SUPPRESSING THE DIVERSITY OF THE 'OTHER':

THE NATURE, EXTENT AND IMPACT OF RACISM EXPERIENCED BY VISIBLE ETHNIC MINORITY RESIDENTS IN RURAL SOUTHEAST SCOTLAND.

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experienced by visible ethnic minority residents in rural southeast Scotland
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Abstract

In recent years a growing body of academic research has identified the distinct phenomenon of rural racism. Despite this, the problem is largely unknown outside of academia and therefore those charged with a General Duty to promote effective race relations in the rural are often 'blind' to the problem. At the heart of the issue is the social and cultural conflation of notions of the rural as a problem free traditional 'white landscape' and the exercise of power and prejudice over those constructed as 'other'.

Whilst the Scottish Government has recognised the significant issue of racism in Scotland, the paucity of research means that little is known about the exact 'nature', 'extent' and 'impact' of the problem within specific rural localities. Accordingly, this research explores those key variables within five distinct rural areas of southeast Scotland and reveals how the process of 'othering' works to exclude and marginalise visible ethnic minorities by actively suppressing their diversity.

The research methodology involved both qualitative and quantitative aspects and included a public attitudes survey questionnaire and focus groups with white residents, analysis of racial incidents reported to the police, a quality of life survey questionnaire and interviews with visible ethnic minorities who had been victims of racism. This analysis was conducted against an analytical framework provided by Philo's (1992) 'othering theory'.

The research findings reveal a disturbing, complex and multi-dimensional landscape of endemic racism within rural southeast Scotland that has a profound impact on victims. In doing so, it also reveals and challenges the shifting lens of 'agency' and 'state' as the advocacy of multiculturalism so embraced after Macpherson has now apparently come to be seen as 'yesterdays news' through new post 7/7 state racisms which appear to reconstitute certain ethnic minority communities as a 'problem' that now requires to be 'controlled'.

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Introduction to Thesis and research context

This doctorial research activity commenced in August 2007, a month which witnessed some relatively minor celebrations in the United Kingdom to mark the passing of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. However two centuries on, writers such as Kundnani (2007) highlight the ongoing problems of racism in the United Kingdom and argue that the scourge of individual, state and institutional racisms continue to endure as some of the most malign problems within contemporary society. Within a Scottish context, the first decade of the 21st century has also seen these anxieties heightened further by a number of factors including the inevitable rise of nationalistic discourse following the first ever election in May 2007 of the Scottish National Party to form the new 'Scottish Government'.

The resultant tensions within this new nationalistic landscape became apparent and were then immediately exacerbated by media fuelled debates linking immigration to crime, to fear of the 'enemy within' and by narratives around discrepant 'others' following the widely reported car bomb incident at Glasgow Airport on 30 June 2007, and within the overall context of global tensions around ongoing military conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq. This situation was then further heightened by the unrelated conviction in September 2007 of what the media referred to as 'Scotland's first home grown terrorist' Mohammed Atif Sidiqque, who was convicted of terrorism offences whilst living in the small rural central Scotland village of Alva near Stirling[1]. This latter incident in particular, raising

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[1] The case of Mr Siddique was subsequently declared a miscarriage of justice at the High Court in Edinburgh on 29 January 2010 and his terrorism conviction was quashed

serious questions in the mind of the researcher about what it actually means to be a person of colour living in rural Scotland.

Yet these questions were not new. Some two years previously, an article by Rayner (2005: 18) in the Observer had reported government statistics revealing that racist attacks were on the increase in rural Britain. The article went on to explain that ethnic minorities living in parts of Britain are now four times more likely to have suffered from racism than they were before the last general election. According to the research, Rayner (ibid) the most significant increases were in sparsely populated areas, home to the smallest and most isolated minority communities. The research also reported that one of the areas where there had been a significant increase in reported racist incidents was Scotland, which had witnessed an increase in 'reported' incidents from 2,242 in 2000 to 3,800 in 2004, making it 'one of the ten most dangerous regions in Britain'. This worsening climate of racism in a Scottish context was also noted by Hamill (2010: 1) writing in the Herald newspaper following an incident on 20 February 2010 when more than 700 police officers had to be deployed in Edinburgh to ensure public safety after a planned march by the far-right anti-Muslim extremist organisation the Scottish Defence League.

Such observations mirror long standing concerns held by community safety practitioners throughout Scotland and by the then Scottish Executive who in response to concerns around racism in Scotland launched the 'One Scotland: No Place for Racism' campaign in September 2002. This campaign and some subsequent limited research (de Lima, 2006)

has revealed the depth of hegemonic attitudes in Scotland, which suggests that there is a widespread reluctance to 'accept' visible ethnic minorities as part of the community.

These racialised constructions have extremely dangerous consequences for community safety as highlighted in February 1999, when the publication of the report into the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson, 1999) brought the issue of racism in the United Kingdom to the forefront of political and social debate. The Inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence also focused the public on the daily experience of racism that Black and Minority Ethnic people go through. In response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, the Home Secretary toughened race relations legislation and this led directly to the publication of The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 which now places a 'General Duty' on public authorities to promote race equality within specific local contexts.

However, more than a decade on from the publication of the Lawrence Inquiry report racist attitudes and perspectives continue to permeate local communities. Furthermore, in the case of rural racism the problem is exacerbated by a number of factors including the paucity of research into the specific nature of prejudice and the associated feelings and images of difference that inform attitudes to discrimination, or of the exact nature, extent and impact of the problem on visible ethnic minorities within specific rural localities.

However, in the absence of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, writers such as Bulmer and Solomos (2004) contend that there cannot be a fuller

appreciation of the specific dynamics of racism within a specific local context. Without such local research there is also a danger that social policy and community safety responses by agencies such as local authorities and the police service will not deliver on their General Duty to promote race equality. Correspondingly, there is also a danger that they will not deliver effective community safety solutions for people of colour whose diversity will continue to be actively suppressed, and who as a consequence will remain at risk.

This dilemma clearly delivers a fundamental deficit for all public authorities charged with a legal duty to promote good race relations and against a widely accepted background of general under-reporting of racist incidents as highlighted by writers such as Virdee (1995), delivers a paradoxical situation whereby local social policy and community safety responses are based largely on quantitative perceptions formulated solely through those incidents 'reported' to the police (de Lima, 2001) rather than on additional detailed qualitative research into the underlying causes of racism or of the precise nature, extent and impact of the actual problems within specific local situations.

Having considered these wider national perspectives, the local context to which this research project relates is the five distinct and rural local authority areas of Fife, West Lothian, Midlothian, East Lothian and Scottish Borders all in southeast Scotland. At the time of the 2001 Census, 60% of the ethnic minority population in Scotland was concentrated in its four major cities, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee with the remaining 40% dispersed through all other local authority areas. The percentage of all

ethnic minority residents living in rural areas is therefore very small, and in the study area of this research was approximately 2% of the Scottish total at the time of the 2001 Census (Scottish Executive, 2004).

Fife is geographically located on the southeast coast of Scotland and takes the form of a large peninsula of some 1325 square kilometres bounded by the Forth Estuary and Edinburgh to the south and the Tay Estuary and Dundee to the north. The county is largely arable and rural in character with 264 residents per square kilometer and at the time of the 2001 Census had a total population of 349 429. At the time of the 2001 Census the percentage of all minority ethnic groups living in Fife was 1.3% (Scottish Executive, 2004). There has been a steady increase in the number of racist incidents reported to the Police in Fife with reported incidents rising from only 33 in 1997 to a peak of 541 by 2004 (HMICS, 2009). This represents an incredible 860% increase in reported incidents. Thankfully, this figure is now in decline but it remains a problem (Fife Constabulary, 2008).

Midlothian is geographically located to the south of Edinburgh and covers a small area of some 354 square kilometres. The county is rural in character dominated mainly by former mining communities with a total of 80 914 residents or 354 residents per square kilometer at the time of the 2001 Census. At the time of the 2001 Census (Scottish Executive, 2004) the percentage of all minority ethnic groups living in Midlothian was 0.9%. Since the 2001 Census, there has been a steady increase in the number of racist incidents reported to the police (Lothian and Borders Police, 2008). Indeed increases in reported racist incidents

have been noted over all local authority areas covered by Lothian and Borders Police with reported incidents rising from 287 in 1997 to 1575 by 2007 (HMICS, 2009) and again this represents an incredible 549% increase in reported incidents[2].

East Lothian is located to the east of Edinburgh and covers a mainly coastal area of some 679 square kilometres. The county is rural and arable in character with 133 residents per square kilometer at the time of the 2001 Census when it had a population of 90 088 residents. At the time of the 2001 Census the percentage of all minority ethnic groups living in East Lothian was 0.7% (Scottish Executive, 2004). Since the 2001 Census, there has been a steady increase in the number of racist incidents reported to the police (Lothian and Borders Police, 2008).

Scottish Borders region is geographically located to the South of Edinburgh and the other counties of this study, and to the north of the border with England at Northumbria. It is entirely rural in character dominated by farming land and covering an extensive area of some 4732 square kilometres. At the time of the 2001 Census there were 106 764 residents with only 23 residents per square kilometer. The percentage of all minority ethnic groups living in the Scottish Borders was only 0.6% (Scottish Executive, 2004). Since the 2001 Census, there has been a steady increase in the number of racist incidents reported to the police (Lothian and Borders Police, 2008).

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[2] The HMICS data for Lothian and Borders Police is unfortunately not broken down to an individual rural local authority level.

West Lothian is geographically located in the central belt of Scotland between its two major cities, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The county is largely rural in character and at the time of the 2001 Census had a total population of 158, 000. The county covers an area of 427 square kilometres with 327 residents per square kilometer at the time of the 2001 Census. The percentage of all minority ethnic persons living in West Lothian at the time of the 2001 Census was only 1.3% (Scottish Executive, 2004). Since the 2001 Census, the number of 'reported' racist incidents in West Lothian has continued to rise sharply (Lothian and Borders Police, 2008) and community tensions were seriously heightened in March 2004 when the far-right British National Party held an introductory meeting in the West Lothian town of Bathgate before campaigning and distributing leaflets throughout the county.

Against this problematic context, this research project will consider the phenomenon of rural racism within southeast Scotland and will explore the frequency and situations within which it occurs to establish quantitative and qualitative information regarding the nature and extent of the problem. The research will also explore how constructions of 'difference' serve as mechanisms of exclusion and how this is exacerbated by the rural. Perceptions of community belonging and safety amongst visible ethnic minority residents will also be examined to establish the impact of the problem within the research area.

By constraining this research project to the study of the nature and extent of racism experienced by 'visible' rather than all ethnic minorities the research will also reveal how representations of whiteness and blackness contribute towards explanations of racism

within the context of rural southeast Scotland. Accordingly, it is important to note that this research and thesis will focus solely on visible ethnic minorities to the specific exclusion of white ethnic minorities such as travellers or migrant workers. In doing so, this research does not however seek to lessen or diminish other forms of racism which are acknowledged at the outset as a serious problem in their own right, but rather just to focus on the phenomenon as it relates to visible ethnic minorities.

These four key themes of 'feelings and images of difference', 'nature', 'extent' and 'impact' are central to the specific aims of this research project. Those aims are firstly, to determine how feelings and images of difference serve to inform public attitudes to discrimination in the study area. Secondly, to establish the precise 'nature' of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities living in rural areas of southeast Scotland by analysis of their diverse experiences. Thirdly, to determine the 'extent' of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland to ascertain how widespread the problem is. Fourthly, to determine the 'impact' of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland by analysis of how these experiences impact on their perceptions of community and safety. In doing so, the research project will answer the following specific research question:

'What is the nature and extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland and how does this impact on perceptions of rural community and safety?'

The selection of these five distinct local authority areas arose partly through a personal awareness of problems with rural racism in this part of Scotland as observed over three decades by the researcher within his employment context as a senior police officer. It also arose partly as an opportunity of convenience due to the researcher having served in the two distinct police forces covering these local authority areas, and as a consequence having unique access to police data and a personal network of ethnic minority support workers throughout this part of Scotland. Therefore, it is important to clarify that the selection of this research area is not based on any suggestion that racism in rural areas of southeast Scotland is either typical or atypical of Scotland as a whole as in truth the paucity of research means that little is actually known about the problem in any part of Scotland.

However, in posing a research question that relates to rural southeast Scotland, this research acknowledges the considerable distinctive social, economic and geographic complexities within and between the various local authority areas that comprise the research area and therefore importantly does not seek to reduce that rural complexity to 'same' (Philo, 1992). For example, the Scottish Borders is the most rural area in this study with vast areas of remote countryside and no major motorway connections. The largest town in the area is Hawick which is approximately one and a half hours drive from the nearest city of Edinburgh. This geographic isolation results in a relatively static physical and social environment that has arguably changed little in recent decades and within the context of a generally stable and self-sufficient local economy dominated largely by a

number of private hunting estates and other vast areas of privately owned and sparsely populated land dominated by farming communities.

By contrast, West Lothian is well served by transport infrastructure and most notably the M8 motorway corridor between Edinburgh and Glasgow. This geographical accessibility has facilitated significant rural and social change in recent decades as increased mobility opportunities have witnessed a significant rural population growth and most notably an influx of mobile middle class households to new executive housing estates which now comprise the ever increasing Glasgow and Edinburgh commuter belt. The largest town in the area is Livingston which was created from former farmland to be developed as a 'new town' in the late 1970's to facilitate population overspill from both Edinburgh and Glasgow which can each be reached well within a one hour drive.

Fife is equally distinctive in character and comprises of a diverse blend of traditional areas of countryside dominated by farming with pockets of economic and social affluence in the West which serves the Edinburgh commuter belt via the Forth road and rail bridges. The east of the county or the 'East Neuk of Fife' is more geographically isolated and is particularly affluent dominated by farming communities and the university town of St Andrews and the associated tourism attractions of the town as 'the home of golf'. This social affluence is starkly contrasted with some pockets of significant social deprivation in central Fife resultant from the legacy of the decline in the mining and manufacturing industries from the 1980's.

Midlothian is similarly distinctive in character and is the smallest local authority area in this study in geographical terms. It has fewer pockets of affluence than any of the other areas in this study with a greater number of areas of significant social deprivation. It has also witnessed significant social change and tensions in recent decades as a result of the demise of the mining and manufacturing industries since the 1980's. The county is largely arable in character and also serves the Edinburgh commuter belt with the main town of Dalkeith being only 30 minutes drive from the City of Edinburgh.

By contrast, the neighbouring county of East Lothian is almost entirely affluent in character and is dominated by farming and small fishing communities. In common with the east coast of Fife, the coastal areas of East Lothian are also a popular retirement location for the wealthy and there is also a significant summer tourist population. As with the Scottish Borders, the area is more static and traditional and has seen less social change in recent decades other than some peripheral areas of executive housing estate growth to service employment opportunities in Edinburgh.

Therefore, whilst the research area is a geographic blend of both remote and accessible rural communities populated almost exclusively by white residents, it would be wrong to infer any significant levels of universal homogeneity as it actually comprises of a series of very diverse, different and distinct rural towns and villages. These towns and villages range from the static and the traditional, to far more modern rural communities that have changed significantly in recent years and many of which are still in flux. In other words, whilst it is convenient to think about the location of the research area in southeast

Scotland in geographic terms, it is equally appropriate to note the various social, economic and geographic similarities and differences so as to then conceptualise and begin to understand the research area from the outset as a place of many different rurals which may deliver contrasting research results.

Chapter One

Contextualising the Scottish Rural

1.1 Introduction to Chapter

Having considered the objectives of this research as articulated in the introductory narrative, this first main chapter now seeks to set and build the scene for this thesis by initial presentation and critical review of the existing academic literature in relation to the study of the rural. In doing so, it is recognised that there is a general paucity of academic research and writing on the subject of the Scottish rural and accordingly this chapter draws out of necessity on wider United Kingdom academic material to assist in the delivery of a more nuanced understanding of the distinctiveness of the Scottish rural.

To establish a framework within which to do this, chapter one will follow four broad analytical themes. Firstly, it will seek to contextualise 'the rural' so as to understand what social scientists and others have had to say and to consider what delineates it as a distinct entity worthy of academic research. Secondly, it will seek to explore the relationship between landscape and notions of belonging in terms of the rural idyll through reflection on the theme of 'landscapes of desire'. Thirdly, it will seek to explore the specificity of 'Scottish rural identity' by reflecting on Scottish land ownership, elites, people, power and the conceptualisation of 'highlandism' in shaping contemporary notions of Scottish national identity. Finally, it will consider the meaning and use of rural space in terms of identity and notions of belonging whilst also relating all of these themes directly to the

specific questions of race, racism and racist victimisation in the rural which are explored further within chapter two.

1.2 Contextualising the 'rural'

In seeking to conceptualise and contextualise the rural, it is useful to commence by reflecting on the fact that studies of rural spaces, societies and nature have been at the forefront of critical social scientific debate, endeavour and theorisation in recent years (Cloke et al, 2006). This period has also witnessed a research domain transition from urban to rural which has emerged gradually over the past three decades and has included the emergence of the study of the distinct phenomenon of rural racism.

The very idea of 'rurality' is entrenched in popular discourses about space, place and society within a contemporary United Kingdom context. For writers such as Chakraborti and Garland (2004) this situation has largely arisen due to certain representations of the rural being allowed to dominate popular discourse unchallenged by critical social scientific enquiry. This is a perspective supported by other academics such as Moody (1999) who highlights how attempts to adequately and critically conceptualise rurality have been widely absent from criminological and sociological debates which have tended in any event to neglect rural perspectives.

For Marsden (2006: 3) this situation had arisen because the task of adequately conceptualising rurality had initially been left largely within the domain of rural geographers. He posits that sociological and criminological studies of the rural first came

to prominence in the 1970s and over the course of the next decade or so have moved on from '… an initial vacuum and hiatus towards a more theoretical maturity'.

For others such as Cloke (2006) the very essence and distinctiveness of the rural has most commonly been conceived not in its own right but rather through its oppositional positioning to the urban. This other-than-urban conceptualisation it is argued, has in turn led to the dichotomisation of the rural and the urban in terms of notions of the distinctiveness of each and concomitantly to polarisation of the two forms of place. This is a perspective supported by other commentators such as Robinson (1990) who highlights the historical interpretations of earlier writers of the 'welcoming' rural as typified through features like kinship, familiarity and understanding as contrasted by the 'non-welcoming' urban attributes of impersonality, superficiality and transition.

By the 1980s academic studies of the rural were on the increase but were still far from the social scientific mainstream. For Newby (1980) the problem at this juncture was that rural sociology had not yet filled the conceptual vacuum left by the demise of the rural-urban continuum. Striking at the prevailing malaise, he argued:

> *'To overcome these problems rural sociology could learn from the example of its urban counterpart by beginning from a holistic theory of society within which the rural can be satisfactorily located, and as a corollary, developing theories which link social structure to spatial structure'.*
>
> *(Newby 1980: 108)*

In seeking to adequately conceptualise the rural, academic geographers such as Cloke (2006) contend that the very concept of rurality is in itself an internalised conceived or perceived concept which stands as an imagined space connected with a range of cultural meanings that typically range from the idyllic to the oppressive. For Cloke, these theoretical problems also often translate into a simplistic and somewhat inadequate rural versus urban conceptual paradigm which as a cognitive framework then delivers a general lack of understanding of how the idea of rurality should be understood:

> *'...the issue here is that the distinction of rurality is significantly vested in its oppositional position to the urban. While cities are usually understood in their own terms, and certainly without any detectable nervousness about defining or justifying that understanding, rural areas represent more of a site of conceptual struggle, where the other-than-urban meets the multifarious conditions of vastly differing scales and styles of living'.*
>
> *(Cloke 2006: 18)*

The very conceptualisation of the rural through notions of the 'countryside' and the urban through experiences of the 'city' has in turn invoked comparisons between the two through related notions on the meanings and use of such space. For writers such as Little and Austin (1996: 102) this has led to the rural evoking notions of 'community' and 'safety' and thus it has been presented as a utopian sanctuary or retreat from the contrasting urban and as a site of relative harmony and consensus. This romanticised view of the rural is noted by other prominent academics such as Chakraborti and Garland 2004 and Neal 2009, and is a theme that will be further explored later in this chapter.

For these writers, the association of rural space as a site of harmonious and problem-free environments in turn evokes romanticised beliefs about the appealing nature of 'rural community' as a welcoming and problem free environment and above all as a desirable and safe place to live. As Francis and Henderson argue:

> *'There is no doubt that community, especially when prefixed by 'rural' is a powerful and emotive concept ...[it]includes notions of reciprocal human relationships, voluntary effort, interest in local affairs, neighbourliness: above all, the village is seen as a place where everybody knows and cares for each other.*
> *(Francis and Henderson 1992: 19)*

In seeking to dissect the shifting theoretical lens of rural studies, Cloke (2006) identifies three significant theoretical frames which he argues have been influential in seeking to construct more plural conceptualisations of rurality. These are posited as 'functional', 'political-economic' and as 'social constructions'. Articulating the first of these theoretical perspectives, Cloke argues that functional theorisations persistently conflate the rural with the agricultural and that such approaches are based largely on the identification of functional elements of rural place, landscape and society. For Cloke, such paradigms are somewhat inadequate and rely heavily on the rural-urban dichotomy as previously discussed. This is a view supported by other writers such as Philo (1992) and Murdoch and Day (1998) as a perspective for perpetuating and sustaining simplistic, nostalgic and exclusive constructions of rurality and as one in keeping with Tonnie's (1963) theorisation of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) which strikes at the intimate rural and impersonal metropolitan polarities of the rural-urban continuum.

The second theoretical frame advanced by Cloke is the use of political-economic concepts to clarify the nature and position of the rural in terms of the social production of existence. In doing so, he argues that through this conceptual lens, it becomes apparent that much of what happens within conventional rural boundaries is actually caused by external political and economic factors operating outside the conceived geographical boundaries of a notional rural area. For Cloke, such perspectives have led to a blurring of the simplistic rural-urban paradigm but again he contends that such theoretical perspectives based largely on notions of land use are somewhat inadequate.

