yet both were still essentially fictitious. Racialised discourses obscured the real material relations that shaped the phenomenal world under the cloak of 'race'. As we saw in the first section, underlying economic, political and social conditions shaped the inner city disturbances. However, the Scottish press rarely identified these conditions. Rather, the Scottish press drew upon and reworked dominant racialised discourses into phenomenally adequate explanations. On the other hand, the discourse of 'no problem' obscured or rejected the existence of racism in Scotland under the cloak of numbers and community structures. However, evidence was now beginning to show that racist attacks, as well as discrimination in employment, housing and social provisions, was rife in Scotland, and indeed, was comparable to England.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Setting the research in context

The origins of this research are in my own biography. On the one hand, I knew from my own experiences, those of my family and my peers that racism existed in Scotland. On the other hand also became aware of the existence of a discourse, articulated by sections of the political elite and the self-proclaimed leaders of the Asian community, which claimed that there are no problems in Scotland. This led me to chart, through the press, the substantive history of racialised discourses in Scotland. It also led me to chart the substantive history of the discourse of 'no problems'. However, in charting this discourse, my intention was to show that it was essentially false. Through a historical and comparative analysis, I wanted to show that racialised discourses and divisions have, and still do, exist in Scotland.
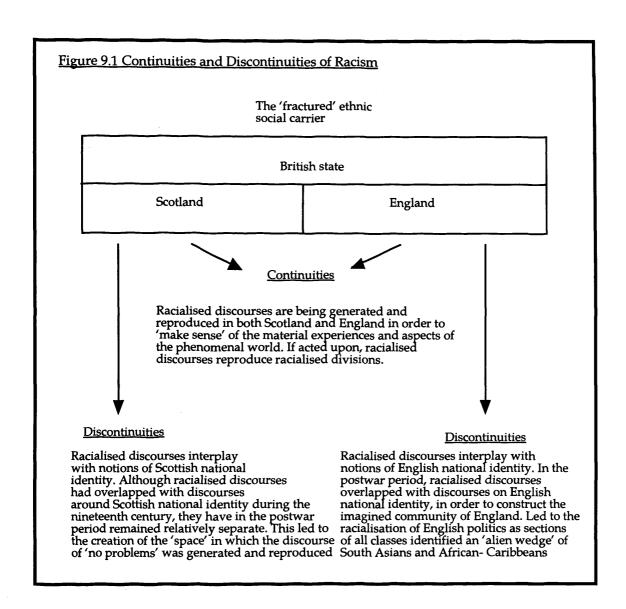
Continuities and Discontinuities

In tackling these research questions, I argued that there are both continuities and discontinuities. By continuities, I argued that the dynamics, history and substance of racialised discourses in Scotland and England are not that different. By discontinuities, I argued that there are subtle differences in the substance of racialised discourses between the two nations.

In chapter two I argued for an approach that traces racialised discourses within a materialist and empirical framework. However, I also argued that we had to be aware of how racialised discourses articulate with discourses on the nation. As we noted in chapter two, there are no dominant discourses on national identity. This is because, as Foster (1989) argues, Britain is a fractured 'ethnic social carrier'. Scotland merged politically with England

under the Act of Union in 1707. However, the new 'ethnic social carrier' that was produced was 'fractured'. On the one hand, the treaty was negotiated in such a way that it ensured Scotland maintained many of its own institutions of civil society. This, in turn, created a space in which a Scottish national identity could be generated and reproduced. Similarly, in England, notions of an English/British national identity and history are also being generation and reproduced. When social actors begin to 'make sense' of their own personal experiences and the phenomenal world around them they draw on, amongst other things, racialised discourses and articulate them with distinct discourses of the nation in various ways. This is the root of both the continuities and discontinuities (see figure 9.1): continuities, in that social actors in Scotland and England can draw on and reproduce racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of their own personal experiences and aspects of the phenomenal world; discontinuities, through the different inter-play between racialised discourses and discourses of the nation.

Historical Continuities

I argued that there were historical continuities. Numerous writers have identified how racialised discourses were generated and reproduced through the processes of colonial expansion (e.g. Fryer 1984). Scotland and England were both active in the processes of colonial expansion and the racialisation of those they encountered. Under the auspices of the Union, Scottish merchants established exploitative colonial relations with the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa. In turn, colonialism brought a vast injection of capital into Scotland, under-pinning the development of its industries and infrastructure. While there were certainly regional variations, the Scottish

Figure 9.1 Continuities and Discontinuities of Racism

The 'fractured' ethnic
social carrier

British state	
Scotland	England

Continuities

Racialised discourses are being generated and
reproduced in both Scotland and England in order to
'make sense' of the material experiences and aspects of
the phenomenal world. If acted upon, racialised
discourses reproduce racialised divisions.

Discontinuities

Racialised discourses interplay
with notions of Scottish national
identity. Although racialised discourses
had overlapped with discourses
around Scottish national identity during the
nineteenth century, they have in the postwar
period remained relatively separate. This led to
the creation of the 'space' in which the discourse
of 'no problems' was generated and reproduced

Discontinuities

Racialised discourses interplay with
notions of English national identity. In the
postwar period, racialised discourses
overlapped with discourses on English
national identity, in order to construct the
imagined community of England. Led to the
racialisation of English politics as sections
of all classes identified an 'alien wedge' of
South Asians and African- Caribbeans

economy reflected the broad pattern of progress that the English/British economy was experiencing (Hobsbawn 1968, Mathias 1983).

In the early history of colonial expansion, racialised discourses of the 'other' were invested with meanings in order to structure exploitative relationships (Stevenson 1992). To what extent this occurred in Scotland's early attempts at colonial expansion is unclear. There is nonetheless evidence to show that during the nineteenth century sections of the Scottish intelligentsia were active in generating and reproducing 'scientific racism'. This occurred because of their attempts to 'make sense' of the questions of physical diversity and progress (why had some nations progressed while others lacked the essentials of civilisation?). Fusing existing colour symbolism,

negative evaluations of the 'other' and the aura of science, sections of the intelligentsia connected progress to 'race'.

Like their English contemporaries, the Scottish intelligentsia, as well as missionaries, racialised the world's population. Sections of the Scottish intelligentsia, such as Robert Knox, George Combe and Thomas Carlyle were all instrumental in developing the idea of 'race'. Missionaries, such as David Livingstone, James Stewart, Hope Masterson Waddell racialised the world's population on more 'moral' grounds. They sought to bring Christianity, culture and civilisation (understood as trade and commerce) to the 'darkest' and 'backward' parts of the world. The discourses generated by the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries were far from a marginal. Rather, they were reproduced through various mediums: such as 'scientific' and literary periodicals; imperial propaganda, and the educational system.

To what extent racialised discourses were 'taken up' beyond the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries is unclear. Nonetheless, we can certainly point to evidence that show sections of the Scottish population were reproducing racialised discourses. It was suggested that for the Scottish bourgeoisie and the middle classes, racialised discourses would have been used in order to 'make sense' of the material gap structured by uneven development. It would also have been a key justification for reproducing exploitative colonial relations. For the Scottish working classes, racialised discourses would also have been a means through which their own material experiences could be understood. Indeed, evidence does show that sections of this class drew the discourse of 'race' into their own 'common sense' in order to explain their own poor social and economic conditions. The focus of the 'common sense' discourse of 'race' was often migrant labourers. For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Lascars were racialised as an inferior 'race', with innately lower standards of living, who were displacing or undermining 'local white' labour. Those working in the shipping industry

saw their own poverty as a result of unfair competition from cheaper Lascar seamen as opposed to the structural factors of the industry. This hostility often manifested itself in violence, which included the 1919 'race riots'. The riots, however, were not isolated to Scotland. They were also evident in many of the port towns of England (Jenkinson 1985, 1996, Holmes 1988, Panayi 1994, 1996).

Sections of the Scottish working classes also drew on discourses on 'race' and religion (although less on nationalism) in order to 'make sense' of the poor social and material conditions they were experiencing. This process often manifested itself in violent conflict and in political organisations dedicated to the removal of Irish-Catholics. During the 1920s and 1930s the central lowlands of Scotland witnessed the rise of radical Protestant organisations dedicated to, amongst other things, the ending of Irish-Catholic migration. On the West Coast of Scotland, the Scottish Protestant League was influential at the level of local politics. On the East Coast, Protestant Action attracted considerable support. This gave Scotland a distinct political profile during the inter-war years. Other nations were witnessing the rise of fascist politics and organisations. However, in Scotland fascist politics did not take a hold. Rather, the political discourses of the time were more pre-occupied with the over-lapping question of 'race' and religion.