Despite, the obvious theoretical shortcomings of such approaches in terms of local nuances and the distinctiveness of different ruralities it remains the case that the rural is a concept which has no agreed definition from a political-economic perspective. This lack of conceptual rigor has led some agencies such as the Scottish Executive (2004: 4) to attempt to delineate the rural from the urban using a six-fold categorisation based on settlement sizes and drive times. For the Scottish Executive (now Scottish Government) these incremental classifications along the urban / rural continuum are posited as follows:

'Large Urban' which is constituted by settlements of over 125 000 residents or in other words Scotland's four main cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee. 'Other Urban' which is posited as settlements of between 10 000 and 125 000 people. 'Accessible Small Towns' of between 3 000 and 10 000 residents and within thirty minutes drive of a settlement of 10 000 people or more. 'Remote Small Town' of between 3 000 and 10 000 people with a drive time of more than thirty minutes to a settlement of

10 000 people or more. 'Accessible Rural' which is argued as a settlement of less than 3 000 people but within a thirty minute drive of a settlement of 10 000 people or more, and finally, 'Remote Rural' which is described as a settlement of less than 3 000 people and more than thirty minutes drive from a settlement of 10 000 or more.

Based on this Scottish Government geographic classification of the urban and the rural a number of arguments can be sustained. Firstly, it can be seen at a glance that such political economic constructs advance notions of Scotland as a whole as a primarily rural landscape with very few centres of major population. Secondly, it may be argued that within the terms of Scottish Government classification, then the majority of land in Scotland is classified as 'remote rural' with a significant but lesser percentage of 'accessible rural'. Finally, in terms of the areas that comprise the research area to which this research thesis relates then it is observed that all five local authority areas in which this research has been conducted are categorised predominantly as 'accessible rural' with additional and significant areas of 'remote rural' land within East Lothian and the Scottish Borders in particular.

The Scottish Government rural and urban classification for Scotland is illustrated by the following:
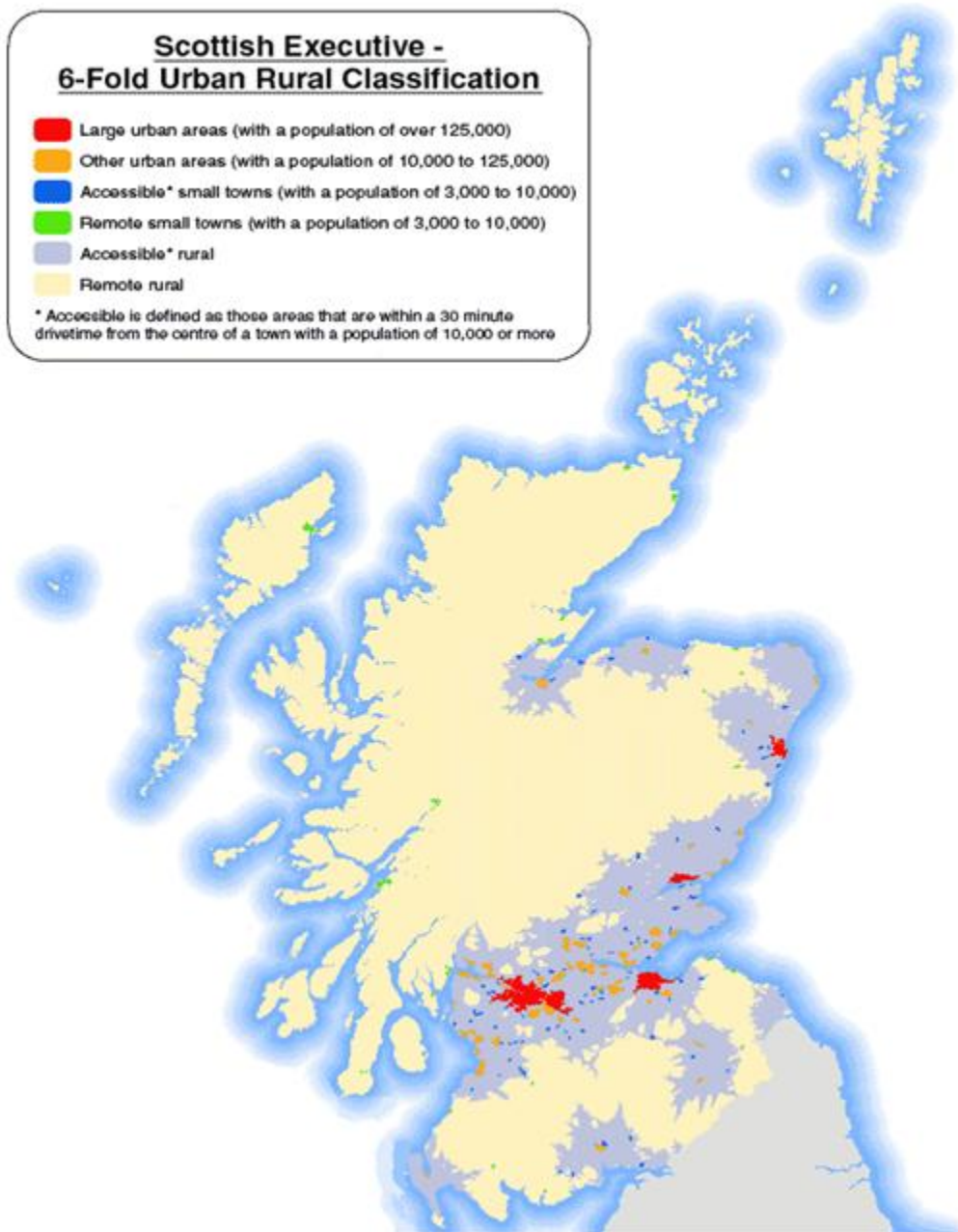
Figure 1: Scottish Executive 6-Fold Urban Rural Classification

(Source - Scottish Executive Geographical Information Service 2004: 4).

However whilst such an approach to rural and urban classification may serve political and economic needs and facilitate population-based measures, it remains the case that the rural as a political-economic proposition is neither conceptually or physically mappable as a distinct entity and is therefore purely a phenomenon which is socially and culturally constructed. As highlighted by de Lima (2001: 48) this subjectivity is problematic for both academic research and for policy formation and raises important questions for the study of the rural without an adequate definition.

The third theoretical frame advanced by Cloke involves the 'social construction' of rurality and he highlights (2006: 21) how such approaches draw on more postmodern and post-structural ways of thinking. Thus it is argued that the 'importance' of the rural lies not just in the physical or political-economic sphere but more in the way that social, cultural and moral values have become associated with the meaning and use of rural spaces and places. This is a perspective supported by a wealth of academic writers for example Sibley (2005) who explores 'geographies of exclusion' and demonstrates the tendency of powerful rural groups to 'purify' space and to view minority 'outsiders' as defiling that space. Such notions of discrepant rural 'others' is also supported by writers such as Philo (1997), Agyeman and Spooner (1997) and Cloke and Little (1997), who discuss 'contested countryside cultures' and the way in which certain identities and positionings in rural society are constructed to form ideas of who does or does not belong or who is or is not welcome in the contemporary rural.

Exploring the specific phenomenon of rural racism to which this research thesis relates, various writers such as de Lima (2004) and Chakraborti and Garland (2004), have advanced theoretical frameworks which draw on and support theorisations around the social construction of rurality to conceptualise the rural and the way in which majority power relations are exercised against minority 'others' who are seen as not belonging within the broader rural context. Such perspectives are also supported by other academic writers who have sought to explore how conceptualisations of the rural and countryside have long been associated with notions of nation and identity in contemporary British Society. Discussing 'ethnicity, nation and exclusion' in contemporary rural Britain, writers such as Neil and Agyeman (2006) for example, also advance notions of the exclusivity of rural space as a mechanism of regulation in determining who does and does not belong in the rural, whilst Neal (2009) also provides valuable analysis of why the concepts of community and ethnicity are relevant to understanding the contested nature of the English countryside.

The alignment of 'nation' to notions of the countryside as a social constructionist view of the rural clearly has political appeal to some such as the far-right British National Party which has increasingly become involved in the exploitation of rural politics (Purves, 2004) through their newsletter *Land and People*. For Sibley (2005) this arises because people feel possessive about spaces and such feelings of belonging, attachment and ownership attach to national territory. For Sibley, the rural countryside is commonly conflated with notions of national identity and he argues that such representations are a byproduct of the exclusive power relations that control the rural:

'The countryside, as it is represented by those who have a privileged place within it, is the essence of Englishness, so those who are excluded from this purified space are also, in a sense, un-English. It is those parts of national territory that are pictured as stable, culturally homogenous, historically unchanging which are taken to represent the nation in nationalistic discourse'.
(Sibley 1995: 108)

Within a Scottish rural context, recent years have witnessed the growth of 'rampant' nationalism. In November, 1967, the Scottish National Party emerged onto the British political map when a young Glasgow solicitor, Winifred Ewing won one of the Labour Parties safest Scottish seats at Hamilton. Within four decades, this rise in nationalism and the associated rise in nationalistic discourse became a growing feature of Scottish rural politics culminating in the first ever election in May 2007 of the Scottish National Party to form the new Scottish Government. Within this context, the new First Minister Alex Salmond immediately began the call for full Scottish independence (Scottish Government, 2007) against a new political rhetoric evoking anti-English sentiment through constant references focused mainly on the negative impact on Scotland of the 1707 Act of Union.

In 2008, the Scottish Government (Scottish Government, 2008) continued with this anti-English sentiment and began invoking images of the rural Scottish highlands as somehow being inter-twined and inseparable with the notion of 'real' Scottish identity and ancestry. Striking at the 'highland clearances' and the associated 'Scottish Diaspora' the Scottish Government launched the widely publicised 'Homecoming Scotland' campaign to run

from the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns in January, 2009, until St Andrew's Day in November, 2009. The campaign itself comprised of a range of events associated with Scottish history, culture and the arts with a total of 229 events taking place throughout Scotland. 72 of these events were scheduled for Scotland's four main Cities and 29 took place throughout Scotland. Significantly however, the overwhelming majority of events (128) were scheduled for rural parts of Scotland.

Many of these events centred round 'traditional' highland games whilst others had a distinctively Celtic and rural appeal, for example 'Blas Na Fasaich' (Gaelic for 'Taste of the Wilderness') which highlights the 'best of local Highland food production from croft, farm, moor, loch and sea. It features the imaginative preparation of a range of traditional dishes once enjoyed by Scottish ancestors'. These dimensions and statistics aside, it is worthy of note that the showpiece event of the Homecoming Scotland celebrations was 'The Gathering' which was articulated as '…the biggest muster of the clans ever seen in Scotland' in Edinburgh in July, 2009. For some, such marketing of the 'welcoming' highland face of rural Scotland is of course no more than a political veneer associated with tourism. However, it also raises important questions around exactly who is or is not welcome in the Scottish rural and therefore it was timely that the majority of the research activity for this thesis was conducted in 'Homecoming Year'.

Such political and social constructions of notions of Scotland and the Scottish rural landscape as being historically unchanging and synonymous with national identity are dangerous constructs that strike resonance with the title of this thesis in terms of actively

'suppressing the diversity of the Other' as this kind of xenophobia, based largely on notions of a purified national (white) identity sits uneasily with the fusions of modern diverse Scottish rural society. This is a perspective supported by writers such as Jedrej and Nuttall (1996), McIntosh et al (2004) and de Lima (2006: 73) who notes that '…the issue of racism in Scotland is highly complex, manifested by the prevalence of prejudice against the English and 'incomers' and the persistence of sectarianism'.

Thus, it has been argued that rural geographers, social scientists, historians and politicians have deployed a range of different perspectives and foci in shaping our understanding of the rural and that this has been refined through a shifting theoretical lens in an attempt to make sense of and define the essential characteristics of rurality. In more recent years studies of the rural have seen a deepening and growing plurality of research focusing on the social construction of the rural. However, under final analysis it must be recognised that academic attempts to deconstruct and adequately conceptualise the rural metanarrative have been far from straightforward challenges and as a consequence has arguably lead to the accepted academic reality of a more plural rural (Cloke et al, 2006).

1.3   Landscapes of Desire

The notion of landscapes of desire has been a recurring theme in the study of the rural:

> *'In the study of landscape, nature becomes entangled in the dreams of modernity, a repository of everything civilization is not: pure, uninhabited, unconscious, non-rational, free of inhibitions and intent. In romantic thought, nature becomes the*

good to civilization's bad while, in scientific thought, nature becomes the realm which culture must control for its own benefit'

(DuPuis 2006: 125)

For academics such as Neal and Agyeman (2006) and Neal (2009) such positive associations between the landscape and rural living evoke notions of nostalgia and romantic thought, and this has been central to the way in which rural areas have been 'romanticised' over the years through the conceptualisation of the 'rural idyll' as a problem free and idyllic environment safe from the threatening influences of the dangerous urban.

For Cloke and Milbourne (1992: 359) this rural idyll '…presents happy, healthy and problem-free images of a rural life safely nestling within both a close social community and a contiguous natural environment' and as observed in the previous sub-chapter, the term 'community' has a particular resonance here. For other writers such as Short (2006: 133), the term 'rural idyll' is a culturally charged phrase that has existed and has constantly evolved since Roman times and he argues that it can be both ambiguous and at the same time powerful as '… a phrase which acquires meaning only through the consciousness of, and contradistinction between an assumed 'other' which is un-idyllic'. Thus it is argued that the rural idyll can only be fully understood against the spatial and temporal correlates of that 'othering', without which the phrase is meaningless.

Within contemporary United Kingdom society, the rural idyll continues to exert a real influence and writers such as Chakraborti and Garland (2004: 3) argue that such imagery has transcended popular opinion through the medium of television and radio broadcasts where '…the romanticisation of a singular, homogenous rural community has long been a feature of programmes transmitted through the popular media in the UK'. This is a view supported by other academic writers such as Short (2006) who notes how popular television programmes such as *Heartbeat* or *All Creatures Great and Small* have extolled the values of country life through the lens of rustic rural utopias.

Other writers such as Bunce (1994) have noted the 'nostalgic veneer' surrounding programmes like *The Archers* as denoting a regression to a happier way of life within the rural idyll whilst Short (2006: 143) notes the television marketing of a 'rural paradise' and the associated healthy qualities of home-baked Hovis bread marketed against the 'traditional' soundtrack of Dvorak. For other writers such as Fish (2000) such media images play an important role in disseminating and perpetuating the myth of the rural idyll and he uses *The Darling Buds of May* to illustrate how the quintessential English rural landscape is portrayed as the very antithesis of the urban.

Within an English context such perspectives strike a particular resonance with how images of southern England and in particular the Downs and the White Cliffs of Dover became so associated with notions of 'nation' during world war two. Such images were perhaps best typified by the 'Forces Sweetheart' Vera Lynn and her nostalgic and utopian images of 'bluebirds over the white Cliffs of Dover'. Such images clearly captured the imagination

of the nation and arguably this nostalgic and somewhat restrictive view of nation still persists to this day.

Within a Scottish context the notion of landscapes of desire or the rural idyll also have a particular resonance:

> *'The bonnie, bonnie banks', 'your wee bit hill and glen, 'over the sea to Skye'. Landscape has been integral to perceptions of Scottishness for generations. No account of Scotland takes place against a topographically neutral backdrop. This is witnessed as much by Glenmorangie's much advertised 'glen of tranquility' as by the yearnings of exiled victims of the Clearances, famously expressed in the Canadian boat song'[3]*
>
> *(Warren 2002: 274)*

This is a perspective supported by other Scottish writers such as Bennett (2002: 18) who reflecting on the symbolic power of the Scottish highland landscape, posits the rhetorical question 'Sometimes I wonder if I belong to a country of the imagination?' The power of the Scottish rural landscape on the Scottish psyche and its creation of a powerful and symbolic bond of attachment between such rural landscape and notions of national identity is also noted by other writers such as Brock (2002) and she notes how traditional rural images of mountains, glens, lochs, villages and pine trees typify the rural landscape before concluding that feelings about being Scottish are derived from nurture within such

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[3] The Canadian Boat Song is a poem which first appeared in the September 1829 issue of Blackwood's Magazine. The author was possibly John Galt (1779-1839) and the poem narrates the songs sung by the Canadian "voyageurs" as they rowed. The poem narrates the nostalgic feelings of those exiled to Canada during the Highland Clearances.

a landscape and such perspectives are supported by other academics such as Neil (2009) who also notes the importance of nature in relation to psychological formations of rural identity. However, striking at the perceived alignment of notions of Scottishness as ascribed solely to the highland aspect of the rural Scottish landscape, Brock (ibid) also strikes a note of caution, observing (ibid 2002: 35) '…perhaps being Scottish is having a dangerous preference for the *Braveheart* version of our past'.

The powerful symbolism of the Scottish rural landscape and its psychological effect is also noted by other writers such as Edwards (2002: 65) who sees Scotland as an imaginary landscape of the thistle, mountains and islands, and he argues that the very essence of Scottishness is '… to belong to an imaginary country'. Such views are certainly supported by cursory examination of the official Scottish Government tourism website www.visitscotland.com (accessed January, 2009) which is awash with 'traditional' images of the Scottish rural landscape. Such symbolism presents the notion of Scotland as a landscape of desire with wild and expansive areas of untamed landscape in terms of windswept mountains full of grouse, glens, lochs, crofts, pine trees, the thistle, castles, heather, swooping eagles, leaping salmon, red deer and highland cattle. Yet in truth, such images are somewhat false and in any event only correlate with one distinct area within a very small part of rural Scotland as a whole.

Such 'traditional' images of the Scottish rural also embody other cultural artifacts that are commonly ascribed to the landscape by those intent on portraying a particular image of rural Scotland. Such artifacts include tartan, the kilt, the pipes (bagpipes) and drums,

whiskey, highland games, Scottish country dancing, golf, plaid-clad ancestors and the undead ghosts of Bonnie Prince Charlie, Bruce, Wallace and Burns and the much reiterated 'blame' on the English for the so-called highland clearances. Significantly, such 'traditional' images on the official Scottish Government tourist website show no images of people whose skin colour is not white. For writers such as Holloway (2002) such 'official' approaches are unhelpful and he notes:

> '...it is only the Scottish Tourist Board, or whatever it calls itself today, that bothers any longer with the old myth of a Celtic paradise that was only destroyed when the serpent from the south slunk into its midst. Now we think of ourselves as a vibrant part of a complex and changing European culture, and it feels good'.
> (Holloway, 2002: 102)

This issue of romance, myth and legend and indeed the 'yoke' of Anglophobia all seem somehow intertwined and inseparable with notions of the Scottish rural landscape and concomitantly to notions of Scottish identity. Arguably, such romance, myth and legend are intentionally sustained so as to be used to exploit the tourist trade. This can be evidenced through the landscape of the Great Glen and Loch Ness as the home of the 'Loch Ness Monster' and the 'hobby' of regaling countless tourists with stories of chasing the mythical 'flying haggis' through the hills. Yet for some, the contemporary rural landscape, and in particular the rural highland landscape is still primarily a rural idyll for countryside dwellers. '…the cities in decline, the countryside tight in the chill grasp of the privileged few. My mother, still living in the Highlands, feels the warmth of rural consideration wrapping round her, a cover as she ages' (Paterson, 2002: 206).

Despite the domination of the highland narrative, other writers have highlighted how there have been two distinct versions of the Scottish rural idyll and particularly as interpreted through Victorian art where gentle lowland rural scenes were contrasted with the wild highland landscape. For writers such as Thorsley (1972: 293) such beliefs were in part informed by novelists such as Sir Walter Scott whose Rob Roy character typified dominant perceptions of '…the Highland line as dividing wild and lawless countryside from a civilised and cultivated lifestyle'.

Discussing notions of the rural tourist idyll, writers such as Bell (2006) argues that it is common to promote the use of the rural countryside in terms of its understanding as a landscape of desire:

> *'Rural tourism offers us similar opportunities to think about (and visit) the global idyll. The business of giving us holidays in the countryside – whether pastoral or wilderness – demands that forms of idyll are culturally legible for tourist consumption'*
>
> *(Bell 2006: 156)*

In any studies of the Scottish rural, these observations around the Scottish rural landscape as a landscape of desire and as a fundamentally commercially viable proposition in terms of its use for tourism must be considered against the context of this previously cited 'chill grasp of a privileged few', for as demonstrated by writers such as Devine (2006: 450), Scotland has historically had '…the most concentrated patterns of private land ownership in Europe'. The extent of private land ownership in rural Scotland is a theme that will be

explored further in the next sub-chapter. However, such extraordinary levels of private ownership of the rural landscape clearly have a significant impact for some.

From analysis of the foregoing, it becomes clear that the Scottish rural continues to be portrayed as an idyll within a contemporary Scottish context and as with all purified and utopian concepts, notions of the rural idyll need to be deconstructed and understood both to assist in the understanding of the ways in which the rural idyll is produced and as a corollary to understand those things that its production denies or excludes. This is a perspective supported by writers such as Bell (2006) or Sibley (2005) who view the rural idyll as no more than a manufactured landscape and as the product of a particular form of moral ordering. Such perspectives are significant for as these authors argue, such purity can be easily threatened by 'pollution'.

For writers such as Bell (ibid), such romantic notions of the rural as an imaginary landscape and indeed the power of the physical landscape to symbolically define both rurality and national identity are important concepts and as discussed, the rural idyll is to be found through a wide range of mediums such as song, television, radio and the websites of powerful Scottish institutions. For other writers, such idyllic notions are also widely exploited, as evidenced for example through the proliferation of a variety of 'free-range' products in our supermarket such as 'wild Scottish salmon' where the commercial world freely exploits the notion of a utopian landscape for animal husbandry. As Pollan (2001) observes, such narratives in turn lead to notions of the 'supermarket pastoral' of organic produce.

Such landscapes of desire can also be interpreted through the lens of outdoor activity and outdoor adventure and again within a Scottish rural context there is a heavy reliance on such adventure tourism, particularly within the wild landscape of the Scottish highlands. This has led to interpretations of the rural by writers such as Lewis (2000) as an 'adventurescape' or rural playground for adventure sports. Such contemporary use of the Scottish rural landscape demonstrates not only how the use of rural land is in constant flux, but also how the 'desire' for such landscapes is in itself a recurring and transient concept. As writers such as Mingay observe:

> *'The rural idyll is a changing concept: The countryside at the end of the twentieth century is very different from that of a hundred years ago… Each generation of country dwellers and observers sees what it wants to see in the land: romantic beauty, nostalgic traces of the rustic past, peace, tranquility; despoiled landscapes, brutal intrusion of modernization, hurry, noise, pollution'.*
> *(Mingay, 1989: 6)*

This ideological pull of the rural as a landscape of desire based on notions of nostalgia and symbolic attachment to the perceived essence of hegemonic national identity are critical to both studies of the rural, and to the understanding of the power relationships that are exercised within such a topography. Within an English context, various writers such as Milbourne (1997: 95) have argued that such landscapes evoke the very essence of patriotism and nationalism through enduring images of 'England's green and pleasant land'. Such visions have also been endorsed by leading politicians such as the former Prime Minister, John Major who as Garland and Rowe (2001: 121) observe, articulated

his own conceptualisation of rural life as 'County grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs…and old maids cycling to Holy Communion through the morning mist'.

Such 'comforting' images of course correlate only with one particular and mono-cultural view of the national rural landscape and for writers such as Cloke and Little (1997); Chakraborti and Garland (2004); Neal and Agyeman (2006) and Cloke *et al*, (2006) this subjectivity has led to constructions of the rural as a homogenous social space where 'The terms 'rural' and 'countryside' tend to evoke images of harmony and consensus'.

For Cloke and Little (1997: 197) these representations of the countryside are '… controlled by white (generally male and middle-class) people. They construct images reflecting a concern with the reproduction of a mythical and nostalgic white heritage'. This perspective supports the earlier assertion by Agyeman (1995:5) that rurality had been linked with racial purity by historians who have '… written out people of colour from their hegemonic narratives'. Thus it is argued that notions of homogeneity have led to the popular construction of the rural as a 'white landscape' where certain identities and positionings are constructed to form ideas about who belongs or is welcome in the countryside.

This is a perspective supported by writers such as Philo (1992: 200) who also argues that the rural is purely a social and cultural construction dominated by white male, middle-class narratives, and by others such as Cantle (2005: 22) who notes that the rural remains almost entirely mono-cultural whilst the urban becomes increasingly heterogeneous.

However, it is worthy of note that the recent influx of tens of thousands of migrant workers into traditionally monocultural rural areas like East Anglia have fashioned new ideas and problems for such regions that challenge any simplistic notions of the binary 'black/white' othering process as a phenomenon based solely on skin colour.

Such middle class narratives have again been reinforced in the popular media through television programmes such as *The Good Life* which exemplifies what Ousley (2001) refers to as a 'retreat into urban comfort zones'. For Ousley (*ibid*: 10) this self-segregation by the white middle classes is driven by '…fear of others, the need for safety from harassment and violent crime and the belief that it is the only way to promote, retain and protect faith and cultural identity and affiliation'.

For other writers such 'control' of the rural landscape by powerful and exclusionary rural groups is an important feature in the maintenance of such landscapes of desire. This is a view supported by Murdoch and Marsden (1994: 15) who argue that the rural landscape can '…be seen as an outcome of processes of class formation as individuals and collectivities attempt to mould rural space into forms which reflect and perpetuate class identity and difference'. For these writers, such power is not only exercised by traditional land owners in the rural but also through middle-class incomers to the new 'gentry' as typified through the growth of executive housing developments in the more accessible rural commuter belt during the eighties and nineties:

> *'They are looking for rural life, which means life in a 'community'. If such a community does not exist, it will be created, as incomers weave together the 'old'*

and the 'new' into a 'hybrid' rurality, one that seeks to exclude all that these residents have moved away from, i.e. the pernicious effects of urbanism, with its 'fragmented' ways of life, its 'mixed-up' classes and ethnicities, its 'ambivalent' sexualities… Thus, the new rural communities can be seen as sites for 'anchoring' traditional middle-class identities'.

(Murdoch and Marsden, 1994: 229)

Having reflected on the various psychological, sociological, economic and political dimensions resultant from the power of the rural landscape as a landscape of desire then it becomes apparent that this powerful rural topography is 'exploited' in a number of different ways and that this exploitation in turn translates into a number of topographies of power. Therefore, it is argued that the very production of such landscapes of desire in the form of the rural idyll inevitably leads to the social and psychological construction of conceptions around who belongs, or does not belong, or who is welcome in the rural. Such subjectivity is extremely dangerous and as argued, inevitably results in the othering of certain groups based on a set of binaries around who or what 'belongs' or 'does not belong' in such landscapes of desire.

1.4   Scottish Rural Identity

The question of Scottish rural identity continues to perplex those living in contemporary Scottish society. For Scottish historians such as Devine and Logue (2002) the very constituents of Scottish national identity are complex but it is argued by these authors that two keys themes emerge. The first of these is the survival of a distinct sense of national

identity after the 1707 Union with England and within the overall context of a dual sense of being both Scottish and at the same time British. The second theme centres on observations around how the very notion of being Scottish has meant different things at different periods. Reflecting on the very nature of Scottish identity, these authors argue:

> *'...identity can be commonly shared, made individually manifest, put on like a costume, enforced, transformed and/or reconstructed, on the way that identity not only changes for a whole people in different times and circumstances but also how the understanding and expression of identity changes in the lives of individuals'.*
> *(Devine and Logue, 2002: ix)*

For these writers, the majority of those living in rural Scotland are comfortable with a dual identity in which notions of Scottish national identity and the sense of Scottishness are set within a duality encompassing a broader emotional loyalty to Britishness. This certainly appears to have been the position prior to the rise of nationalism and the election of the Scottish National Party in 2007. This is a perspective supported by the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Scottish Executive, 2002) which suggests that three out of every five Scots still felt some sense of being British. However, this survey also noted the strong feelings towards nationalism with three quarters of respondents classifying themselves as more Scottish than British.

The 2002 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (*ibid*) also reported that seven out of ten respondents were proud of the Scottish Saltire much more than the Union flag. Again striking at the rise of nationalism at this juncture, it was noted that the proportion of Scots

who actually denied a British identity had doubled over the previous decade from one in five to nearly two in five. More importantly, respondents ranked the importance of being Scottish second only to being a mother and father and ahead of issues such as employment and class.

In order to understand contemporary notions of Scottish rural identity, it is useful to commence with reflections on the Scottish past in order to gain an interpretative synthesis that better informs our understanding of the Scottish present. For writers such as Cloke (2006: 145) such an approach is essential to understanding notions of national identity and to understanding how these feelings of belonging also relate to notions of the rural idyll. Thus it is argued that the contextual and contingent issues of different times and spaces are in constant flux and that these constantly changing dynamics need to be appreciated in order to understand the various perspectives which frame them.

In his account of the Scottish nation since the Act of Union, the Scottish historian Professor Tom Devine (Devine, 2006) draws on key historic events of the past 300 years in order to provide a framework within which contemporary Scottish identity may be contextualised. In seeking to deliver a better understanding of the source and legacy of contemporary notions of Scottish national identity, he commences with a reflection on the late 17th century Jacobite challenge as the source of some of the most colourful personalities and familiar events in Scottish history:

> *'The story includes the exploits of Charles Edward Stuart, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', the drama of the '45 rebellion and the epic last stand of the Highland*

clans at Culloden. These are all the stuff of myth, romance and legend, and it is not always easy to penetrate the historical reality behind the seductive smokescreen created by countless poets, novelists, dramatists, film-makers and songwriters, all of whom have found the rise and fall of Scottish Jacobitism a beguiling source for their own creative work'.

(Devine, 2006: 31)

Such 'seductive smokescreens' and the importance of myth, romance and legend in sustaining and 'arousing' contemporary notions of Scottish rural identity as typified through the popular media were perhaps best exemplified by the 1995 release of the Twentieth Century Fox cinematic production *Braveheart* (Randall, 1995) starring the Australian film actor Mel Gibson which won five Academy Awards including an Oscar for the best film of that year for his portrayal of the 12th century Scottish 'hero' William Wallace. Laden with poetic license and Anglophobic sentiment the film seemed to capture the popular Scottish identity of the imagination by invoking notions of a mythical and utopian rural highland past and attributing the destruction of such to the English 'invaders'. The film concluded with an epilogue (op cit, 1995) 'In the year of our Lord 1314, patriots of Scotland, starving and outnumbered, charged the fields of Bannockburn. They fought like warrior poets. They fought like Scotsmen and won their freedom, Forever'.

Such preoccupation with historical events such as the 'glorious' victory over the English at Bannockburn in 1314 and the 'glorious' (and final) defeat by the English at Culloden in

1746 are key reference points in the contemporary Scottish psyche. Of equal significance, is the curious and somewhat puzzling predisposition for the positive adoption of 'selective' *Jacobite* and *Braveheart* versions of the Scottish rural past based mainly on highland narratives as noted by writers such as Brock (2002).

For Devine (2006: 231) the highland image ascribed to modern Scotland by the rest of the world and its distinctive symbols of the kilt, tartan and the bagpipes are something of a paradox and one which in reality bears no resemblance to contemporary Scotland where the overwhelming majority of the population is to be located within the central Scottish lowlands. For Devine, this paradox has resulted in a situation where it was '…the Highlands, the poorest and most underdeveloped [regions] of all, that provided the main emblems of cultural identity for the rest of the country. An urban society had adopted a rural face'. This paradox is acknowledged by other writers such as Warren (2002: 275) who notes how Scotland is constantly viewed through the 'prism of the highlands' and such observations can certainly be sustained through evidence of the everyday adoption of these cultural artifacts of highland identity for example by ascribing labels such as 'the Tartan Army' to those who follow the Scottish national football team. For Devine (ibid) the contemporary 'adoption' of notions of highland national identity can be located, at least in part to the Scottish regiments who fought in the Napoleonic wars:

> *'This strange development was part of a wider process, which was all but complete*
>
> *by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, through which (mostly) imagined and false*
>
> *Highland 'traditions' were absorbed freely by Lowland elites to form the symbolic*

basis of a new Scottish identity. This 'Highlandism' was quite literally the invention of a tradition'.

(Devine 2006: 233)

Thus it is argued that this invention of tradition based on Celtic fantasy had knowingly produced a distortion of the highland past and present and in doing so has sought and succeeded to project a national image in which the lowlands had no part. Such observations are in keeping with the analysis of other writers such as Holloway (2002: 102) who strikes at popular notions of traditional Scottish rural identity as viewed through the myth of a Celtic paradise that was destroyed by the English.

This trend towards the adoption of highland notions of Scottish rural identity is only partly informed by the current political and social context and their links to the historic myths, romance and legend as previously discussed. Another major factor which clearly impacts significantly on contemporary Scottish rural identity is the unparalleled levels of private land ownership that still exists in Scotland, and indeed how this land ownership can be ascribed to a very small number of private (and usually titled) individuals. Indeed, writers such as Devine (2006) highlight how Scotland has *the* highest levels of private land ownership in Europe with about 80% of the land belonging to the 'landed gentry'. Such phenomenal levels of private ownership of the rural landscape by a few powerful elites clearly has an impact on the perceived (inferior) identity of those who are disempowered by such extraordinary levels of landed hegemony.

For writers such as Wightman (1996) such notions of inferiority have been ingrained into the Scottish rural psyche through the maintenance of power by the ruling classes and land owning elites through a system of feudal land ownership and governance that has endured for over 900 years. These rural power dynamics are also noted by other writers such as Callendar (1998) who striking at such land distribution, hegemony and inequality notes:

> *'...the current system, dating from the last millennium, is traditionally represented in terms of the feudal hierarchy of God, the Paramount Superior and superiors and vassals. In a more reformed system, the priority of interest might be seen more appropriately in terms of the sovereignty of the people...'*
>
> *(Callendar, 1998: 204)*

This is a view supported by other writers such a Timperley (1980: 137) who argues that 'power and landownership have been synonymous in Scotland from time immemorial'. For Wightman (2004) those who own the land have protected it for centuries resulting in a situation where 80% of the privately owned land in Scotland (16 200 000 acres) is still in private ownership with one quarter of this privately owned rural land belonging to only 66 titled landowners with estates of 30700 acres or larger. Thus it is argued that the ruling classes have used landownership and politics to achieve and perpetuate political, social, economic and cultural power in rural Scotland and that these power dynamics still dominate the contemporary Scottish rural agenda.

Reviewing this evidence of phenomenal levels of private landownership, writers such as Lister-Kaye (1994) demonstrate how the landed gentry of the Victorian and Edwardian

periods essentially 'bought out' much of rural Scotland leading to the proliferation of the private hunting estates in the Scottish Highlands that still serve as the basis of power within contemporary rural Scotland:

> *'Everybody who was anybody in 1850 wanted a Highland sporting estate. There were plenty of takers in the Victorian world of the burgeoning industrial capitalism – an emergent class of nouveau riche, redolent with competitive snobbery, desperate to emulate a traditional land-owning aristocracy'.*
>
> *(Lister-Kaye, 1994: 13)*

Within a contemporary Scottish rural context, the following schematic of working highland sporting estates in the Scottish highlands provides a very graphic visual representation of the overwhelming dominance of 'hunting and hegemony' on the Scottish rural landscape.
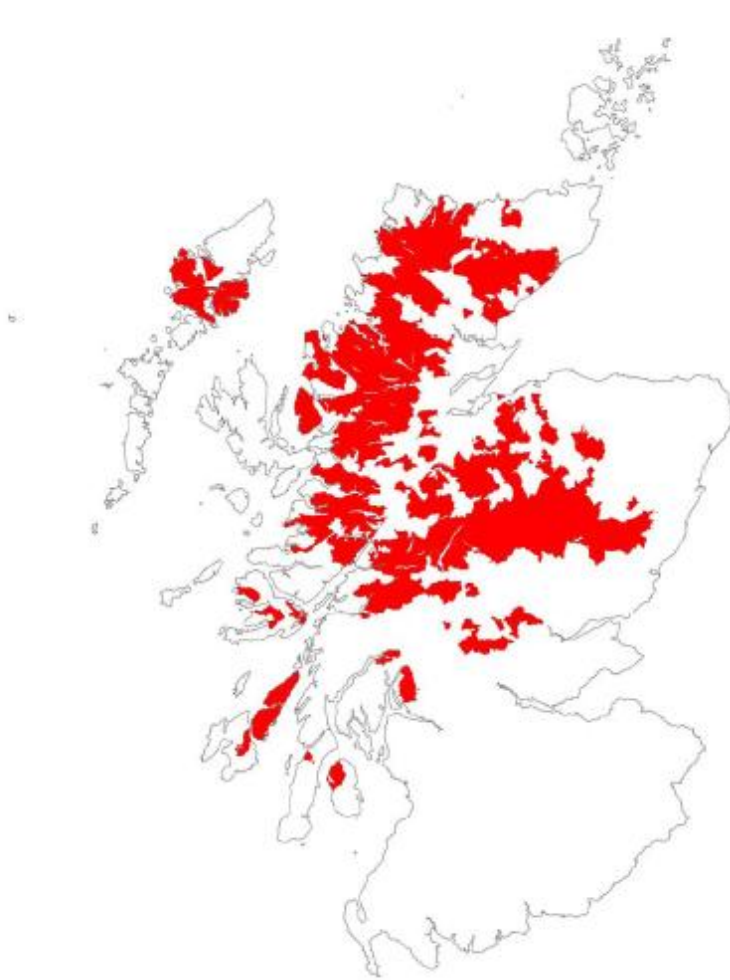
Figure 2: Distribution of rural Sporting Estates in the Scottish Highlands
   (Source - Noragric Working Paper No 36: 2004).

Such 'exclusive' use of space is not of course solely restricted to highland hunting estates and indeed the five lowland local authority areas that comprise the subject of this particular research project all have a number of sizable estates owned by private and titled land owners. Such phenomenal levels of private landownership clearly impact on psychological notions of Scottish rural identity and in particular amongst those

'subservient' to the ruling elites and landed hegemony power relationships that are in truth the very essence of the Scottish rural. These dimensions of power, based on landed hegemony and the associated impact on notions of Scottish rural identity particularly when combined with the other variables discussed combine to deliver a potent nationalist cocktail that seems to erroneously fix Scottish rural identity at a certain point in the past. This potent cocktail is then arguably ignited against the context of a glorified and mythical highland past and one that is predominantly viewed through the lens of perpetual and glorified struggle with the English. This argument is perhaps best sustained through the formal adoption of the song *Flower of Scotland* as the National Anthem for the national Scottish football and rugby teams and in particular its first verse:

> *'O Flower of Scotland, when will we see your like again, that fought and died for, your wee bit hill and glen, and stood against him, proud Edward's army, and sent him homewards, tae think again'.*
> *(Roy Williamson, circa 1960)*

This song, written by Roy Williamson of the Scottish folk-group *the Corries* was written around 1960 and commemorates the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314 where the Scottish army under the Scottish king Robert the First (Robert the Bruce) defeated the army of Edward the Second of England. Thus contemporary notions of Scottish rural identity as articulated through the national anthem are embedded with xenophobic nationalistic discourse, based, at least in part, on the myth of a utopian rustic rural highland past that, according to popular belief, was destroyed by the English 'invaders'.

Such observations around the historical and contemporary social context are important factors in delivering a more nuanced understanding of the Scottish rural psyche and may also assist in contextualising how certain cultural artifacts have come to be embedded within that psyche delivering a nationalistic belief system based partly on xenophobia and Anglophobic sentiment. In essence, these dimensions are what Allport (1979) refers to as 'cultural devices to ensure loyalty' where a frame of personal security is firstly adopted by a group based around notions of shared national identity and where that framework is then 'stimulated' in many other ways and usually at the expense of out-groups:

> *'One device is to fix attention upon the group's own glorious past. Each nation has some verbal expression that indicates that its inhabitants are 'the' people, or the 'chosen' people, or that they inhabit 'God's country'… The legend of the Golden Age intensifies the ethnocentrism'.*
> *(Allport, 1979: 236)*

Such cultural devices and belief systems are dangerous constructs which in turn inform public attitudes to discrimination through beliefs around 'who belongs' or 'does not belong' in rural Scotland. Accordingly, it is to the examination of this dimension that the remainder of this chapter now turns.

1.5 Rural Space

Reflections on the distinctiveness of the rural and the importance of landscape, culture, beliefs and other related variables in informing notions of who 'belongs' in the rural leads naturally to related questions around how and by whom such rural space is defined.

Equally, such analysis of inclusion and inclusive space intuitively raises related questions around whom or what such notional rural boundaries of inclusion are intended to exclude. For writers such as Sibley (2006) such rural spaces are bounded through fear and anxiety of 'others' and he notes how rural communities utilise political mobilisation and legislation in an attempt to exclude those who are deemed not to belong through the production of social and spatial boundaries that result in the reality of exclusionary rural space.

This is supported by other writers such as Cloke and Little (1997: 4) who note that power is bound up discursively in the very socio-cultural constructs which have come to characterise rural space arguing '… if rurality is bound up by nationalistic ideas of (white) Englishness then resultant cultural attitudes about who does and who does not belong in the countryside serve as discriminating mechanisms of exclusion'. Other writers such as Philo (2002) share this perspective and note the discursive power through which hegemonic representations of rural spaces act as defensive and exclusionary mechanisms that seek to sustain all that complies with the rural norm whilst simultaneously seeking to marginalise non-mainstream groups. Striking at how conventional accounts of rural life were dominated at the time (1992) by white, male, middle class narratives he argued:

> *'there remains a danger of portraying British rural people…as all being 'Mr Averages', as being men in employment, earning enough to live, white and probably English, straight and somehow without sexuality, able in body and sound in mind, and devoid of any other quirks of (say) religious belief or political affiliation'.*

(Philo, 1992: 200)

For Sibley (2006), the problem with rural space in the United Kingdom is that is has come to be represented as not only ethnically homogeneous but at the same time as a repository of core and mainstream rural values which are viewed as synonymous with national values. He argues:

> *'we have to understand how feelings about others translate into imaginary geographies and how these imaginary geographies influence policy and practice. One way into this is to think about some psychoanalytical interpretations of socio-spatial relations'.*
> *(Sibley 2006: 403)*

These observations around the conceptualisation of rural space as an 'imaginary geography' is supported by a wealth of academic writers for example Sibley (2005) who examining 'geographies of exclusion' demonstrates the tendency of powerful rural groups to purify space and to view minority outsiders as defiling that space. Such notions of discrepant rural 'others' is also supported by writers such as Philo (1997), Agyeman and Spooner (1997), Chakraborti and Garland (2004) and Cloke and Little (1997), who exploring 'contested countryside cultures' discuss the way in which certain identities and positionings in rural society are constructed to form ideas of who does or does not belong or who is or is not welcome in contemporary rural space. Similarly, Neal (2009) considers the construction of such 'rural identities' and the relationality between the countryside, ethnicity and community through the convergence of 'the natural' and 'the social'.

It is of course for these reasons that rural space has a particular ideological potency for all nationalist politicians and also for far right fascist organisations such as the National Front and the British National Party. These geographies of exclusion through control of rural space by the powerful and the related exclusionary practices are of particular significance because they are not readily visible to the casual observer and as a consequence the ways in which control is exercised in such rural society is subtly concealed beneath an otherwise invisible and respectable veneer. As Sibley (1995: 1) argues, 'It is the fact that exclusions take place routinely, without most people noticing, which is a particularly important aspect of the problem'. Thus it is argued that moral and other boundaries are constructed around rural space by groups in society who consider themselves to be normal so that mainstream 'self' is protected from those seen as 'other'. As Chakraborti and Garland (2004) suggest, such perspectives in turn lead to the conceptualisation of visible ethnic minority residents in the rural as 'communities of risk'.