Substantive Continuities

There are also continuities in the substance of racialised discourses. By this I mean that the substance of racialised discourses in Scotland, both past and present, are similar to those in England. This is certainly evident in the how the Scottish and English press reported on several key events in the postwar period. For example, in 1958, the Scottish press defined the disturbances in Nottingham and Notting Hill as 'race riots'. It went on to construct South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the cause of a myriad of social

problems that literally drove residents to attack them. The subsequent commentary provided by the bulk of the Scottish press identified immigration controls against the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as the solution. From the evidence that exists, it is clear that the English and Scottish press both drew on racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of these news events (Glass 1958, Miles 1984).

By 1968, the key motif used by the press in their coverage of news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants was 'keep them out'. This contained two strands. Firstly, it identified South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants as a problem in the context of numbers and causing or exacerbating existing social and economic problems. Secondly, it argued that this 'problem' could only be solved through stronger controls against the entry of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants. This motif was evident in the coverage of the Kenyan Asian crisis, immigration, the 'Race Relations' legislation, the arrival of dependants, repatriation, and the 'alien wedge'. Again, from the evidence that exists, it is clear that the English and Scottish press drew on similar racialised discourses in order to 'make sense' of news events concerning South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants (Husbands and Hartmann 1974, Critcher et al 1977).

In the 1980s, racialised discourses on immigration and crime were drawn upon in order to 'make sense' of the inner city disturbances. The Scottish press constructed the disturbances as 'riots' - out breaks of criminality and violence. It went on to identify several causes: police malpractice, poor socio-economic conditions, African - Caribbean criminality and outside agitators. However, the reporting style of the Scottish press 'chipped' away at certain explanations. For example, the Scottish press often carried disclaimers that sought to undermine the role of police malpractice and socio-economic conditions. This tended to heighten the explanatory strength of African-Caribbean criminality. Again, in its general direction and emphasis, the

Scottish press coverage of the disturbances showed a high degree of continuity with the English press (Cohen 1982, Murdoch 1984, Burgess 1985, Gordon and Rosenberg 1989, Solomos 1993).

There are also continuities in racialised divisions. From the mid-1980s onwards studies began to show that racism was a problem in Scottish society. Racist attacks were shown to occur on a level comparable to, and in some cases higher, than in England (Walsh 1987, Gordon 1990, Lee at al 1996). Discrimination was also prevalent in council housing, housing associations, social services and health provision. Both the continuities in racialised discourses and divisions are important to note. The discourse of 'no problems' claims that racism is not a problem in Scotland - that it somehow stops at the border. However, this work demonstrates that racism does exist in Scotland and that in its form and shape it is largely similar to racism in England. The discourse of 'no problems' is essentially fictitious.

Historical Discontinuities

As we noted above, there were also discontinuities that stemmed from the fractured nature of the British 'ethnic social carrier'. For example, there were historical discontinuities. The Scottish economy flourished during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century under the auspices of the Union. During this period, Britain forged for itself an imperial identity. Scotland and Scottish national identify, however, did not become subsumed under this broad imperial identity. Rather, notions of 'Scottishness' were reproduced that emphasised Scotland's inclusion in the Union and the Empire, but which expressed this in very Scottish ways. Scotland was involved in an imperial partnership with England, Glasgow was the second city of Empire, and the Scottish economy was the workshop of Empire. Indeed, any slights against the Scottish contribution from the political centre of Westminster were set upon by sections of the Scottish political elite (Finlay 1997).

Scots were also racialised as a 'race' of Empire builders. Darwin's theory of evolution was used in order to signify Scots as a hardy, adaptable, dynamic and determined 'breed' born from a harsh climate and environment. The English, however, racialised themselves on the basis of a Saxon heritage and English national identity. Nonetheless, the racialisation of both the Scots and the English that occurred in the nineteenth century was part of the broader dialectical process of racialisation, one which signified a large part of the world's population as an inferior 'racial' type to the Scots and the English.