In considering the ideological potency of rural space as conflated with notions of 'nation' it is important to distinguish the 'nature' of Scottish Nationalism and the Scottish National Party (SNP) from that of the British National Party (BNP). Quite simply, the SNP is a democratic left-of-centre political party committed to Scottish independence and sovereignty within Europe. Scottish Nationalism has permanently been on the agenda since the 1707 Act of Union and hence there is a tendency to conflate contemporary ideas around nation, personal identity and belonging with historical dimensions that no longer exist. The Scottish National Party seek to promote diversity within an independent Scotland but the constant conflation of historical ideas of nation, personal identity and

belonging against references solely to the perceived negative impact of the Act of Union invokes Anglophobic and therefore xenophobic sentiment. By contrast, the BNP are also a legitimate political party but as highlighted by Copsey (2008), one with a very dangerous and indeed a fascist agenda. This can be evidenced from the mission statement of the BNP where it becomes clear that racism is at the very heart of the party through explicit opposition to immigration, the opposition of 'the surrender to Europe' and the stated desire to 'secure a future for the indigenous [white] people of these islands'. More recently, there has been a proliferation of attempts to defend the sanctity of perceived national territory through the emergence of other far-right and Islamophobic groups such as the Scottish, English and Welsh Defence League.

Hence, various writers have argued that spatial boundaries are in part moral boundaries and have demonstrated how such spatial and moral separations are symbolic of an imposed moral order that is often applied to rural space. Like all defense mechanisms, such boundaries of course require to be defended from discrepant 'others' and in particular in response to any perceived or conceived threats to that stability or moral order:

> *'Family', 'suburb' and 'society' all have the particular connotation of stability and order for the relatively affluent, and attachment to the system which depends for its continued success on the belief in core values is reinforced by the manufacture of folk devils, which are negative stereotypes of various 'others'. Moral panics articulate beliefs about belonging and not belonging, about the sanctity of territory and the fear of transgression'.*
> *(Sibley, 1995: 43)*

At the root of this problem of course is the underlying assumption, and often hegemonic reality, that the countryside and rural space belongs only to the privileged and such symbolic politics clearly require a singular and homogenised view of rural society in order to sustain it. Indeed, in analysing the role of the privileged few in sustaining this exploiter-exploited relationship, some psychologists such as Allport (1979) argue that it is actually class difference that is the foundation of all prejudice in society and that all talk about racial, ethnic and cultural factors are mostly smoking-mirrors which in reality are no more than a verbal mask. This is a perspective supported by other writers such as Keith and Pile (1993) who note how such social, cultural and psychological constructions of rural space are an active component of the maintenance of hegemonic power.

Such hegemonic power over rural space in the United Kingdom is of course largely 'white' power but as Neal and Agyeman (2006: 6) observe 'The whitening of rural spaces has not been about whiteness *per se*. The whiteness that has been imagined in rural areas is particularly grained and hierarchically constructed as to its social and political desirability'. For these writers (*ibid*, 105), the conception of rural space in terms of its '*uber'* whiteness is problematic more because of its potency as a symbol in terms of the collective psyche of an exclusive white national identity and one which attaches to national territory and in particular rural space.

For Neal and Agyeman (*ibid*, 240) the symbolism of the countryside and its linkages to notions of national identity and belonging are key issues in what they refer to as 'The trialectics of space' in the countryside. For these authors 'perceived' and 'conceived'

spaces embody the symbolism of traditional rural images and linkages between those images and the whiteness of the countryside landscape and notions of white national identity. Such images are argued to have preoccupied 'the spatial practices of service deliverers and countryside agencies' which have neglected or denied the existence of problems such as racism in the rural.

This is a perspective supported by de Lima (2001: 53) who, striking at the inequality of service delivery by the agencies that control rural space, argues for a needs rather than numbers based approach to rural service delivery. On the other hand, the 'lived space' as posited by Neal and Agyeman (*ibid*) deals with the real and imaginary experiences of those who live in the countryside which is illuminated as 'a space of social struggle'. Based on the interpretation of these authors, it becomes clear that rural space may be conceived as a culturally contested landscape where notions of space and belonging are critical to questions of power, identity and processes of marginalisation and exclusion.

Other writers such as Sibley (1995: 5) also agree that exclusion has become the dominant factor in the creation of social and spatial boundaries in the rural and he contends that such exclusionary practices are based on power relations within society where people see 'others' as polluting 'their' space. He also argues that this conceals the way in which 'control' in society is exercised. However, for Sibley this fear of the 'other' is rooted in the psychology of self and he argues that it is through a process of abjection that images of whiteness and blackness become polarised leading to those who are different or seen as out of place in the rural being 'othered'. This 'fear' based on visible difference is also

noted by Ahmed (quoted in Neal and Agyeman, 2006: 158) but she argues that the fear of visible ethnic minorities comes not from the fact that a person is 'unknown' but from the fact that they are visibly 'different'.

In terms of the subject of rural racism to which this research thesis relates then such ideological notions of the 'other', the role of 'difference' and the 'othering process' and their representations in terms of whiteness and blackness are clearly central to the understanding of the problem of racism. Within a rural context, Philo (1992) sees this 'othering' process as an unwarranted focus upon the interests of powerful rural groups as resulting in the active exclusion of many different social groups from what he refers to as the zone of sameness. For Philo (*ibid*) these processes of active exclusion are to be found in the mechanisms of social and cultural regulation and geographies of exclusion which clearly position people of colour as out of place in the countryside:

> *'the geographies of peoples other than white, middle-class, middle-aged, able bodied, sound-minded, heterosexual men – offer challenging new ways of thinking (or maybe ways of rethinking) rural studies'.*
> *(Philo, 1992: 193)*

For other writers such as Shucksmith and Philip (2000: 4) there are a myriad of othering processes through which people of colour are marginalised and socially excluded. These othering processes include racist violence and harassment but are also manifested within the unique dynamics of the power relations that exist within rural environments. Examples include monopoly land ownership and planning controls as 'instruments of social

exclusivity' and managerialism, paternalism and clientism specifically through the influential role of local (white) elected members who are lobbied by the more articulate and powerful to reinforce social exclusion and the exercise of power by the already powerful.

Participation and democratisation are also identified as othering mechanisms, specifically where cultural barriers may serve as obstacles to prevent people of colour from participating in the political process thus creating a gap between people of colour and policy makers. Finally, they cite modes of community development through broad social policies with a specific geographic view of community. Thus communities of interest or in the case of visible ethnic minorities, 'communities of risk' are neglected thereby reinforcing social exclusion, otherness and marginality by the redistribution of power to the already powerful who continue to dominate the local rural political agenda.

The social and cultural construction of groups like visible ethnic minorities as being out of place in the rural not only leads to social exclusion but also raises important questions about identity, community and belonging. For Cloke and Little (1997: 277) such constructions are extremely important and they argue that the rural 'other' is effectively denied entry to the established community of rural dwellers whom as Bromley and Curtice (2004: 10) observe, do not see discrimination as a problem. This assertion in itself raises important questions about the dynamics of the rural for as these authors observe 'So while 'community' claims to be about tolerance and acceptance – giving the impression of

embracing diversity – in reality it seeks to deny difference and reject challenge to established norms of behaviour and belief'.

Such rhetorical notions of power, national identity, community and belonging based on romanticised notions of the rural as an unchanging and homogenous white landscape clearly delineate the unique nature of the ideological perspectives which lead to the perpetuation of racism and other forms of discrimination in the rural, and play a significant part in the active suppression of the diversity of the other. Such cultural constructions of inclusive or exclusive 'space' clearly raise important questions around the meaning and use of such space and around the construction of difference in determining exactly which groups are to be included or excluded in the rural. As Ouseley, (2001: 16) striking at the retreat into 'urban comfort zones' (*ibid*: 10) argues, 'self-segregation is driven by fear of others, the need for safety from harassment and violent crime and the belief that it is the only way to promote, retain and protect faith and cultural identity and affiliation'. In this regard, Ouseley quite clearly strikes at the formation of what Allport (1979, 37) refers to as 'In-groups and reference groups' where the indigenous white population positively adhere to the principles of in-group loyalty and in doing so prepare the way for rejection of those deemed to belong to a reference group or out-group. Such narratives clearly have political appeal to some such as the far right British National Party (quoted in Chakraborti and Garland, 2004: 5) who refer to the rural as a 'refuge' and '… a place to make a fresh start, away from the sordid, squalid towns and cities of Blair's new Babylon'.

From such narratives it becomes clear that for some rural space is conceived as a traditional white sanctuary where visible ethnic and other minorities are 'other' and therefore do not belong. Thus the idealisation of a landscape populated by homogenous communities means that visible ethnic and other minorities are seen as being out of place by a stereotype which locates them elsewhere and in this regard spatial boundaries become conceived as moral boundaries. It is such moral boundaries that mark out the unique characteristics of rural racism and it is that mythical moral hygiene that Solomos and Back (1996: 18) contend, needs to be defended '… in the face of attack from enemies *outside* and *within'*.

Within a Scottish rural context, such moral boundaries around conceived national space have been widely acknowledged and can be evidenced through social attitudes surveys and assessment of public attitudes to discrimination that has demonstrated the endemic nature of this problem in Scotland. Those dimensions will be explored more fully in chapter two.

1.6   Chapter Conclusion

Chapter one has sought to build on the introduction to the specific aims of this doctorial research through initial presentation and critical review of the existing academic literature in relation to the study of the rural. In doing so, it has acknowledged the general paucity of academic research and writing on the subject of the Scottish rural and the almost complete absence of any significant research into the subject of rural racism in Scotland. Accordingly this initial chapter has drawn out of necessity on the wider United Kingdom

academic material discussed in relation to the study of the rural and in addition to writing from Scottish historians and rural geographers so as to assist in the delivery of a more nuanced contextualisation of the specificity of the Scottish rural.

To establish an analytical framework within which to do this, chapter one has followed four broad analytical themes. Firstly, it sought to contextualise 'the rural' so as to understand what social scientists and others have had to say about the rural and what delineates it as a distinct entity worthy of academic research. In doing so, it was argued that rural geographers, social scientists, historians, psychologists and politicians have deployed a range of different perspectives and foci in shaping our understanding of the rural and that this has been refined through a shifting theoretical lens in an attempt to make sense of and define the essential characteristics of rurality.

Against this context, it was acknowledged that in more recent years, studies of the rural have seen a deepening and growing plurality of research focusing on the social construction of the rural. However, under final analysis it was argued that academic attempts to deconstruct and adequately conceptualise the rural metanarrative have been far from straightforward challenges and that as a consequence the accepted reality of a more plural rural had emerged within contemporary academic thought. Against this context, it was also noted that Scotland is widely acknowledged as an almost exclusively rural landscape and it was noted that the current nationalist government in Scotland and others had sought to exploit such notions of rurality with linkages to thoughts of nationhood and notions of national belonging.

It was then argued that such political and social constructions of Scotland and the Scottish rural landscape were often erroneously based on an understanding of it being historically unchanging and synonymous with purified national identity. It was also noted that such constructions were key features in the Scottish Government 'Homecoming Scotland' campaign for 2009, and how such notions are dangerous constructs that strike resonance with the title of this thesis in terms of actively 'suppressing the diversity of the Other'. In particular, it was also argued that this kind of xenophobia, based largely on notions of a purified national (white) identity sits uneasily with the fusions of modern diverse Scottish rural society.

Chapter one then progressed to explore the relationship between landscape and notions of belonging in terms of the rural idyll through reflection on the theme of 'landscapes of desire' and the powerful symbolism of the Scottish rural landscape was noted in terms of its psychological effect on notions of national identity and belonging. It was noted that the symbolic power of the Scottish rural landscape was a major influence on the Scottish psyche and that the issue of romance, myth and legend and indeed the 'yoke' of Anglophobia all seem somehow intertwined and inseparable with notions of the Scottish rural landscape and concomitantly to notions of Scottish identity.

The specificity of 'Scottish rural identity' was then considered in detail by reflecting on Scottish land ownership, elites, people, power and the conceptualisation of 'highlandism' in shaping contemporary notions of Scottish national identity. It doing so, it was also noted that Scotland has the highest percentage of private rural landownership in Europe

and that through this landscape of landed hegemony, romance, myth and legend are intentionally sustained so as to be used to exploit the tourist trade. It was argued that such phenomenal levels of private landownership clearly impact on psychological notions of Scottish rural identity and in particular amongst those subservient to the ruling elites and landed hegemony power relationships that are in truth the very essence of the Scottish rural.

For these reasons it was also argued that class and the exercise of power through the reality of a rural landscape dominated by landed hegemony impacts on notions of rural identity and, particularly when combined with the other variables discussed, combines to deliver a potent nationalist cocktail that seems to erroneously fix Scottish rural identity at a certain point in the past. It was also argued that this potent cocktail is then arguably ignited against the context of a glorified and mythical highland past and one that is predominantly viewed through the lens of perpetual and glorified struggle with the English.

Chapter one then concluded by considered the meaning and use of rural space in terms of belonging and not belonging and related to this the matter of inclusion and exclusion in the rural. In doing so, it was argued that exclusion has become the dominant factor in the creation of social and spatial boundaries in the rural and it was noted that such exclusionary practices are based on power relations within society where people see 'others' as polluting 'their' space. It was also argued that this conceals the way in which control in society is exercised within such a predominant white landscape such as rural

Scotland and that such notions had a particularly damaging effect on those seen as not belonging such as visible ethnic minorities.

Thus reflections on 'the rural', 'landscapes of desire', 'Scottish rural identity' and 'rural' space' have provided an analytical framework against which to conduct a literature review and to assess what social scientists and other academics have had to say about the rural and rural Scotland. In doing so, these reflections have revealed the subtle and often covert mechanisms through which power is exercised in society and therefore it has been argued that any appreciation of the highly visible powerful topography of the Scottish rural landscape needs to be set against a wider context and one which also considers the largely invisible yet phenomenal topographies of power that in truth dominate the Scottish rural.

Chapter Two

Understanding Racism, Racial Prejudice and Racist Victimisation

2.1   Introduction to Chapter

Having sought to contextualise the distinctiveness of the rural in chapter one of this thesis, and before turning to consider the methodology of this research project, it is necessary to proceed by presentation and critical review of the existing literature in relation to the problem of racism in the United Kingdom. In doing so, chapter two will commence by reflecting on the 'scientific' construction of race and will consider how the historical and structural dimensions of 'race' and 'racism' more generally must be understood in order to adequately contextualise the broader theoretical perspectives concerned with understanding the phenomenon of racism. It will then turn to examine the 'social' construction of race and how these dimensions have become institutionalised in agencies and structures of the state leading to a legacy of racism within contemporary United Kingdom society. The chapter will then turn to focus on the specific phenomenon of racist victimisation more generally before considering the nature, extent and impact of the problem in the United Kingdom whilst also reflecting on previous academic work which touches on the specific phenomenon of rural racism.

To establish a framework within which to do this, chapter two will follow four broad analytical themes. Firstly, it will seek to explore and theorise the broader concepts of race and racism by focusing on how 'feelings and images of difference' influence public attitudes and prejudices towards people with black or brown skins. Secondly, to

contextualise the multi-faceted 'nature' of racist victimisation to explore how the phenomenon is constructed so as to begin to understand the various variables that might distinguish rural racism from the similarities of more general racism in the urban environment. Thirdly, it will explore what is currently known about the 'extent' of the problem of racist victimisation in rural areas of the United Kingdom and the community safety challenges that this presents for agencies such as the police through the findings of previous research. Finally, it will seek to assess the 'impact' of the phenomenon on victims and will explore the extent to which their experiences are exacerbated by other factors such as the dynamics of the rural and the inadequacy of response by agencies of the state. The chapter will also focus on just how little is actually known about the phenomenon of rural racism outside of the world of academia, whilst also considering what this means for people of colour living in the rural and how their experiences impact on perceptions of community and safety. Chapter two will conclude by summarising the four key themes explored and will relate them directly to the specific research question to be explored within southeast Scotland.

2.2   Feelings and Images of Difference – Understanding Racism

The issue of feelings and images of difference, and the conceptualisation of race, has become core in the emphasis of prejudicial ideas about human differences and for writers such as Allport (1979), there has been no field of science in which the misunderstandings among educated people have been so frequent and so serious. Indeed, the concept of race and racism itself has been the subject of much scientific and sociological debate and it is one that is also heavily negatively loaded in moral and political terms.

For Miles and Brown (2003) there are a range of theoretical perspectives and paradigms through which racism may be interpreted and they observe how racism has been considered as an ideology, as a race relations paradigm, and also as a complex series of scientific, psychological, moral, political, social and biological questions. Above all, they argue that racism was conceived as an ideology that arose with and is interdependent to the ideology of nationalism. 'In other words, the 'nation' will inevitably identify itself with the 'race'. This inevitably leads to a nationalistic purism, an ideology that 'we' must not be contaminated by 'them' (Miles and Brown, 2003:10) thus they argue that such ideologies mean that national 'self' must be protected from 'others' whose 'real' nationality must lie elsewhere.

Such notions of national purism based on feelings and images of difference leads to negative and contaminating representations of the 'other' through each of the various interpretative frameworks highlighted and has a negative impact on those who are seen as 'different'. In relation to the 'scientific' construction of race as a biological question, it is clear that phenotypical 'differences' between peoples such as skin colour have been considered throughout history and have led to attempts by many to offer explanatory accounts for those highly visible physical distinctions. According to Banton (2000: 62), early 19th century accounts of 'race' were based on the erroneous assumption of distinct and biologically ordered hierarchies where 'those with black or brown skin were thought to be at a lower stage in the evolutionary process than white people'.

Such hierarchical interpretations around ideas about 'race' and associated ideas of racial superiority have also been widely associated with the legacy of colonialism and the associated racial ideologies and practices of domination, exclusion and images of the 'other'.

'In the nineteenth century, in the age of expanding European colonies, the black becomes the primitive per se, a primitivism mirrored in the stultifying quality of his or her dominant sense, touch, as well as the absence of any aesthetic sensibility'

(Gilman 1991, quoted in Solomos and Back 2000: 14)

Such ideological and biological accounts of 'race' do of course arise from historical and contemporary human thought and the importance of psychology in informing such ideological and biological interpretations is highlighted by writers such as Mama (1995: 23), who reveals how in the 19th century, psychologists arranged dissections on the bodies of Africans '… in order to draw comparisons between black people and apes, between criminals and 'lower races' and the mentally subnormal'. Similarly, early twentieth century writers such as Allier (1929:20) argued that black people were '…backwards individuals who know nothing of our culture and whose customs at time borders on bestiality'.

In essence therefore it becomes clear that whilst the notion of 'race' is now widely recognised as a social construct that lacks scientific validity, it has nevertheless been historically presented as a question of fact where the ideological and moral 'sciences' of

biology and psychology have played a major hand in perpetuating racism in the two hundred years that have followed the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade.

> *'...the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the doctrine of white supremacy being substantiated and legitimised by the emerging sciences: by biology, phrenology, evolutionism and, later, by anthropology, all of which reified racist sentiments which accorded with imperialist interests, giving them incontestable status of scientific truth'.*
>
> *(Mama 1995: 95)*

These moral, ideological and psychological references to inherent biological differences between white and non-white 'races' have provided the historical basis upon which white people have legitimised oppressive actions against people of colour through for example slavery, and those actions have clearly been based on theoretical interpretations that deliver an inevitable predilection for establishing distinct hierarchies. Such constructions of 'race' are of course transient concepts and their meaning becomes contested over time and place through ongoing societal flux. However, it is important to recognise the historical context in which they are located and also to recognise that subsequent explanatory frameworks also embody clear social, political, historical and economic assumptions and dimensions. These grand biological accounts of hierarchically ordered races have since been largely discredited through social scientific debate, however as Lee and Newby (1983: 16) rightly observe '… social relationships tend to possess a degree of consistency or stability over periods of time'. Accordingly, their embedded belief systems and values do hold some particular contemporary resonance.

Accordingly, historical notions and legacies of racial superiority and inferiority and notions of 'blackness' and 'whiteness' are central to contemporary sociological constructions of 'race' and 'racism'. 'Ethnicity' on the other hand is widely accepted through sociological debate as a more transient concept and is commonly used to denote shared group identities based on affiliation to language, religion or cultural practices. However, as Neal (2009) rightly observes, the perceptive distinction between ethnicity and nation is often less clear:

> *'The constant bleed between ethnic identity and national identity is an unsurprising one given their co-constitutive relationship. Nations draw heavily on ideas of shared culture, kinship, history and ethnic identity is not without geography – ethnicity relies on ideas of having ties to real and imagined homelands. Nevertheless these categories are not completely collapsible into the other'.*
> *(Neal, 2009:56)*

The 'significance' of such constructions of race though is the erroneous belief in distinct and hierarchically ordered 'types', accompanied by pejorative moral and ideological conceptualisation around notions of superiority and inferiority. As Montagu (1997) suggests, it is a tragic myth that has formed the basis for oppressive, destructible and inhuman action by so many. In essence therefore the concept of 'race' is a false construct and as Miles (1982) suggests it is simply a descriptive word applied to phenotypic variation such as differences in skin colour.

2.2.1 New Racisms

For other writers such as Bulmer and Solomos (2004: 8) contemporary racisms and feelings and images of difference have centred on debates around the ontological status of 'race' and the rise of identity politics. They argue that there is an emergent tendency to attempt to fix human groups according to political and geographic contexts whereby racialised subjects are effectively 'othered' by racist discourse which places them as perpetual outsiders because of social or cultural characteristics assigned to them. Thus persons are viewed as 'belonging' or 'not belonging' to a particular society based on a certain characteristic, for example skin colour, through the flawed logic embedded within certain racist discourses. Alternatively, they become victims of cultural racism through negative focus on the detrimental 'alien' properties of items of traditional dress such as the hijab or the jilbab. Indeed, in broader research into hate crime more generally, Chakraborti and Garland (2009: 45) note that such religiously motivated hate crimes are often based on the '…alien characteristics of the Islamic faith and its perceived threat to secular, and often monoculturalist, images of national identity'.

Thus, the conflation of 'race', 'nation', 'faith' and 'belonging' has become an important variable in contemporary United Kingdom politics and as writers such as Bowling observe, debates about migration, civil unrest, crime and the problems of the inner city have become subtly infused with racialised stereotypes and symbols. For Bowling (1998: 54) '…violence has been an enduring feature of the white British reaction to the presence of 'blacks', 'Pakis' and Jews who have settled on this island'. Equally, writers such as Rex and Tomlinson have argued that such white discriminatory reaction to the presence of

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migrant workers was a key factor in the creation of such social division through the effective creation of a racialised underclass:

> *'The concept of the underclass was intended to suggest… that the minorities were systematically at a disadvantage compared with their white peers and that, instead of identifying with working class culture, community and politics, they formed their own organisations and became effectively a separate underprivileged class'*
> *(Rex and Tomlinson, 1979: 275)*

Such stereotypical thought processes based on feelings and images of difference are of course in constant flux, as evidenced through the recent emergence of 'new racisms' and the new 'cultural politics of difference' that has focussed so much of its attention on the West-Islam dichotomy. Such contemporary racisms, as evidenced through the rise of the English, Scottish and Welsh Defence Leagues, though not only relate to psychological feelings and images of difference and the dialectic of 'self' and 'other' but also have clear linkages to thoughts of 'nation' and the xenological thinking of the past two centuries. Indeed exploring this West-Islam dichotomy, writers such as Bulmer and Solomos (2004: 176) note how Islamophobia 'has now transcended the traditional Black-White binary' to broaden frameworks for theorising contemporary racisms in the United Kingdom. This is a perspective shared by other writers such as Kundnani (2007:100) who notes the institutional and structural dimensions of anti-Muslim racism embedded within the state response to the so called 'war on terror'. Indeed the issue of Islamophobia and 'xeno-racism' (Sivanandan, 2006) in the post 9/11 and 7/7 era is of particular significance to contemporary debates on racism and the re-emergence of extreme right wing politics as

the number of Muslim victims of racist incidents reported to the police has risen alarmingly in recent years (Kundnani, *ibid*) and has seen previous advances in multiculturalism being significantly eroded.

2.2.2   Fear of Difference

For psychologists such as Allport (1979), such prejudice based on complex feelings and images of difference has existed throughout history and he argues that it is a natural, unavoidable and often beneficial process where people fear others who are different because of protective learned experiences from childhood. He argues that the roots of fear are often located within such protective psychological processes of the mind and that as such prejudice has little to do with race which in any event is something of an anachronism. He defines prejudice (1979: 7) as '…an avertive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group'.

Thus it is argued by Allport that imaginary fear of the 'other' is a natural and sometimes beneficial human trait but equally a destructive one where imaginary fears sometimes translate to cause real-life suffering to others. He also concludes that there is no solution to the condition of human prejudice and notes (*ibid*: xvii) 'It is easier, someone has said, to smash an atom than a prejudice'. Highlighting the natural tendency of the human mind to attempt to bring order to an otherwise confusing world, he argues that this otherwise sensory overload means that the human brain must simplify thought processes to decide

whether objects are good or bad by grouping them into generic classes. Striking at how this translates into the specific phenomenon of ethnic prejudice he argues:

> *'Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of the group…The net effect of prejudice, thus defined, is to place the object of prejudice at some disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct'.*
>
> *(Allport, 1979: 9)*

In this regard, it is clear that a range of variables can influence psychological processes to create a fear of difference and that such processes have also had a major role to play in stereotyping and derogating people of colour. Indeed it is equally clear that psychologists and other 'scientists' have also had a number of derogatory things to say about black and colonised people and indeed about all visible ethnic minorities. Thus, white supremacy can be conceptualised as a set of discourses and practices that have subjugated non-European people and have cast them in the position of subjected 'others' and writers such as Yeboah (1988:51) observe how the psychological 'science of racism' has been used to support colonialism and justify economic exploitation. Thus, a wealth of academic writers have demonstrated how racial prejudice is in essence a series of negative social attitudes that are propagated by those who seek to exploit or stigmatise people of colour as being inferior so as to then legitimise and rationalise that very exploitation.

The legacy of such psychodynamic concepts may assist in understanding explanations of contemporary racisms and may also assist in the understanding of how psychological feelings and images of difference play an active part in the thought processes that inform attitudes to discrimination. For Klein (1986:182) such feelings do not arise out of nature but are learned behaviour associated with nurture and she uses object relations theory to explain how the human mind splits objects into good and bad and induces idealisation of the good and familiar object, and annihilation of the bad or unfamiliar object.

This perspective is supported by other writers such as Wetherell (2003: 105) and Sibley (1995: 5) who argues that through nurture a psychological perception of the social and material world is developed and how in turn this leads to internalised social and spatial boundaries. For Sibley this psychological understanding of 'self' is key to how people come to fear others who are 'different' and he argues that it is through a process of abjection that images of whiteness and blackness become polarised leading to those who are different or seen as out of place being 'othered'. Thus it becomes clear that psychology and the natural and learning functions of the human mind have had a major part to play with regard to 'individual racisms' and specifically in the formation of personal and wider public attitudes to discrimination. As the eminent statesman Nelson Mandela (1994: 749) once observed when reflecting on such matters, 'No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate …'

This recognition of fear of difference, or fear of the other, as learned behaviour was a key finding of the United Kingdom Governments 'Community Cohesion' agenda (Home Office: 2005) following a series of race related riots in northern towns and cities in England in 2001, where writers such as Cantle (2005: 8) acknowledge that little has ever been done to tackle the underlying causes of prejudice and discrimination, or to address how these feelings and images of difference are constructed and how they can result in physical and social self-segregation (in racial terms) through fear. Such self-segregation is of course a barrier to multiculturalism and strikes at what writers such as Ouseley (2001: 16) refer to as a retreat into 'comfort zones' and the erection of boundaries of exclusion which then preclude opportunities for the development of mutual trust and tolerance. Thus this fear of 'difference' is part of a wider social process in which real and virtual barriers are erected around groups or around 'self' and 'other' giving rise to the myths and stereotypes that fuel intolerance.

For other writers such as Dozier (2002: 41) this self-segregation is a natural process and he uses social identity theory to explain how feelings and images of difference cause societies everywhere to break into 'in group' and 'out group'. For others such as Allport (1979) this natural tendency towards self-segregation is problematic as it inevitably leads to the natural rejection of and discrimination against out groups. Psychology therefore has had an important role to play in both sustaining and understanding racism and in the formation of the feelings and images of difference that inform attitudes to discrimination. Thus, there is a wealth of academic evidence to support the view that feelings and images of difference directly fuel racial intolerance and in terms of assessing public attitudes to

discrimination, research in Scotland by Bromley and Curtice (2003) has revealed psychology to be *the* most important factor influencing public attitudes to discrimination.

Such intolerance is clearly based on the conceptualisation of visible ethnic minorities as a 'problem' and as writers such as Gilroy (1987) contends:

> *'The idea that blacks comprise a problem, or more accurately a series of problems, is today expressed at the core of racist reasoning. It is closely related to a second idea which is equally pernicious, just as popular and again integral to racial meanings. This defines blacks as forever victims, objects rather than subjects, beings that feel yet lack the ability to think, and remain incapable of considered behaviour in an active mode. The oscillation between black as a problem and black as a victim has become, today, the principal mechanism through which 'race' is pushed outside of history and into the realm of natural, inevitable events'*
>
> *(Gilroy, 1987: 11)*

2.2.3   Structural and Institutional Racisms

It is ultimately through such historical and contemporary pernicious societal beliefs that processes of exclusion and discrimination have come to be embedded and institutionalised in apparatuses of the state such as the criminal justice system. Although much of the evidence of racism at an institutional level predates Macpherson's (1999) definition, it is important to recognise the historical context around which the major societal institutions such as the criminal justice system have been designed and how this design continues to

perpetuate and serve as a primary apparatus of domination and control. The evidence in terms of overt prejudice is drawn from accounts of pejorative perceptions of ethnic minorities at all levels in the police service (Smith and Gray, 1983). Prejudice has also been found in the legal profession (King *et al*., 1990), and in the judiciary (King and May, 1985). Even at the culmination of the process, prejudicial attitudes towards ethnic minority groups have also been evidenced amongst prison service staff (Singh, 2009).

Thus various writers have suggested that there is a clear tradition of the institutional dimensions of racism embedded within the very fabric of key agencies of the state established within mainstream United Kingdom society. For Kundnani (2007: 5) these institutional dimensions are in essence state sponsored racisms that have been on the increase through global political dimensions and through related legislation introduced in the United Kingdom since the commencement of the so-called war on terror as evidenced by '…the consolidation of new anti-Muslim and anti-immigration racisms' which seek to place limits on cultural difference and seek to suppress the diversity of those who are seen as 'other'. Kundnani (*ibid*) also notes the double standards of the state in the denial of its complicity in the creation and sustenance of structural racisms in what he refers to as the 'new age of empire'. These are important observations as whilst much attention has traditionally been given to the question of the racist behaviours and attitudes of individuals in the United Kingdom, it is equally the case that little has ever been done to acknowledge or address the structural or institutional dimensions of power and racism as perpetuated in national and international terms by the state which through denial are sustained as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

For these writers, images and notions of domination and control have become woven into the fabric of the major social institutions through national processes that seek to maintain the domination of the (white) majority over the (non-white) minorities and writers such as Bowling (1998: 29) who also observes that 'the legacy of colonialism has now transformed into indigenous racism'. These processes of 'institutional' racism are compounded by a multiplicity of other factors including attempts to link the notions of 'whiteness', 'nation', 'national identity' and 'belonging' to create processes in society which seek to exclude the non-white 'other' as explored by Garland and Chakraborti (2004: 123), by the linking of 'race' to 'crime' through processes of racialisation as highlighted by Keith (1996) and through continuing contemporary processes of state racialisation as articulated by Rowe (2004: 164). As Gilroy (2004: 306) observes '… the symbols associated with 'race', 'nation', 'national culture', 'patriotism' and 'belonging' have acquired potent new meanings which are deeply implicated in the way in which national crisis is represented and mediated'.

These institutional dimensions of racism within contemporary United Kingdom society are problematic enough when set in an urban context, but as argued in chapter one are then further exacerbated by the rural due to its hegemonic social construction as a traditional white landscape where visible ethnic minorities are 'other' and therefore do not belong. Thus physical spatial boundaries within the rural context become conceived as moral boundaries and it is those moral boundaries that mark out the unique characteristics of rural racism to be explored further in subsequent chapters of this thesis. This xenophobic mythical moral hygiene and the erection of class and other boundaries around conceived

national space by powerful elites and institutions such as the current nationalist government in Scotland also serves to perpetuate prejudice against people of colour in rural Scotland through the creation of a stereotype that locates them as elsewhere. Such racist prejudice has serious real-life consequences for people of colour living in the rural and it is to the examination of the specific phenomenon of racist victimisation that this chapter now turns.

2.3 Contextualising the nature of racist victimisation

One of the most common misconceptions around the issue of racial prejudice and racist victimisation in a contemporary United Kingdom context is the erroneous belief that these are relatively recent phenomenon associated with inner city tensions and race conflicts resultant from significant increases in immigration from the late 1950s onwards:

> *'Accepted wisdom about violent racism is that after a period of relatively successful integration of large numbers of black and brown people arriving in Britain from the former Empire, there was a sudden flare-up of violence between whites and 'non-whites' in the second half of the twentieth century…Sadly, however, violent racism has a much longer history than this'.*
>
> *(Panayi, 1996, cited in Bowling, 1998: 24)*

However, despite such popular and misguided belief, other writers such as Jordan (2000) highlights for example evidence of the presence of 'Moors' in the United Kingdom from

the middle ages whilst also providing clear evidence of the presence of black people in London associated with the slave trade since the sixteenth century.

> *'Native West Africans probably first appeared in London in 1554,in that year five "Negroes", as the legitimate trader William Towerson reported, were taken to England, "kept till they could speak the language," and then brought back again "to be a helpe to Englishmen" who were engaged in trade with Negroes on the coast'.*
>
> *(Jordan, 2000:34)*

For Fryer (1984) the presence of black people at this juncture was relatively common and he notes the presence of other visible ethnic minorities as musicians and court entertainers. However, he also notes something of a paradox arguing that whilst on one hand it became fashionable towards the end of the 16th century for the titled and property owning classes to have a black slave as a household servant; on the other such black people also came to be defined as a 'problem'. This was most notably evidenced through a royal proclamation by Queen Elizabeth the First who disapproved of their presence and ordered their deportation through the narration of a royal command which ordered that 'negars and Blackamoores… which are crept into this realm' should be 'with all speed' banished and discharged out of Her Majesty's dominions' (Fryer, 1984: 12).

Within a Scottish context, the presence of people of colour has also been noted since the middle ages (de Lima, 2001) but this presence appears to have been conveniently written

out of Scottish history. Indeed on 6 October, 2007, an article in the Scottish Daily Express (Munro, 2007) featured an article entitled 'Who's that with Charlie?' after the National Trust for Scotland had discovered an image of a black person in an 18th Century tapestry depicting the Battle of Culloden on 16 April, 1746. The article (*ibid*) cited the puzzlement and amazement of historians who confirmed that historical records made no mention of the presence of this 'mystery figure'. The tapestry is currently on display at the new battlefield centre near Inverness where staff believe that the figure may have been a Jamaican servant of a senior Government officer.

For other writers, the presence of people of colour in the United Kingdom can be traced to much earlier periods in history and prejudice and racial violence and harassment against all manner of minority groups can be similarly mapped:

> *'...attacks have been inflicted on minority communities since they settled in this country. The massacre of 30 Jews in a riot in London after the coronation of Richard 1 in 1189 was followed by similar attacks in York, Bury St Edmonds, Norwich and Lincoln'.*
>
> *(Nicholson, 1974; cited in Klug, 1982 cited in Bowling, 1998: 24)*

Indeed Bowling (1998) highlights how early British history is littered with examples of ambivalence towards the presence of dark-skinned minorities and how racial violence and harassment by 'whites' towards visible ethnic minorities has been a recurring theme for centuries.

In seeking to delineate between the root causes of the concepts of such prejudice and discrimination, writers on human psychology such as Allport (1979) have sought to deliver some conceptual clarity. Firstly, in relation to the formation of prejudice it is argued that there are two essential component ingredients and these are posited as 'attitude' and 'belief'. Additionally, for these attitudes and beliefs to translate into prejudice it is further argued that the attitude, whether positive or negative, must also be related to an overgeneralised and therefore erroneous belief. However, for Allport (*ibid*), holding prejudicial attitudes and beliefs is also a natural internalised human trait which in itself does not necessarily have a serious social consequence. By contrast however, it is argued that discrimination results when individuals translate these internalised prejudices into negative practices and thus it is argued that discrimination has a far more immediate and serious social consequence than has a simple prejudice.

In terms of acting out such prejudice, Allport (1979, 14) then conceptualises a scale of intensity for such rejective behaviour to distinguish such negative action from the least energetic to the most. These are posited as 'antilocution', 'avoidance', 'discrimination', 'physical attack' and finally 'extermination'. The first of these variable is antilocution and it is argued that most people who hold prejudices will discuss them freely but significantly that the majority '…will never go beyond this mild degree of antipathetic action'. The next incremental variable is avoidance of social contact but where the bearer of prejudice rarely inflicts harm on the group that he or she dislikes. The third variable of actual discrimination is constituted when the prejudiced person '…makes detrimental distinctions of an active sort' or in other words exercises some form of exclusion. The

fourth variable is actual physical attack based on hatred, whilst the final is extermination as expressed through conduct such as racial murders or genocide. Allport then concludes:

> *'This five-point scale is not mathematically constructed, but it serves to call attention to the enormous range of activities that may issue from prejudiced attitudes and beliefs. While many people would never move from antilocution to avoidance; or from avoidance to discrimination, or higher on the scale, still it is true that activity on one level makes transition to a more intense level easier. It was Hitler's antilocution that led Germans to avoid their Jewish neighbors and erstwhile friends. This preparation made it easier to enact the Nurnberg laws of discrimination which, in turn, made the subsequent burning of synagogues and street attacks upon Jews seem natural. The final step in the macabre progression was the ovens at Auschwitz'.*
>
> *(Allport, 1979: 15)*

It is therefore argued by Allport that whilst some prejudice may be natural and harmless enough when considered in isolation, the real danger lies not in its existence but rather in its wider societal acceptance, as it is this acceptance that then offers the dangerous potential for incremental or direct progression to far more serious forms of harm. This classic model provided by Allport provides a sound paradigm for the framing of different forms of racist victimisation in a contemporary United Kingdom context where through the focus on individual 'reported' incidents there is clear evidence of the impact of racist behaviour over all five levels of his conceptual framework.

However, in seeking to further comprehend and contextualise the nature of such prejudice as it relates to racist victimisation and as experienced by visible ethnic minority residents in the United Kingdom, it must also be recognised that contemporary racism must be understood not only through the lens of such individual reported incidents, but also as part of a much wider continuum of lived experiences of prejudice. Such dimensions are explored by 'hate crimes hurt more' theories that have been advanced by writers such as Iganski (2001) and it is clear that this in turn translates into a higher fear of crime more generally within such minority ethnic communities:

> *'For white people for example, racial harassment and racial attacks are undoubtedly merely incidental, one-off events which are rarely, if ever, encountered. For black and minority groups, on the other hand, these are areas of experiences which are part and parcel of everyday life. A black person need never have been the actual victim of a racist attack, but will remain acutely aware that he or she belongs to a group that is threatened in this manner'*
>
> *(Pearson et al, 1989: 135)*

In considering such racist victimisation as a process, it must also be recognised that one of the major failings of criminologists and agencies of the state such as the police in the United Kingdom has been the failure to consider racially motivated situations as part of this wider process. This is perhaps best evidenced by the long standing neglect in addressing the problem of the treatment of Roma Gypsies as one of the most victimised groups in society. This in turn is arguably exacerbated by the tendency of such agencies to neglect wider historical, social and psychological context through a simplistic and somewhat unsatisfactory focus on individual reported incidents. This is a perspective

supported by a wealth of academic writers such as Maclean (1986) or Genn (1988) who highlighted the prevailing tendency of criminologists at the time to conceive crime through the lens of a number of individual incidents. For other writers such as Forbes (1988) this problem is also embedded in the wider criminal justice system where the law in the United Kingdom only recognises racism within the context of incidents that can be defined as criminal.

This preoccupation with individual criminal incidents is also noted as a problem of police governance and structure by other writers such as Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987) and through the tendency of the criminal justice system to operate on the basis of discrete events by writers such as Manning (1988). For others such as Young (1991) this is entirely due to the internal needs of these agencies of the state where such 'incidents' must be fixed in space and time so as to be definable as a criminal offence. Thus it is argued by these writers that the various agencies of the state that comprise the criminal justice system do not understand, or indeed seek to understand the nature of racist victimisation either as it impacts on the victim or alternatively as part of the wider social process of racist victimisation within which it is located.

Equally, other writers have argued that the institutional focus on 'criminal justice' inevitably delivers a somewhat paradoxical and inverse relationship which, through design, fails to adequately consider the needs of the victim:

> *'Criminal incidents are the stock-in-trade of the crime-control sector of government and administrative criminology. Estimates of the size of the problem,*

and descriptions of where it is located and who the actors are, are necessarily based on such counting exercises as are measurements of police performance such as the clear-up rate. Indeed the modus operandi of the criminal justice system is based upon and shaped by the processing of individualized events'.

(Bowling 1998: 157)

These institutional dimensions of racism within the contemporary United Kingdom context were of course highlighted in February 1999, when the publication of the report into the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson, 1999) highlighted the issue of widespread racism within society, bringing the problem of racism in the United Kingdom to the forefront of political and social debate. The Inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence also focused the public on the fact that racist discrimination was not a rare event but was something that many black and minority ethnic people experience daily.

The Lawrence Report defined the concept of institutional racism in the following terms:

'The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate or professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people'.

(Macpherson, 1999: 6.34)

However, as highlighted by writers such as Rowe (2004: 167) this definition was widely viewed as academically deficient and he notes that 'the confusion that has surrounded the application of the Lawrence Report recommendations might be attributed to the lack of clarity about what the term actually means'. In any event, writers such as Rowe (2007) argue that the institutional dimensions have not changed significantly since the publication of this report and he posits that the pernicious effects of institutional racism still persist to this day. Such institutional dimensions are of course embedded in the wider structures which control society including the world's major religious institutions for example. As Allport (1979, 449) contends, 'In its institutional organization, therefore, religion is divisive'. Indeed other writers such as Kundnani (2007: 7) highlight the consolidation of new anti-Muslim racisms in particular and notes '…a worsening climate of racism and division and an end to liberal tolerance of ethnic and religious diversity'.

In considering the nature of racist prejudice, discrimination and victimisation in the contemporary United Kingdom it is also useful to reflect on the fact that the police service throughout the country has adopted the recommended definition of a racist incident put forward by Macpherson (1999: 328) 'a racist incident is any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person'. Again, a wealth of academic writers such as Bowling (2006) and Rowe (2007) have noted the inadequacy of this as a means of conceptualising the nature of racist prejudice and victimisation and as previously discussed this undue focus on 'incidents' paradoxically serves only to compound the problem of administrative criminology and thereby actually serves to sustain the very institutional dimensions that Macpherson sought to attack.

Within this broad context of administrative criminology and the failure of agencies of the state such as the police to adequately understand the true nature of racist victimisation, it is equally the case that the problems of racism and racist victimisation within contemporary United Kingdom society has traditionally been conceived as an urban problem due to the relatively higher concentration of visible ethnic minority populations within larger cities and towns. This 'acceptance' has led intuitively to the popular myth that racism does not exist in the countryside because there are so few people of colour living there. As Henderson and Kaur (1999: 58) observe 'its existence is not recognised, it [racism] is associated in most peoples minds with inner city areas and conurbations'.