Another historical discontinuity occurred in the reaction against Irish-Catholic migrant labour during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. There was intense hostility against the arrival of Irish-Catholic migrant labour in both Scotland and England. However, in Scotland, the roots of this hostility were slightly different. The Act of Union had emasculated the Scottish state leaving it without direct political power. However, the state was not completely dismantled. The Church of Scotland, the Kirk, among other institutions of Scottish civil society, was maintained and became a site through which political power came to be expressed. If political power was expressed through the Kirk, church ministers, as functionaries of this institution would have regarded the migration of Irish-Catholics as a threat. Drawing on the discourses of 'race', religion and national identity, sections of the Scottish Kirk began to construct Irish-Catholics as a problem in the context of numbers, religion, and as a threat to Scottish national and 'racial' identity.

Substantive discontinuities

From our review of the Scottish press, it became evident that the Scottish press occasionally emphasised certain aspects of racialised discourses. For example, in 1958, there was an intense debate around the validity of the

concept of 'race' in the Scottish press. In 1968, the Scottish press did not carry many news events that criminalised African-Caribbean migrants. There were no similar substantive patterns in the English press. In the 1980s, the Scottish press, unlike its English counterpart, carried few New Right commentators.

The major difference in content was the discourse of 'no problems'. The discourse of 'no problems' seems to have first emerged in the background of the 'race riots' of 1958. In its form, the discourse of 'no problems' had no internal consistency beyond arguing that Scots are not racists. The reasons why the discourse of 'no problems' began to emerge in the Scottish press during this period can only be guessed. One possible reason may be that members of the press and sections of the political elite took the absence of any visible conflict or fascist organisation in Scotland as an indicator of the absence of racism in Scottish society.

However, by 1968, the discourse of 'no problems' began to develop a set of references that gave it more coherence. The background to the discourse of 'no problems' during this period was the on-going debates around Scottish independence and devolution. On the one hand, I suggested that the emergence of Scottish nationalism created a space in which the discourse of 'no problems' grew. During the 1960s, Scotland witnessed the rise of political movements directed towards gaining independence. Scottish nationalism, however, was not imbued with the question of inclusion or exclusion. It was not an 'ethnic' or 'racial' nationalism. Rather, it was culturally sterile nationalism directed at gaining political independence from Westminster. Consequently, Scottish politics did not become racialised from the 1960s onwards. This was in stark contrast to England, where notions of 'race' and national identity overlapped, leading to the racialisation of English politics. The absence of any visible social or political conflict around the question of 'race' may have been taken (once more) by members of the press and the political elite as an indicator of the absence of racism in Scottish society.

On the other hand, members of the press and the Scottish political elite drew from the on-going debates on immigration to actually rationalise the absence of political conflict around the question of 'race' in Scotland. By the late 1960s the state was using a basic equation when dealing with the question of immigration: large numbers of South Asian and African-Caribbean immigrants = socio-economic problems + problems of integration. Using the same equations, members of the press argued that the reason why Scotland had no 'racial' problems was because of the small immigrant community: small number of South Asian and African-Caribbean migrants = fewer socio-economic problems + fewer problems of integration. This equation was occasionally embellished with the claim of Scottish natural tolerance.

Members of the Scottish press reproduced the same equation in order to explain the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland during the 1980s. However, they also added the new element of family and community structures. The Scottish press argued that the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland was due to the stability of South Asian family structures and culture, both of which ensured social stability amongst Scotland's 'immigrant communities'. This implicitly racialised African-Caribbean family structures and cultures as weak and pathological, causing or increasing the possibility of social conflict. This marks the contradiction in the discourse of 'no problems'. This discourse claims that there is no racism in Scotland, yet it rationalises this claim through racialised discourses on numbers, family and community structures.

Continuing substantive discontinuities

The discourse of 'no problems' has not disappeared. Mann (1992) claims that race relations' are better in Scotland than in England. Several key factors are identified to support this claim. Firstly, Maan (1992, p.205) argues that Scots

are somehow 'naturally tolerant' towards strangers and migrants since they have been oppressed in the past,

> "...there is a lot of truth in the belief that Scottish people in general are more tolerant and accommodating than their English cousins. Even in India during 200 years of the Raj, the Scots were usually far more forbearing and far more considerate towards their Indian subjects. This characteristic of the Scots could be due to the mixed make up of Scottish society or to their sympathies being with the other underdogs, considering that they themselves have been underdogs to the English for a long time. Whatever the reason, the Scots in general are more tolerant and more friendly towards strangers."

The second key factor identified by Maan is the relatively small immigrant population. It is because of this small population, Maan (1992, p.203) argues, that racist have been unable to use the numbers game in order to generate racism,

> " In Scotland the population of ethnic minorities has been so small that the racists and mischief-makers have never have never been able to use the numbers argument to cause alarm or apprehension amongst the Scottish public."