However, in recent years a growing body of academic writers such as Cloke and Little (1997), de Lima (2001), Chakraborti and Garland (2004), Neal and Agyeman (2006), Cloke et al (2006) and Neal (2009) have identified the problem of 'rural racism' as a distinct social and political phenomenon. At the heart of the problem of rural racism is the social and cultural conflation of notions of the rural as a problem free traditional white landscape. Such perspectives have in turn led to the construction of racialised spaces and identities, and to the marginalisation of those constructed as 'other' through a range of processes of victimisation. These real-life experiences are of course not confined to the simplistic conceptualisation of reported incidents as previously discussed.

As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, writers such as (Rayner, 2005:18) have also reported that racist attacks are on the increase in rural Britain and have noted that ethnic minorities living in parts of Britain are now four times more likely to have suffered from

racism than they were before the previous general election. One of the areas where there had been a significant increase in reported racist incidents was rural Scotland, which had witnessed an increase in 'reported' incidents from 2,242 in 2000 to 3,800 in 2004, making it 'one of the ten most dangerous regions in Britain'(Rayner: *ibid*)

Significantly though, the massive influx of white eastern European migrant workers into traditionally monocultural parts of the United Kingdom have met with an altogether different and welcoming reception and writers such as White (2010) highlights how their perceived commitment to hard work has been viewed positively. That is of course not to say that white immigrants have not presented new and unique challenges to such rural communities or that they have not contributed to create new ways of thinking about the othering processes of the rural as distinct from more unilateral debates around the traditional black/white binary. However, those observations aside, such extraordinary levels of white migrant workers have not translated into significant anxiety and prejudice amongst the resident white community and concomitantly there is little evidence of widespread targeting of such persons on national or ethnic grounds. This is almost certainly due to their 'invisibility' and serves as powerful evidence of the role of skin colour as a mediator of prejudice. These dynamics do not of course preclude other forms of prejudice towards white groups such as the widespread sectarianism and Anglophobia in Scotland noted by writers such as de Lima (2006: 7).

This situation is extremely problematic for people of colour living in the rural for although the distinctiveness of 'rural racism' has been recognised by a growing body of academic

research, its specific nature is not yet widely appreciated beyond the confines of academia and as a consequence it is not yet fully understood by agencies of the state such as the police. This is largely due to the absence of qualitative research methods and as highlighted by writers such as Neal (2009: 18) this is problematic as the key political and policy organisations involved in rural governance deploy quantitative framed efforts to inform rural policy making and interventions. This lack of awareness resulting from simplistic numbers based environmental scanning methodologies was highlighted to the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) by the researcher resulting in the award of a Bramshill Fellowship in 2007 by the NPIA. Thus it is anticipated that the findings of this doctorial thesis will subsequently form the basis for the development of national policing guidance by the researcher so as to assist the police service in the United Kingdom in better understanding the phenomenon of rural racism and its nature, extent and impact on visible ethnic minorities living in such rural locations.

2.4   Assessing the extent of the Problem

The complexities already discussed in relation to the social and cultural construction of the multi-faceted nature of racism are mirrored by the difficulties encountered when trying to assess the wider extent of the problem in the United Kingdom. These difficulties arise because of a range of variables including for example tangible and intangible forms of racism and subjective decisions around what constitutes a racist incident and whether or not to report it to the police. These 'reporting' difficulties then compound incrementally to present 'recording' and 'measurement' difficulties and are exacerbated further by the

general paucity of research into the extent of this area of social scientific enquiry other than in a very small number of specific local contexts.

Following the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report in 1999, and as previously discussed, the police service throughout the United Kingdom adopted the recommended definition of a racist incident put forward by Macpherson (1999: 328) as already discussed. Whilst the intention behind this definition was to overcome serious weaknesses in police recording procedures, writers such as Chakraborti and Garland (2004: 79) posit that this reliance on subjective assessments solely through individual interpretation continues to undermine the official statistics making it difficult to ascertain the extent of the problem from 'reported' incidents alone.

Indeed writers such as Burney and Rose (quoted in Rowe, 2004: 116) suggest that there is also evidence that '… police officers are misinterpreting the definition in such a way that any incident involving parties of different ethnic backgrounds is being recorded as racist'. As Rowe (2004: 117) contends, this presents the danger that any encounter between persons of different ethnic backgrounds is recorded as a racist incident and that '… the specificity of 'genuine' racist victimisation becomes lost'. What also becomes clear is that through subjective focus on 'incidents' there is a danger that tangible forms of racism are measured whilst intangible yet equally damaging forms of racism and aversive techniques such as being ignored, stared at or being avoided are not.

The difficulties highlighted by these writers create obvious reporting, recording and measurement problems which in turn create difficulties for understanding the extent of racism within specific locations. For example research into the findings of the 2000 British Crime Survey by Clancy *et al* (2001) found that 65% of those who had claimed to be the victim of a racist incident were in actual fact 'white', which writers such as Rowe (2004) suggests means that the legal definitions are not achieving the desired effect of tackling the ideologies, prejudices and social dynamics which cause 'genuine' racism. Under-reporting of racist incidents is another significant factor and as Virdee (1997) suggests, the more we learn about racial violence and harassment, the clearer it becomes that the publicly reported police statistics represent the visible tip of an iceberg.

These factors are exacerbated by a paucity of research into racism within a general rural context as there have been only a limited number of studies which have focused on specific rural locales for example Jay (1992) in the South-West of England, Derbyshire (1994) in Norfolk, Malcolm (2000) in West Norfolk, de Lima (2001) in the Scottish Highlands, Connolly (2002) in Northern Ireland, Chakraborti and Garland (2007) in Suffolk, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire and Robinson and Gardner (2004) in Wales. However, evidence of the extent of the problem can also be inferred from other academic sources such as public attitudinal surveys. For example research into racist discrimination in Scotland (Scottish Civic Forum, 2002) found that one in every 25 Scots acknowledged that they had perpetuated racist abuse but such self-reporting may well be a gross under-estimate of the real figure.

Similarly, further research by Bromley and Curtice (2003) with regards to attitudes to discrimination in Scotland found that 56% of Scots felt that there is a 'great deal' or 'quite a lot' of prejudice towards minority ethnic communities in Scotland whilst 18% said that attempts to give equal opportunities to people from minority ethnic communities had 'gone too far'. 52% of people said that most people in Scotland would mind either 'a lot' or 'a little' if one of their closest relatives married someone from a different racial or ethnic background. Whilst 20% agreed that people from minority ethnic groups take away jobs from other people in Scotland. 27% of respondents said that 'taking all things into account' people from minority ethnic groups had 'nothing at all' or 'not much' in common with people from white backgrounds, whilst 46% of people said they would prefer to live in an area where 'most people are similar' to themselves.

These public attitudes provide clear evidence of the extent of the endemic problem of racism and also of the sorts of 'othering' mechanisms of exclusion that exist within a Scottish context. Such constructions clearly lead to notions of who does and who does not belong and leads to racist attitudes which impact on the lives of visible ethnic minorities. Such negative attitudes validate the decision of the then Scottish Executive to launch its 'One Scotland' campaign in response to this research. However, researchers such as de Lima (2006: 73) also highlight the current multidimensional complexities of racism within a Scottish context and notes that '… the issue of racism in Scotland is highly complex, manifested by the prevalence of prejudice against the English and 'incomers' and the persistence of sectarianism'.

These multidimensional aspects of the extent of the problem are also mirrored in research into the dynamics of rural racism in Northern Ireland where Connolly (2006: 38) suggests that the climate of sectarianism and violence may have tended to '… increase the exclusivity of collective identities'. Indeed other writers such as Hainsworth (1998) have also highlighted how both racism and sectarianism result from dangerous notions of superiority and inferiority and how both represent manifestations of such contemporary politics of difference and the exercise of power relationships within society. Thus various writers have recognised the similarities of and relationship between the dynamics of racism and sectarianism and particularly in the Celtic nations within the United Kingdom where such 'othering' mechanisms are often exercised to the extreme.

Such mechanisms of exclusion have also been found in the academic research into the problem of rural racism within specific locales. In June, 1992, the 'Keep them in Birmingham' report was published by Eric Jay (Jay, 1992) on behalf of the Commission for Racial Equality. The report by Jay was seminal insofar as it was the first research set within the context of tackling racism in rural areas. The aims of the research was to establish whether rural racism was a problem for ethnic minorities living in Devon, Cornwall, Dorset and Somerset and, if so, its extent and whether anything was being done by the various authorities. In his research findings Jay discovered an uncritical acceptance of a 'no problem here' attitude amongst the majority white community against a background of a disturbing picture of racial prejudice and discrimination directed against ethnic minority residents. Jay's report set the agenda for racial equality in rural areas by highlighting not just the problem of rural racism but also the complacency prevalent

within the voluntary, statutory and private sectors and within white communities in general. The research by Jay was an important turning point that challenged prevailing assumptions that racism was predominantly an urban phenomena and that the small numbers of ethnic minority groups in the rural were too insignificant for any problems to be generated.

The 'no problem here' mentality and the failure of rural institutions to offer appropriate services to their ethnic minority residents are a recurring theme of the limited research into the extent of rural racism. For example Derbyshire (1994) found similar issues in research in Norfolk whilst Chakraborti and Garland (2003) questioned the effectiveness of services provided to victims of racial harassment in rural and isolated areas of Suffolk. Similarly, de Lima (2001: 53) conducted research into the extent of the problem within the context of the Scottish Highlands and advocated the requirement for a 'needs not numbers' approach following research which revealed racial discrimination in accessing services generally, and particularly in areas such as employment and language support. For other writers such as Dhalech (1999: 28) '…the predominant 'no problems here' approach to issues relevant to race equality is in itself a major problem in rural areas'.

This denial or assumption that racism is not a problem in rural localities because of the small numbers of visible ethnic minority residents appears to be widespread and as Agyeman and Spooner (1997: 197) argue '… if those defining the agenda in rural areas do not recognise 'race' as an issue, there is little chance of change being brought about'. Equally, whilst information on racist victimisation has become generally more readily

available because of legislation such as the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998, and the Race Relations Amendment Act, 2000, it remains the case that meaningful statistics on the extent of rural racism are paradoxically only available where there are already effective multi-agency partnership initiatives or race equality infrastructures.

In seeking to assess the extent of the problem of rural racism, it is important to recognise that denial of the problem may actually serve to mask the fact that racism in rural locations is actually 'worse' than in urban environments. This is a perspective supported by de Lima (2004) who also argues that this dilemma is exacerbated further by the fact that there is a greater likelihood of racist practices and attitudes going unchallenged in the rural due to the absence of routine contact with minority ethnic people. For others such as Rayner (2001) research has revealed that in England and Wales ethnic minorities living in low-density minority ethnic areas were at greater risk (ten times more likely) of being attacked on racial grounds. Indeed Rayner (2005: 16) also notes 'We can say that, with an ethnic minority population of just over 100,000 according to the 2001 census, Scotland as a whole is one of the 10 worst areas in Britain'. As Bowling (2004, foreword) contends '… rural racism is one of the reasons that more people of colour do not choose to live outside the cities'.

Whilst there is general agreement that the phenomenon of rural racism extends throughout rural areas of the United Kingdom, there is also some academic debate about the differing extent of the problem within specific local contexts. This may be due to the problems around the largely quantitative means of recording such incidents and as Virdee (1997)

contends such quantitative approaches are not capable by themselves of giving a detailed and fully rounded picture of the nature or extent of racial violence and harassment. For Rayner (2005, *ibid*) Home Office figures from 2001 identified particular trends in terms of the extent of racism in rural areas and noted Northumbria, Devon and Cornwall, South Wales and Scotland as being particularly problematic but against this context noted significant difficulties in obtaining data by individual policing areas. Related to these recording difficulties is of course the related reporting dilemma where agencies such as the Commission for Racial Equality have noted (CRE, 2005) continuing difficulties in persuading people to report racist incidents.

Again this strikes at the heart of the administrative criminology debate as throughout the United Kingdom all police intelligence products are derived through a nationally agreed business model known as the National Intelligence Model (NIM) which is in truth no more than a simplistic data-mining business model for quantitative analysis of reported 'crimes' and 'incidents'. Such simplistic quantitative focus creates a particular problem for issues such as rural racism in a Scottish context as the very small visible ethnic minority population means that the tiny volume of reported incidents will never 'register' as a problem from a quantitative perspective meaning that the true extent of the problem and its impact on victims will inevitably be 'invisible' to police and other policy makers. Thus whilst operationally convenient, such administrative approaches to criminology simply serve to mask the true extent of problems such as rural racism and as a consequence the concept of rural racism is largely unknown to the police service in the United Kingdom.

In considering the extent of racism in rural areas, other sources of statistical data include the British or Scottish Crime Surveys, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC or HMICS in Scotland) and agencies such as the Commission for Racial Equality or local or regional agencies. However, in the case of HMIC these data sets are again unreliable as they are sourced directly from individual police forces and therefore the frailties of the administrative criminology approach as already discussed again prevails. To illustrate this point, HMICS in Scotland last published these statistics in 2007 but do not break any data down beyond an individual force total. In relation to the study area for this research for example, it was noted (HMICS, 2009) that racist incidents reported in the Lothians and Scottish Borders had shown a year-on-year increase from 287 reports in 1996/1997 to 1575 reports in 2006/2007. Equally, it was shown that Fife had increased from 33 reports in 1996/1997 to 284 in 2006/2007 although notably the peak year for Fife was 2003/2004 with 541 reported incidents.

In considering the extent of the problem, other agency research in Scotland by the Racial Attacks and Harassment Multi-Agency Strategy Partners (RAHMAS) (2001: 3) found that as many as 63% of incidents in their research area occurred within business premises. This contrasts with research by others such as Lemos (2000) which argued that at a national level, the location of racial harassment was more likely to be at or near people's homes. For Agyeman and Spooner (1997: 203) the prevailing research has found '… an extensive amount of racial violence, harassment, condescension and bigotry, provoked by a mixture of ignorance, the uncritical acceptance of stereotypes and a resistance to the arrival of incomers'. From these narratives it becomes clear that there is no single national model of

the extent of rural racism and this in itself validates the need for more qualitative research which takes account of local contextual parameters, particularly given that the phenomenon is not yet recognised or understood by the main recording agencies such as the police or local authorities.

One final issue worth reflecting on when reviewing the academic literature on the extent of general or rural racism is that of the role of skin colour in defining notions of identity and belonging and hence the extent of racist harassment experienced by victims. For Malcolm (2004: 69) ethnic group membership was found to be a significant mediator in the way in which racism and racial prejudice were experienced and it was clear that verbal abuse '… was more regularly experienced by those minority ethnic group members whose 'difference' was the most visible'. These 'racially coded' dynamics are also noted by writers such as Neal and Agyeman (2006: 99) and further validate the role of visible difference as a key catalyst for the othering processes that can have such serious implications for the safety and sense of belonging of visible ethnic minority people living in the rural.

2.5   Assessing the impact of the Problem

The paucity of research into the phenomenon of rural racism delivers a clear knowledge deficit for academics and policy makers in relation to making assessments of the impact of the problem and highlights the need for further research in this area, which takes account of local contextual variables. This knowledge gap is highlighted by writers such as Rowe (2004: 104) who contends 'Although there is a lack of substantial evidence on the impact

that racist crime has on victims and the wider community, what there is suggests that it is more severe than for non-racist crimes'.

Evidence of the greater severity of the impact of racial incidents in a United Kingdom context more generally has also been found through analysis of the British Crime Survey (Home Office, 2001). The Home Office research (2001: 38) found that 'The presence of racial motivation has the effect of elevating the perceived gravity of such incidents, pointing to the particularly strong reactions that racially motivated offending can have on victims'. For Rowe (2004: 105) the significance of this is that the emotional impact of specific racist incidents is exacerbated by its location within a broader societal context of widespread disadvantage, discrimination and social exclusion. Exploring the emotional impact, writers such as Phillips (1987) argue:

> *'It is neither healthy, nor desirable to spend one's whole European life aware of 'colour', and I have yet to meet a single black person who enjoys it, but the curiously warped logic of the European continually attempts to force this upon us' (Phillips, 1987: 125)*

In terms of assessing the impact of racial prejudice, discrimination and harassment on victims it is important to recognise that such harassment may include written or verbal attacks on persons or property and others forms of intimidating behaviour including aversive techniques or actual physical violence. Indeed such harassment may take any form at all and for writers such as Lemos (2000) it is the motive of the perpetrator that is the significant variable and it is the impact on the victim which makes such acts into racial

harassment. However, there has been very little research on the impact of such harassment in a rural context but what little that there is identifies a number of real life problems. For example, striking at racist crimes against ethnic minority businesses in Scotland RAHMAS (2001: 3) have noted that such events have a '…negative impact on confidence, self-esteem and ultimately the physical and mental health of the victim, contributing to social exclusion, and constraints on business growth and development'.

These wider contextual variables are clearly exacerbated by the isolation of living in a more rural location and as Agyeman and Spooner (1997: 203) observe '… people of colour living in rural areas face isolation from both the local community and their ethnic community, as well as problems with developing and sustaining a positive sense of identity in the face of continued racism'. These perspectives on the impact of rural racism are supported by other writers such as Connolly (2006: 37) who notes impact issues that create '… a general climate of exclusion and a sense of being different and of not belonging'. For others such as Robinson and Gardner (2006: 58) the impact for people of colour of being avoided and excluded was such that those actions were viewed as '… acts of rejection'. Similarly in research into minority ethnic businesses RAHMAS (2001: 3) found impact issues such as loss of confidence and self-esteem with wider physical and mental health implications.

Such impact issues of exclusion, isolation, marginalisation and not being made to feel welcome are typical of the othering processes in the rural that are directed at people solely of the basis of their skin colour. For other writers such as Chakraborti and Garland (2004:

133) the racist harassment directed towards visible ethnic minorities takes specific forms which distinguish it '… from the 'othering' of white newcomers', because of the cultural, linguistic, religious and social barriers which accentuate the difference of people of colour in the rural'. These social barriers are important factors in understanding the impact of rural racism for some of these barriers cannot be easily overcome. For example much social activity in the rural may centre round places of entertainment such as the village pub yet this in itself may preclude certain visible ethnic minorities from participating due to their religious or cultural beliefs around the consumption of alcohol.

These impact issues based on racist attitudes and beliefs are also exacerbated by the impact of unwitting or unintended racism as best illustrated by the ubiquitous question commonly directed towards visible ethnic minorities 'where do you come from?' For writers such as de Lima (2006: 87) this can lead to social and cultural isolation as 'Constantly having to explain 'who one is' can be a very tiresome experience'. Inadequate agency responses are another key issue that impacts on victims of racism in the rural and many writers have focused on the 'short-term' capacity of agencies such as the police. Rowe (2007: 35) for example notes how the community cohesion agenda has already been eclipsed by the 'Security Agenda' and 'War on Terror' and notes that the police are 'like a perma frost –thawing on the top, but still frozen solid at the core'.

In considering research into victims of racism, writers such as Bulmer and Solomos emphasise the need for new research that addresses the impact on victims in real life situations.

'Racial harassment, direct/indirect discrimination, racist violence and victimisation are not fictions or figurations that admit of the free play of signification. The victim's account of these experiences is not simply an arbitrary imposition of a purely fictive meaning on an otherwise meaningless reality…'
(Bulmer and Solomos 2004: 10)

However, for writers such as Bowling (1998) such research is often problematic and the 'incident' focus does not always adequately capture violent racism as part of a wider process of victimisation. Equally, discussing the existing knowledge gap and the need for better information on the impact of racism directly from victims through self-report studies, writers such as Crawford (1990) argue:

'...the major purpose of victimisation surveys is to gain a more accurate estimate of the true extent of crime than that provided by the official statistics compiled by the police which are subject to widely acknowledged problems of accuracy, the most serious of which is the failure of a high proportion of victims to report criminal incidents to the police'.
(Crawford et al., 1999:2).

In broader research into the impact of hate crimes on victims within the context of the United States of America, Iganski (2001) suggests that the impact of such crimes is felt at a variety of levels. For Iganski, these levels are posited as; 'the direct victim, by the wider community to which the victim belongs, and by society as a whole'. This is a perspective supported by other writers such as Bowling (1998: 159) who notes '…when an individual

is attacked, the process of victimisation does not rest with them alone, but may extend to their immediate and extended families, friends and the 'community'. These are important theoretical observations which highlight how hate crimes do indeed hurt more (Iganski, 2001) and again highlight the contextual failings of reliance on the official statistics and their singular, simplistic and administrative focus.

In terms of the specific phenomenon of rural racism these perspectives raise important questions and firstly around impact issues such as perceptions of safety by the victim. Secondly they raise important questions around perceptions of which community the victim actually belongs to, especially given that they may be marginalised from the geographical community within which they are physically located yet isolated from their wider ethnic community by their location within the rural. Finally, for society as a whole, this unenviable paradox leads to a supplementary question around traditional notions of community which appears to lie at the very heart of considerations on the rural racism debate. That question is 'does the rural actually suppress the diversity of the other?'

For writers such as Chakraborti and Garland (2004: 8) this fundamental dilemma results in a 'double-bind' impact situation because on one hand the very visible difference of people of colour within rural communities makes them highly susceptible to racist violence and harassment whilst conversely their low numbers make them relatively invisible to rural stakeholders whose perspectives of community are both geographical and homogeneous.

This lack of support from rural service providers is another key impact issue that has been a recurring theme of academic research and discourse into the phenomenon of rural racism for example: Jay (1992) in the South-West of England; Derbyshire (1994) in Norfolk; Malcolm (2000) in West Norfolk; de Lima (2001) in the Scottish Highlands; Connolly (2002) in Northern Ireland; Chakraborti and Garland (2003) in several English counties as previously cited; and Robinson and Gardner (2004) in Wales. For de Lima (2001: 48) this lack of support stems mainly from a geographical numbers based view of community which does not consider the considerable diversity within such communities. For de Lima (2004: 50) this privileged notion of community is an important impact feature of rural racism as 'The demographic features and the spatial distribution of rural minority ethnic household's raises questions about the appropriateness of terminology such as 'community'.

This problematic view of community in turn raises important community safety concerns and as Taylor (2003: 232) contends, minority ethnic populations in rural areas are 'at risk on a daily basis' of experiencing racist harassment. This risk underscores the lives of visible ethnic minority communities living in rural locations and as de Lima (2004: 46) argues, has been evidenced through a range of academic studies to result in impact issues such as withdrawal, despondency, despair, resignation and loss of self-esteem and depression and restricted access to public services. This has lead writers such as Garland and Chakraborti (2006) to suggest that it may be more appropriate to conceptualise visible ethnic minorities in rural communities as isolated 'communities of fear' or 'communities of risk' as these dynamics are central to the understanding of the impact of rural racism.

This is a perspective supported by other prominent academics such as Neil (2009) who uses the concepts of the '*panoptic*' and '*heretopia*' to explore how formal and informal regulation of rural spaces results in a particular form of social ordering which inevitably tends to 'other' those seen as not belonging.

As Dhillon argues, visible ethnic minority residents will often not report racist violence and harassment to the police for fear of retribution and will only seek help from statutory agencies as a last not first resort. Striking at the impact of racist harassment and violence, she argues that:

> *'Many people feel a profound sense of shame in admitting that they are being targeted and, combined with the fear of becoming repeat victims, they would rather not report such incidents to the police. This is especially the case in rural areas where the isolation is intense and often there is no family of community support'.*
>
> *(Dhillon, 2006: 230)*

Under final analysis, reflections on the impact of racist victimisation in the rural points to a range of covert and overt practices and experiences by which people of colour are made to feel excluded, marginalised and othered in rural environments. Equally, it becomes clear that such rural spaces are bounded by fear and that subtle processes exist whereby rural communities attempt to exclude those deemed not to belong through a range of mechanisms that are embedded in the political and regulatory agencies and institutions of power who both define and control the policy agenda in the rural.

Thus, the interweaving of rural space, identity, power and belonging translates into a process where the outcome is exclusion of the non-white 'other'. This active suppression of diversity has serious consequences for those with non-white skins and as discussed, it is then finally compounded by the paucity of research into the impact on victims and a general lack of awareness of the problem beyond the confines of a very limited body of existing academic research. A final variable worth considering in this regard is the issue of 'hidden' communities such as the Chinese community as although very little is written, recent research by writers such as Adamson *et al* (2009) tends to suggest that rural racism is also a significant problem for people of Chinese heritage which is hidden from the official statistics due to cultural factors which lead to very few incidents ever being reported.

2.6   Chapter Conclusions

Chapter two has sought to build on the reflections on the Scottish rural through further and more detailed academic review and consideration of the subtle and often covert mechanisms through which power is exercised in rural society and in this case specifically as expressed through the scourge of racism. The chapter followed four broad analytical themes and firstly sought to explore how 'feelings and images of difference' both inform prejudice and influence public attitudes to discrimination.

In doing so, it was noted that the scientific status of race is in fact a myth and that racism is in essence a complex social process. It was nevertheless argued that the psychological conceptualisation of race as a biological question has become core in the emphasis of

prejudicial ideas about human differences and that there has been no other field of science in which the misunderstandings among educated people have been so frequent and so serious. It was then argued that 'new' racisms such as Islamophobia not only relate to contemporary psychological feelings and images of difference but also have clear linkages to structural and state racisms and the related xenological thinking of the past two centuries. Thus it was noted that psychology and the exercise of power have had a major role to play in stereotyping and derogating people of colour through both individual and state racisms.

The chapter then turned to examine the specific 'nature' of generic debates around race, racism, racial prejudice and racist victimisation and it was noted in particular that racist victimisation in the United Kingdom has been an enduring feature for centuries. The chapter then explored accounts of the nature of racist vicimisation as part of a wider process and explored the relationship between beliefs, attitudes and prejudices and how these variables translate into racist victimisation. In doing so, the chapter reflected on the classic five point model provided by Allport (1979) and noted that it provides a sound paradigm for the framing of different forms of racist victimisation in a contemporary United Kingdom context where there is clear evidence of the impact of racist behaviour over all five levels of his conceptual framework.

Discussions then turned to consider the specific nature of the phenomenon of rural racism to reveal how the phenomenon is socially and culturally constructed and to explore its distinct characteristics. In doing so, it was noted that those distinct characteristics largely

centre on the rural being conceived as a traditional white landscape and as a sanctuary where visible ethnic minorities are 'other' and therefore do not belong. Thus the idealisation of a landscape populated by homogenous communities means that visible ethnic minorities are seen as being out of place by a stereotype which locates them elsewhere. In this regard spatial boundaries become conceived as moral boundaries, and it was argued that it is such moral boundaries that mark out the unique characteristics of rural racism. Significantly, it was also noted that the nature of the phenomenon of rural racism was not yet widely appreciated outside of academia and that it was largely unknown to rural policy makers and those charged with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations in the rural.

In considering the 'extent' of the problem in rural communities the chapter progressed by exploring the findings of previous academic research and it was noted that there were significant problems throughout the United Kingdom. It was also noted that this results in a 'double-bind' impact situation because on one hand the very visible difference of people of colour within rural communities makes them highly susceptible to racist violence and harassment whilst conversely their low numbers make them relatively invisible to rural stakeholders whose perspectives of community are both geographical and homogeneous.

The chapter then turned to assess the 'impact' of racist victimisation in the rural and it was noted that there was a general paucity of research and that the impact of the problem was not widely appreciated beyond the world of academia. What limited research exists confirms a disturbing picture of impact issues such as withdrawal, despondency, despair,

resignation, loss of self-esteem and depression and all against an exacerbating context of restricted access to public services. Thus it was argued that it may be more appropriate to conceptualise visible ethnic minorities in the rural as isolated 'communities of fear' or 'communities of risk' as these dynamics are central to the understanding of the impact of rural racism. For these reasons, it was concluded that the unique characteristics and dynamics of the rural actually serve as mechanisms of discrimination that actively suppress the diversity of those seen as 'other'.

These four key themes of 'feelings and images of difference', 'nature', 'extent' and 'impact' are central to the design of this research and are common themes that will interweave throughout this thesis when seeking to answer to the question posed by this research in seeking to research and understand the nature and extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland and how this impacts on perceptions of rural community and safety. Accordingly, this thesis now turns to explore the design of an appropriate methodological framework against which to research racist victimisation within a rural context.

Chapter 3   Devising an Appropriate Methodological Framework to Research

                       Racist Victimisation in a Rural Context

3.1   Chapter Introduction

Chapters one and two have taken the form of a focused literature review and critical analysis of the existing academic knowledge in relation to studies of the rural and the problems of racism, racial prejudice and racist victimisation within a United Kingdom context. In doing so, the introductory chapters have also sought to reveal the distinctiveness of the power relationships that exist within rural society and to consider these debates against the particular context of the Scottish rural. This focused literature review and critical analysis has equally sought to consider how such rural power relationships manifest themselves within the context of the study of racism in rural locations and in doing so has sought to reveal the essential components which have led to the acknowledgement of the existence of the specific phenomenon of rural racism within academic debate.

Equally, the introductory material has also sought to highlight the fact that the phenomenon of rural racism is largely unknown outside the world of academia and therefore has also revealed how, with a few notable exceptions, that it is generally not on the 'radar' of the agencies of the state such as the police and local authorities who have a statutory duty to promote effective race relations policy. This problem is then further compounded by the paucity of research into the factors which inform public attitudes to discrimination within a general rural context and by the almost complete absence of

nuanced and location specific research into the precise nature, extent and impact of the phenomenon on victims within specific Scottish rural contexts. Furthermore, the problem is then incrementally compounded by the 'invisibility' of the problem in rural locations due to the inadequacy of agency environmental scanning models that are based largely on administrative approaches to criminology and simplistic quantitative analysis of 'reported' problems.

The four central themes of 'feelings and images of difference', 'nature', 'extent' and 'impact' identified in chapter two are the key variables around which this research has been designed. Accordingly, the detailed exploration of the specific dynamics of these key themes is critical to the research question posed in seeking to understand the nature, extent and impact of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities living in rural areas of southeast Scotland and how these real-life experiences impact on perceptions of 'community' and 'safety'. Therefore, this methodology chapter will explore and articulate the various considerations involved in devising an appropriate methodological framework against which to research these dynamics against the location specific context of racist victimisation within rural southeast Scotland.

In doing so, the chapter will commence by reflecting on the conceptual and methodological dilemmas and considerations associated with the study of racism and will acknowledge that it is often a controversial and heavily politicised field of social scientific enquiry and sociological debate. The chapter will then consider these variables against the social context in terms of appreciating the specific problems and dynamics of conducting

such research in rural areas with a very small visible ethnic minority population. The chapter will then progress to highlight the selected theoretical approach and to give an initial collective high-level overview of the research design and related ethical considerations before discussing the rationale behind the design of each of the selected research instruments and their relationship to the various variables to be researched.

The selected research instruments and data gathering techniques will then be explored in some detail and this reflection will discuss how these data sets will be used to explicitly test the underlying hypothesis and methodological themes. That hypothesis is based on the researcher's belief that the nature and extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents living in southeast Scotland is much worse that suggested by the official statistics in terms of incidents reported to the police. The hypothesis also seeks to demonstrate expected evidence of processes of exclusion derived from the power relationships in society both in terms of the specific dynamics of the rural and also in terms of the broader structural and institutional barriers to equality and diversity. The hypothesis also centres on the construction of black identities as 'other' and therefore anticipates evidence that demonstrates that cultural attitudes towards visible ethnic minority residents in the rural serve as discriminating mechanisms of exclusion which actively suppresses their diversity and impacts adversely on perceptions of community and safety. In doing so, the chapter will also reveal the various statistical tests to be applied to examine this hypothesis in terms of quantitative and qualitative analysis and will discuss how the design and application of eclectic techniques will combine in order to

provide a more holistic analytical insight into the phenomenon of rural racism and to ground the theoretical stance and answer the research question posed.

3.2 Conceptual, Methodological and Ethical Considerations and the Selection of an Appropriate Research Methodology

There are a number of methodological difficulties associated with social research and racism. According to Goldberg (1993) one of the most fundamental difficulties is that racism is a fluid, transforming, historically specific concept parasitic on theoretic and social discourses for the meaning it assumes at any historical moment. Such conceptual and methodological dilemmas are also highlighted by sociologists such as Bulmer and Solomos (2004) who note that in the case of the study of race and racism it has been particularly difficult for social scientists and others to agree on precisely what phenomenon is to be studied and equally how the boundaries of such study should be delineated from other social phenomena:

> *'From the earliest stages of scholarly research in sociology about race, there has been some tension about what the focus should be. Should the core concern be to study the relations between racial and ethnic groups in specific social environments? Or should the focus be on the impact of processes of discrimination and exclusion, and their impact on minority communities?*
> *(Bulmer and Solomos, 2004: 3)*

These conceptual difficulties have been further compounded in recent years by a broadening of research paradigms and an accompanying plethora of theoretical

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perspectives. Those paradigms have ranged from 'new ethnicities' and 'whiteness' (Bhattacharyya *et al,* 2002; Goldberg and Solomos, 2002) to 'contested countryside cultures' (Cloke and Little, 1997); to 'violent racism' (Bowling, 1998); to 'geographies of exclusion' (Sibley, 1995); to 'rural racism' (Chakraborti and Garland, 2004). In short, there has been a proliferation of new theoretical texts, journals and edited editions and an associated move towards theory in recent times.

Significantly however, there have been very few studies which explore the debates about the methodological practicalities of carrying out research in key racism arenas such as seeking to ascertain the precise nature, extent and impact of racism in real-life situations. This research gap in terms the practical impact on victims is highlighted by writers such as Bulmer and Solomos (2004) who contend:

> *'...it is important that research addresses the impact of racism in real-life situations. Racial harassment, direct/indirect discrimination, racist violence and victimisation are not fictions or figurations that admit of the free play of signification. The victim's account of these experiences is not simply an arbitrary imposition of a purely fictive meaning on an otherwise meaningless reality.'*
> *(Bulmer and Solomos, 2004: 10)*

For these writers, the key methodological issue in the study of racism is recognition of the fact that racism cannot be fully interpreted solely through the lens of academic theory or through examination of individual incidents when considered in isolation as such issues do not arise, exist, or perpetuate in a social or political vacuum. This perspective strikes

resonance with the discussions on the social, political and psychological power relationships that exist within society as discussed within chapters one and two of this research thesis and thus it is apparent that racism needs to be conceptualised within the broader framework of real-life experiences as transacted by a range of variables of causality.

It is for these reasons that this research will explore racism in its wider sociological context and one which is not restricted by the somewhat simplistic and unsatisfactory 'incident focused' definition that has been adopted by reporting agencies such as the police in accordance with recommendation 12 of the Stephen Lawrence Report (Macpherson, 1999). Accordingly, this research will, by design, take cognisance of the political and social environment within the study area whilst also exploring the social relations and structural and institutional dimensions more deeply.

In determining the most appropriate research methodology to research racism in a rural social context, it is important to recognise that the interchange between the articulated research problem and the underpinning theories and selected research methodology form the foundations of all social scientific research and that theory and method have a mutual influence on each other. Accordingly, it is important to identify and explain the theoretical perspectives that were selected and to explain the rationale behind the selection of those used to develop an explanatory paradigm which facilitates the research process and contributes to the understanding of the research question posed.

As intimated in the hypothesis articulated above, this research is based on the belief that the nature, extent and impact of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents living in southeast Scotland is much worse that suggested by the 'official' statistics and that it arises through processes of exclusion in the rural derived from the construction of black identities as 'other'. Accordingly, this research project has been specifically constrained to the study of the nature and extent of racism experienced by 'visible' rather than all ethnic minorities. In doing so, this research focuses on how representations of whiteness and blackness contribute towards explanations of racism within the context of rural southeast Scotland. However given that writers such as de Lima (2006) have highlighted the complexity of racism in Scotland and the prevalence of Anglophobia, the research design intentionally offered the scope of teasing out Anglophobic sentiment and this additional dimension is reflected in the findings of this thesis.

Having conducted a comprehensive literature review into theories of race and racism, and more specifically rural racism, the theoretical perspectives which are considered to be the most appropriate to research and understand the selected problem are contemporary theories of racism that highlight ideological notions of the 'other', the role of 'difference' and the 'othering process' and their representations in terms of whiteness and blackness as articulated by Philo (1992) as discussed in chapter one. For Philo this othering process is seen through the unwarranted focus upon the interests of powerful rural groups as resulting in the active exclusion of many different social groups from what he refers to as the zone of sameness, a zone in which mainstream values such as Englishness, whiteness, heterosexuality and middle class occupancy are sustained:

'there remains a danger of portraying British rural people (or at least the ones that seen to be important in shaping and feeling the locality) as all being 'Mr Averages': as being men in employment, earning enough to live, white and probably English, straight and somehow without sexuality, able in body and sound in mind, and devoid of any other quirks of (say) religious belief or political affiliation. This is to reduce the real complexity of the rural population to the 'same', and to turn a blind eye to the presence of all manner of 'other' human groupings within this population'.

(Philo, 1992: 200)

The selection of this theoretical approach is justified by applying Philo's notions of the 'othering process' and his rural imagery to a Scottish dimension where one does not have to look far to draw a parallel between powerful rural groups, images of whiteness, and the exclusion of people with black or brown faces. For example, the official website of the Scottish Tourist Board (www.visitscotland.com) is awash with 'traditional' monocultural notions of Scottish rurality whilst diversity and multicultural images are completely absent. These images serve to perpetuate dominant visions of white rurality and in the absence of multidimensional or multicultural images serve as exclusionary mechanisms in the determination of 'who does' and 'who does not' belong in rural Scotland. These perspectives are clearly evidenced by the extraordinary levels of landed hegemony in Scotland as discussed in chapter one and by the alarming public attitudes to discrimination in Scotland as highlighted in chapter two of this thesis.

Within the context of the five local authority areas that are the subject of this research, everyday racism is experienced by the very small number of people of colour in their interactions with the dominant white group. Such acts are diverse in character and may even be unintentional, however collectively they demonstrate the parochial perspectives which typify the 'othering process' in the rural. It is a process, which constructs 'difference' and assigns value to difference, where the dominant group views people of black or brown skin as outsiders even although they were born here. Accordingly, such theoretical perspectives are considered to be the most appropriate tool to assist and facilitate the understanding of racism within the context of a largely rural setting with a very small visible ethnic minority population.

The selection of this theoretical approach provides a robust analytical framework to facilitate a deductive approach to the micro sociological examination of the phenomenon of rural racism. This will be achieved through analysis of the public attitudes to discrimination in the research area, through examination of the official statistics, and through exploration of the nature, extent and impact of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents and how this impacts on perceptions of community and safety. This research paradigm will then be explored and critically analysed through a combination of research methods and instruments to obtain qualitative and quantitative data to fully ground the selected theoretical perspective with practical real-life examples of the 'othering' process at work in rural southeast Scotland.

By researching the attitudes of white residents in the research area towards people with black or brown skins, this research has sought to explore two competing visions of rural Scotland. The first 'official view' as narrated through Scottish Government and tourism publications suggests that Scotland is an outward looking, tolerant society with an open and consensual culture. The second 'alternative view' suggests that it is a socially conservative, ethnocentric society characterised by hatred of the English and fear of outsiders. Hence, this research has sought to specifically test the attitudes of white residents in rural southeast Scotland towards visible ethnic minority residents with a view to understanding the underlying thought processes of the dominant white population and to ascertain whether these attitudes openly or tacitly legitimate some form of social exclusion and in doing so actively suppress the diversity of the 'other'. However, it is important to appreciate that this aspect of the research is solely about revealing the 'nature' of racism in southeast Scotland as interpreted through the lens of public 'attitudes' and that this dimension is not about actual behaviour.

By exploring the key variables of nature and extent, the research will explore tangible and intangible forms of experienced racism to dissect the aetiology of 'reported' racist incidents and other non-reported real-life problems and experiences in rural southeast Scotland. The research has also sought to identify specific examples of 'othering' practices, processes and devices at work within the local rural context to develop an explanatory framework which contributes to the contextual understanding of racism in southeast Scotland so as to fully understand the local nuances.

Similarly, by conducting research into the impact of racism in shaping perceptions of community and safety the research will explore whether the experiences of racism act to 'other' visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland by impacting on their confidence, self-esteem, their perceptions of community belonging, sense of personal safety and attitudes to risk. The research will also explore whether 'othering' practices, processes and devices are amplified by their location within a rural context, and if so, how these factors combine to impact on broad issues such as social exclusion, social division, conflict and cohesion and personal issues such as perceptions of isolation and vulnerability.

The research instruments that were used for this research project were varied. Firstly, in order to test public attitudes towards visible ethnic minority residents in the survey area the researcher sought to partly replicate earlier research that had been conducted in the 2002 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Bromley and Curtice, 2003) by exploring attitudes to discrimination towards visible ethnic minority residents living in rural southeast Scotland. Secondly, this initial research was followed by a series of focus groups with white residents in each of the five local authority areas and utilising sign-posted quantitative findings from the public attitudes survey sought to further explore broader public attitudes to discrimination in more focused detail so as to obtain some rich qualitative data for further detailed analysis.

Thirdly a quality of life survey questionnaire directed at visible ethnic minority residents was used combining quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quality of life survey replicated one used previously by the researcher in 2006 in West Lothian for his MSc in

Community Safety research and was designed to subtly ascertain respondents' level of integration into white rural society and their perceptions and experiences of discrimination as a person of colour living in rural southeast Scotland. Fourthly, secondary analysis was conducted of all racial incident reports involving visible ethnic minority victims made to Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary for the calendar year 2007. This involved both quantitative analysis in terms of the raw statistical data obtained from the police systems and qualitative research in terms of 'discourse analysis' as discussed by writers such as Wetherell (2003) and Mama (1995), from the free text narratives with individual police crime reports.

Fifthly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four victims of racial incidents in each of the five rural local authority areas resulting in a total of twenty semi-structured interviews to obtain rich qualitative data on the real life experiences of victims of racism in rural southeast Scotland.

3.2.1 Problems, Issues and Ethical Considerations

There were a number of problems to take into account when designing this research. Firstly, the total ethnic minority population in southeast Scotland is very small and ranged between 0.6% and 1.3% over the five local authority areas that comprise this research at the time of the 2001 Census. Accordingly, the 'visible' ethnic minority population is even smaller, presenting a number of methodological problems for the researcher in terms of how best to access those to whom much of this research matter relates.

Another key methodological consideration in this research design was around the balance to be struck between the selection of the most appropriate qualitative and quantitative research methods. In recent years qualitative research has gained considerable status in the social sciences but as highlighted by writers on research into race and racism such as Phoenix (2004, 48) '…there has been a tendency to treat qualitative and quantitative research as antithetical to each other in terms of epistemology'. The key reason behind this binary opposition in terms of approach to research is at least in part due to the administrative approach to criminology as discussed in chapter two of this thesis, as policy-makers and government agencies typically want hard statistical evidence and accordingly this type of research has attracted greater levels of research funding. Conversely, qualitative analyses may well add real value and meaning to a research problem but as a general rule such approaches have to be extremely well worked through theoretically to be acceptable.

For Phoenix (*ibid*) the complete separation of these methodologies is however problematic as quantitative research on its own cannot answer questions about social processes and equally quantitative research questions will not always be theoretically appropriate. On the other hand, qualitative research in isolation cannot answer the questions about prevalence and trends which are so important to policy makers who tend to be the primary source of funding into problems such as race and racism. For these reasons, she argues that by combining both methods into initial research design then there can be more academic value as the epistemological approach will be consistent for both sets of data. Thus it is argued that the opposing binaries of atheoretical empiricism and socially decontextualised

analysis are avoided to be replaced by eclectic combined methodologies which reveal trends, socio-economic circumstances and social processes.