The third key factor identified by Maan for the good 'race relations' situation in Scotland is the absence of any economic conflict. This absence according to Maan (1992, p.203) was because migrant workers were either self employed as peddlers or occupied those positions within the labour market that were shunned by indigenous labour,

> " In the late 1950s and 1960s most of them worked in the transport services of various Scottish cities. The transport service was shunned

by the Scots as it involved shift work and unsocial hours. There was, therefore no concern or resentment against the recruitment of large number of Asian bus conductors and drivers."

Many of these claims, however, go largely against the existing evidence. Maan's interpretation of Scottish history ignores the fact that many Scots served in the administrative and military structures of colonialism, that the Scottish economy developed through its articulation with the slave and colonial modes of production, and that Scots of all classes generated and reproduced racialised discourses. Similarly, Maan's emphasis on numbers draws on racialised notions that associate high numbers of South Asian and African-Caribbean immigrants with socio-economic problems. Finally, Maan ignores some tentative evidence drawn from the press as well as objective studies that suggest the existence of racialised discourses in Scotland

The discourse of 'no problems' is also widely articulated by the 'leaders' of the South Asian communities in Scotland (see pages 1 - 2). For Dunlop and Lloyd (1991, p.17) this denial that racism exists in Scotland stems from the vested interest that many hold in maintaining the status qua,

> "...they hold (or have held) official positions in mainstream organisations such as the Labour and Conservative parties, are active within District and Regional political structures, have acted as Justices of the Peace in local magistrates courts, and have been Chairmen of Community Relations Councils. Clearly, therefor, in seeking to avoid jeopardising their own political careers, it is not in their personal interests to be seen as being too 'radical' and outspoken."

Despite the growing body of evidence, the assertion that there is no racism in Scotland is still held by certain groups.

Future Research

The research brought out *some* aspects of racism in Scotland. It brought out the daily experiences of people of South Asian and African-Caribbean descent in relation to employment, violence, housing and access to social provisions. It brought out the substance and form of racialised discourses, produced by the press, within which sections of all classes attempted to 'make sense' of aspects of the world around them. It also brought out, through a comparative analysis, the continuities and discontinuities of racialised discourses in Scotland and England.

This study does examine some key aspects of racism in Scotland, both past and present, to add to the growing empirical work on racism in Scotland, as well as beginning to address some of the theoretical problems in examining racism in Scotland. However, there is still a large amount of research that needs to be carried out on racism in Scotland. Drawing on Layder's (1993) research map several areas can be identified. Firstly, we need a more rounded historical analysis. While there are a few important studies on the history of racialised discourses in Scotland, especially on the role of the Scottish intelligentsia and missionaries, a more comprehensive historical survey is still required. Similarly, while there are a few important studies of the history of South Asian and African-Caribbean migration to Scotland, especially around the arrival of Lascar seamen, a more extensive study is required to fill in historical gaps.

At the level of setting, there are a growing number of works that look at discrimination in various settings (employment, housing, and health). However, work still needs to be done at the level of 'situated activity'. On the one hand, research is required that taps into a valuable source of information - people of South Asian and African-Caribbean origin. Drawing on oral history, work needs to be done that brings out the histories of migration and

contemporary experiences. On the other hand, work also needs to be done to assess if, how and why 'white' Scots take up and articulate racialised discourses.

Although there is still a substantial amount of work to do, this thesis nonetheless does add to the growing empirical work on racism in Scotland. I began the thesis by stating that its origins were in my own personal biography. Although certainly not answering all my questions, it has answered several of the questions I was beginning to ask. It firstly showed me that the substance of racialised discourses in Scotland during the postwar period were not that different to those of England. Although only examining the press, it nonetheless gave me an identifiable framework within which I could sit my own experiences as well as those of my family and friends. Secondly, it began to show me the origins and substance of the discourse of 'no problems'. Perhaps the most significant element, for me at least, was the fact that those who drew upon this discourse articulated it with racialised discourses in order to rationalise the claim that there are no problems in Scotland. Finally, through drawing together statistical material and secondary sources, it showed that the discourse of 'no problems' is extremely problematic. Things are not better in Scotland, if anything, racism is and continues to be a chronic problem.

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