In addition to methodological concerns, this research design has at the outset recognised a number of potential ethical dilemmas between the researcher, the researched and the research process (Bulmer and Solomos, 2004) that required careful consideration. Consequently, the researcher is satisfied that appropriate safeguards were built into the design of this research to avoid any ethical concerns. However, it is important to recognise that various writers on the subject acknowledge constraints when conducting research into racism. Firstly, there is the issue of 'research tourism' (*ibid*) and whether the research delivers a tangible benefit to the participants. However, in this case the researcher was confident that no research of a similar nature had ever been conducted in the study area with the exception of an earlier and more limited MSc study in West Lothian by the researcher in 2006.

In terms of the delivery of tangible outcome benefits, the researcher is equally confident around a positive outcome as the findings from this research will be shared with all five local authorities where the research was conducted to assist in equal opportunities and community safety policy formation. The findings of this research will also be shared with Fife Constabulary and Lothian and Borders Police and collectively will assist those agencies with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations by affording them access to unique research which provides a more nuanced and location specific

understanding of the phenomenon of rural racism within their respective geographic areas of responsibility.

From a Scottish perspective, the findings of this research will also be shared with the Scottish Government and will offer valuable additional knowledge about racism in Scotland for consideration as part of the 'One Scotland – No Place For Racism' campaign. Finally, from a United Kingdom policing perspective, this research project has been linked into the award of a Bramshill Fellowship (2007) by the National Policing Improvement Agency in recognition of the fact that the specific dynamics of the phenomenon of rural racism are largely unknown to the United Kingdom police service or indeed other public agencies charged with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations in the rural. For this reason, the researcher has given a commitment to the National Policing Improvement Agency that the findings of this research will then be used as the basis for the development of a national policing guidance around strategic policing and partnership approaches to the problem of racism in rural locations.

Another ethical dilemma here is the issues, problems and ethics of being a white researcher working with minority ethnic groups and the insider-outsider dichotomy as highlighted by writers such as Young (2004) where the outsider status of a white researcher may unintentionally deliver biases and shortcomings. These cross-cultural dimensions may '… constitute an active barrier to understanding 'other' experiences' (Paur 1993:5) and therefore it is argued that in such circumstances the outside researcher may not be sensitive and responsive to the cultural and social distinctiveness of the people

to whom the study relates. For researchers such as Gunaratnam (2003) such outsider research can be viewed as disempowering by those being studied but equally it is argued that outsider research can be more objective. Equally, it is acknowledged that insider research involving participatory research by a member of a disempowered group can deliver a shared sense of understanding with regard to interactions in the field.

Having considered the ethical dilemmas as an outside researcher, the key approach was to acknowledge the cultural complexity of those to whom this research relates and to seek to design an epistemological and ethical approach which would represent and capture the problems and issues of racism for people being studied. This with the hope of delivering tangible benefits to visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland by accurately capturing and representing their real life experiences and cultivating further knowledge and discussion without any suggestion of exploitative research tourism. As Young (2004) suggests:

> *'the aim of the researcher must be to work towards maintaining the values and perspectives that are associated with insiderness while being conscientious about and appreciative of what being on the outside means for advancing conversations with people. This is especially the case for the often idiosyncratic, but sometimes turbulent and virulent, circumstances pertaining to race and race relations ...'*
> *(Young, 2004: 201)*

Related to this is the fact that the researcher is a serving police Chief Superintendent. In relation to the former point this issue could not of course be overcome but it is

nevertheless important that it is recognised. In relation to the latter point, participants in this research were only informed that the researcher was a PhD research student with the University of Leicester and it was explained that the research data was for university purposes only and all participants were given an assurance around the confidentiality of all personal data. This concealment was not so as to make aspects of the research covert but instead was considered necessary as a safeguard to prevent the possibility of his authority figure employment status influencing those being researched. For example there was a clear risk that white residents might conceal their true attitudes to discrimination through fear of potential legal recrimination whilst minority ethnic participants might fear alternative motives and be reluctant to engage. Accordingly, this was purely as a safeguard against researcher influence so as not to sway reactions or effect transactions with those being studied.

Another key consideration was that of research bias and researcher influence and as highlighted by Young (2004) some of these biases or influences are unavoidable. Such bias may impact on research design or activity and indeed question, answer or reporting bias may be unintentionally introduced by the researcher. Similarly, the body language or age or social status (in this case as a senior police officer) or gender or ethnic appearance of the researcher can all introduce bias to those being researched. Whilst some of these variables are of course unavoidable, great care was exercised around the significant issue of researcher subjectivity both in planning the methodological journey and then in accessing and engaging with both white and minority ethnic research participants. These are important dilemmas and in particular when dealing with politically charged and highly

sensitive issues such as 'race', victimisation and the exercise of power in society as expressed through 'othering' mechanisms of exclusion. For these reasons, extreme caution was taken when engaging with those being researched in terms of being neutral in terms of language, dress, tone and body language and all questions used in focus group or interview settings were open questions neutrally expressed so as not lead respondents to answer in any particular way.

Having considered this high-level overview of this research project against the framework of the conceptual, methodological and ethical dilemmas highlighted, and against the underlying hypothesis and epistemological debates, this methodology chapter now turns to consider each of the selected research instruments in some detail.

3.3   Public Attitudes Survey

The public attitudes survey was designed to test the public attitudes to discrimination held by white residents in the research area and in doing so, purposely sought to replicate many of the specific questions on racist attitudes that had been included in the 2003 Attitudes to Discrimination in Scotland Survey (Bromley and Curtice, 2003) that was conducted throughout Scotland in 2002 by the National Census Office. As in that survey, the survey questionnaire was designed for self-completion by the researcher during face to face interviews with white residents. In this case, the survey questionnaire (example included as appendix) was applied to rural dwellers only and contained 26 separate questions including two additional bespoke questions designed to test the views of white residents on how visible ethnic minorities fit in to rural society in southeast Scotland and their

views on service provision to minority communities by agencies such as the local authority or the police. 14 of the questions were designed to test attitudes and in one case (question 13) experiences, whilst the remainder of the questions were based on ascertaining independent variables such as age and gender and their self-inferred nationality.

The public attitudes survey is primarily designed to reveal the nature and extent of prejudicial attitudes towards visible ethnic minority residents but as a secondary objective is also designed to answer three primary questions. Firstly, to ascertain what white residents in the research area believe is the extent of discriminatory attitudes towards visible ethnic minorities in the five rural local authority areas of southeast Scotland surveyed. Secondly, to ascertain the extent and character of discriminatory attitudes in the research area and thirdly to seek to explore why people might hold discriminatory attitudes in the first place. The survey also sought to replicate the adopted definition of a discriminatory attitude from the earlier work cited:

> *'A discriminatory attitude is defined in the research as an attitude that directly or indirectly suggests that some social groups may not be entitled to engage in the full panoply of social, economic and political activities that are thought to be the norm for most citizens. The term is used interchangeably with the word 'prejudice'.*
>
> *(Bromley and Curtice, 2003: 1)*

The survey is solely about attitudes as opposed to behaviour and through question design seeks to explore three potential models that might account for discriminatory attitudes. Those models are sociological, economic and psychological. The first of these variables sociological, might suggest that the sources of discriminatory attitudes lie primarily in the social structure and differences in patterns of socialisation to which individuals are subjected and accordingly the questionnaire included sociological factors such as age, educational attainment, gender, religion and political affiliation. The second variable, economic factors might suggest that the root of the problem lies in the competition for social and economic resources and therefore the belief that immigrants or ethnic minorities take jobs away from white people. Such feelings might be expected amongst the unemployed or those who feel economically disadvantaged, therefore specific questions on income and economic hardship were included.

The third variable, psychological factors, suggests that the problem may lie in the identities that people adhere to and their images of 'others' who do not share that same identity. Therefore those who adhere to particular notions of national identity may be more prejudiced and for this reason a bespoke question was included to ascertain respondents' self-inferred nationality. This group may also feel uncomfortable with diversity and may prefer to live in an area where people are similar to them and may be more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes. The psychological model also suggests that people's degree of social interaction with others from different backgrounds will impact on their attitudes but it is emphasised that none of these models are mutually exclusive.

Whilst the survey is intended to reveal public attitudes to discrimination, the data also carries a diffusion of wider benefits and as a corollary also provides a valuable insight into the nature and extent of racist attitudes in the research area through the lens of expressed public attitudes. In seeking to replicate questions from the earlier Scotland wide survey, the design intention is also to explore whether the application of these same questions specifically to white rural dwellers in southeast Scotland yields any results that differ significantly from those applied to the general population in Scotland and equally to see whether there are any significant variances in public attitudes between each of the local authority areas to which this research relates. Although the survey is solely about attitudes and 'tolerance' it is important to recognise that writers such as Evans (2002: 213) correctly highlight how '…the possession of intolerant beliefs provides the ever-present possibility of their expression through action'.

In terms of sample design, the survey sought to yield a representative sample of adult white residents aged eighteen or over living in each of the five rural local authority areas to which this research relates. To ensure equitable sampling, the researcher took the decision firstly to complete the survey questionnaires himself on the basis of face to face interviews in public areas in each rural local authority area and to do so until 35 questionnaires had been completed in each area giving a sample size of 175 completed questionnaires. This approach involved targeting members of the white adult resident population and this approach is commonly referred to as judgement sampling. Whilst convenient, the researcher was acutely aware that such methodologies rely of the objectivity of the researcher and the need to avoid any personal biases. For these reasons

extreme caution was taken by the researcher around the ethical dilemma of potentially judging the ethnicity of persons in the street and similarly care was exercised to achieve an equitable sample of age groups and gender. This fieldwork activity was conducted until the researcher had obtained 35 completed questionnaires in each local authority area on weekends between August and October 2008 resulting in a sample size of 175 completed questionnaires. At the same time, the researcher had asked those participating in the survey whether they would be willing to participate in a small short-duration focus group in their locality at a later date and those who were agreeable were asked to provide contact details. This gave the researcher a small contact database for each local authority area for follow-up qualitative focus groups.

The actual process of engagement with white residents in this manner was one of the more difficult aspects of this research and with particular reference to the issue of seeking to avoid research bias in approaching members of the public. Another factor was a very high level of unwillingness to engage and therefore it is important to emphasise that the overwhelming number of white residents approached by the researcher had neither the time nor inclination to participate in a street based survey. However with persistence, the required sample levels were obtained although typically this necessitated two full days activity in each local authority area.

By pre-coding of the public attitudes survey questionnaire using Likert scaling, information was gathered from respondents' containing a range of variables. The coding assigned a value to each piece of information resulting in a complete set of values for each

variable. The data analysis was then conducted on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS14) and in terms of methodology sought to explore any patterns or trends from the descriptive analysis before also exploring the relationship between each of the 'independent' sociological and economic variables such as age, gender, religion and income and to then explore the relationship between any 'dependent' variables such as an attitude. Accordingly, this research instrument was solely designed to facilitate quantitative data analysis.

Utilising the SPSS software, the complete data set for the completed questionnaires were manually loaded into the software package 'data editor' before commencing basic analysis of the various variables using 'descriptive statistics'. For each item the 'item-whole' correlation was calculated between that item and the sum of the remaining items. Items with excessively low correlations were then eliminated from further analysis, on the basis that they must be failing to tap the attitude that is measured by the other items. These calculations were carried out using the SPSS 'Reliability' functionality.

Unlike the previous Scotland wide survey of public attitudes to discrimination, this research was primarily interested in the nature and extent of such attitudes in the rural and whether there were any conclusions to be drawn from the differing attitudes of rural and urban dwellers. Therefore whilst replicating questions from the earlier survey, it was not a primary aim of this research to explore the causality of such discriminatory attitudes. However, as the questions in the original survey were designed around social, psychological and economic dimensions the statistical tests in this research also involved

exploratory 'factor analysis' (Bryman and Cramer, 1997) to ascertain whether any of these dimensions appeared to be influencing the attitudes expressed by white rural dwellers.

Factor analysis is a statistical technique which aims to identify whether there are one or more apparent sets of commonality to answers given by respondents' to a set of questions. In doing so, it ascertains the smallest number of factors, or dimensions which can most economically summarise all of the variations found in the set of questions being analysed. Factors are therefore established where respondents' who give a particular answer to one question in the set tend to give the same answer to each other to one or more of the other questions in the set. Therefore, through examining the structure of a large data set, it seeks to identify the existence of clusters of large correlation coefficients between subsets of variables.

By seeking to explore such factors of commonality, the researcher seeks to enhance the reliability of the analysis as it is widely recognised in social scientific research that verbal statements are only partly determined by an underlying attitude and partly by a large number of other influences that could be regarded as essentially random. As Proctor (2002: 109) argues '…any single statement, intended as an indicator of an underlying attitude, will always be heavily contaminated with other influences, and thus measure the attitude rather poorly; several statements, all chosen so as to reflect the same underlying attitude, will do so collectively far more effectively'.

Factor analysis though does have its limitations and as highlighted by Pallant (2001) such techniques are only valid in circumstances where the sample size is measured in hundreds. Therefore, at a sample size of 175 public attitudes survey questionnaires it is recognised by the researcher that the sample size is probably on the lower end of the threshold of the scale as recommended by writers such as Pallant (*ibid*).

3.4   Focus Groups with White Residents

In order to build on the initial findings from the 'attitudes to discrimination' survey of white residents and to develop a richer insight into local white attitudes towards visible ethnic minority residents in the rural the researcher organised one small focus group in each of the local authority areas to which this research project relates. The purpose of the various focus groups was to find out more about public attitudes to discrimination in the research area and as a consequence to gain a broader insight into the nature and extent of any apparent racist attitudes. This aspect of the research sought to follow up on the quantitative data on public attitudes obtained from the public attitudes survey and to enhance that analysis with qualitative data that was textual in nature and rich in context and meaning. In doing so, the researcher sought to ground this aspect of the research by linking in to the selected analytical framework.

As indicated, when conducting the attitudes to discrimination survey fieldwork the researcher had developed a contact database of between five and ten persons in each local authority area who had indicated a willingness to participate in subsequent focus group activity. Due to the scheduling of research activity, these focus groups took place between

May and July 2009, with each focus group taking place at a local community centre. In planning these focus groups, the high level objective was to run individual focus groups in each area with a minimum of four and maximum of eight delegates for manageability of data capture. In practice, the researcher managed to achieve focus groups with six delegates in each local authority area with the exception of the Scottish Borders where only five delegates were able to attend on the day. To incentivise attendance and encourage informality, light refreshments were laid on at each location and each focus group was restricted to a maximum duration of ninety minutes.

The focus groups were semi-structured in nature and the researcher sought to expand on the three primary questions from the public attitudes survey in terms of what white residents in the research area believe is the extent of discriminatory attitudes towards visible ethnic minorities, the extent and character of those discriminatory attitudes and why people might hold such discriminatory attitudes in the first place. However, in this case, the objective was to encourage open and free-flowing discussion amongst participants with minimum intervention by the researcher and so debate was encouraged under the umbrella of four distinct but related themes. These themes were of course again related to uncovering more about the nature and extent of racist attitudes in the research area.

The first of those themes was in relation to self-inferred Scottish rural identity on the part of white residents, and to initiate discussions participants were encouraged to explain how they saw themselves in terms of their adherence to notions of national identity and this led

intuitively to wider discussions around what it means to be Scottish and indeed discussions around notions of being 'Scots'. Participants were then encouraged to give their feelings around their preferences for rural living and to discuss what the rural actually means to them. The second theme, was in relation to their views on 'outsiders' to rural life and their perceptions on 'incomers' to the rural and as supplementary to this debate participants were asked to give their views on the general theme of immigration. The third theme was specifically on the issue of promoting rural diversity and how well participants thought that visible ethnic minorities fitted into rural life and their views on how they integrated into rural communities by comparison with other incomers. This led naturally into the fourth theme of agency service provision in the rural and participants were encouraged to discuss their views on whether local agencies such as the Police and the Council should do more to tailor their services to meet the needs of minority groups such as visible ethnic minorities.

As indicated, discussions were introduced and led with minimal intervention by the researcher and interviews were digitally recorded with the permission of the interviewees and as Fielding (1993) recommends, this provided as full and accurate a record of the interview as possible. To save research time, the recordings were later transcribed by a professional typist for qualitative analysis by the researcher. The purpose of digital recording of the discussions was to capture as much data as possible and to enable rigorous comparison between the contributions of different interviewees and different focus groups whilst retaining the context of data within each interview. A confidentiality assurance was given to those who participated in the semi-structured interviews. In

addition to digital recording of the interviews, field notes were taken at the time by the researcher to capture emergent themes that linked into the analytical framework and all recordings were reviewed for quality of recording before being transcribed.

In conducting the qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts, the researcher sought to identify emerging themes and concepts that would contribute towards the understanding of public attitudes to discrimination in the research area and any underlying factors of possible causality. Themes and concepts captured from one participant or focus group were captured and were then compared and contrasted with similar material from other participants and focus groups. This was an iterative process as new themes emerging in later transcripts or interview notes often necessitated further consideration of earlier material. As Fielding and Thomas (2002: 137) suggest 'The analytical and practical issues of this process stem from a need to both compare and contrast segments, or pieces, of data from different interviews and to maintain the chronological integrity of each interview'.

As Allport (1979) suggests, in any qualitative analysis of 'language', it is important to recognise that language *per se* is not necessarily a good indicator of either thought or action. Accordingly, the purpose of this analysis was not to assume that the public attitudes on display would have any direct influence on beliefs or actions. In other words, the collection of data about attitudes was only one part of this research as a whole in seeking to understand the wider context around the nature, extent and impact of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents in the research area and how those experiences impact on perceptions of community and safety.

As will be discussed later in this thesis, this aspect of the research process revealed some disturbing attitudes to discrimination and given the nature of some of the debates there was a need for the researcher to exercise particular care in relation to the adoption of neutral tone and body language so as to exercise care around any personal emotions or biases and correspondingly so as not to introduce any answer bias from focus group members.

3.5   Quality of Life Survey Questionnaire

In order to begin to comprehend the real-life nature and extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents and how those experiences impact on perceptions of community and safety it was desirable to gain some initial data on a range of quality of life issues for visible ethnic minority residents. To place that data within the broader context of more generalised local issues for visible ethnic minority residents the decision was taken to design a quality of life survey questionnaire with a bespoke version for each local authority area. Each distinct local authority questionnaire had a local heading for example, 'Life in East Lothian – Have Your Say – Black and Minority Ethnic Quality of Life Survey 2008'.

The quality of life questionnaire was designed to answer three primary questions. Those questions related to the respondents' views on their local area as a place to live, the identification of issues that may have affected their personal quality of life during the previous year and their quality of life in their local area more generally and how safe they felt in their local community. To explore these variables, the questionnaires firstly

contained an initial question for respondents' to indicate the specific town, village or area where they live. This was followed by 13 questions designed to specifically test general quality of life issues, levels of integration with the white community, experiences of violence, threats or harassment, aversive techniques, and perceptions of safety, security and risk. Finally, the questionnaire concludes with three demographic questions to ascertain the respondents' self-inferred racial identity, gender and age group.

To avoid 'leading questions' or skewed contextualisation the questionnaire was 'disguised' as a general quality of life survey but with the primary intention of linking to the theoretical framework by exploring perceptions of life in each of the five rural local authority areas, experiences of racism, extent of integration to the local (white) community and perceptions of community and safety. These questions were framed so as to reveal evidence of the mechanisms of exclusion and marginality associated with the theoretical framework of 'othering' without leading the respondent in a manner where answers were in essence cultivated. 14 of the questions were designed to facilitate quantitative analysis of results and three of the questions invited respondents' to elaborate on the theme of the previous question with a free text narrative for more qualitative analysis.

The decision to use postal questionnaires was to enable the researcher to draw a meaningful sample from the target population and to obtain findings that could be inferred back to the wider visible ethnic minority population in southeast Scotland. The questionnaire was designed to ascertain quality of life information and listed pre-coded

answers for subsequent analysis using the Likert scaling approach as discussed by Gilbert (2001: 111). The questionnaire replicated one that the researcher had used previously during his MSc research and therefore in terms of validity and reliability the questionnaire had previously been 'piloted' with visible ethnic minority employees of the NHS in West Lothian and this previous activity had enabled the researcher to develop questions that were appropriate to the recipients needs.

By pre-coding of the quality of life survey questionnaire, information was gathered from respondents' containing a range of variables. The coding assigned a value to each piece of information resulting in a complete set of values for each variable. The data analysis was then conducted on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS14) and in terms of methodology sought to explore the relationship between each of the 'independent' sociological and economic variables and in this case age, gender, place of residence and self inferred ethnic group, and to then explore the relationship between any 'dependent' variables such as the respondents' experiences of racism and perceptions of safety, security and risk in their local community.

Utilising the SPSS software, the complete data set for the completed questionnaires were manually loaded into the software package 'data editor' before commencing basic analysis of the various variables using 'descriptive statistics'. The statistical tests also involved 'factor analysis' (as previously discussed) to ascertain whether there are one or more apparent sets of commonality to answers given by respondents to a set of questions. In the case of the three questions which afforded respondents the opportunity to append free-text

narratives, the researcher sought to identify emerging themes and concepts that would contribute towards the understanding of quality of life issues for respondents' in the research area. Themes and concepts noted from one participant were captured and were then compared and contrasted with similar material from other participants and were then evaluated against the context of the quantitative questions in the questionnaire to which each of the qualitative questions were supplementary.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the research area has a very small visible ethnic minority population presenting a number of challenges to the researcher in terms of access to those to be surveyed. In view of these difficulties, the application of standard sampling techniques was not considered appropriate and as an alternative non-probability sampling procedures were used in relation to the postal questionnaire as non-probability sampling techniques are particularly useful for obtaining participants from hard to reach groups that may be more difficult to locate using more conventional means of sampling (Bulmer and Solomos, 2004).

The sample population for the quality of life questionnaire in each local authority was accessed via contact databases held by Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary and in some cases through ethnic minority support agencies and local race equality service providers working in partnership with local authority Community Safety Partnerships. For example, in West Lothian there is an established multi-cultural forum (West Lothian Multi-Cultural Forum or WLMCF) that exists to promote the interests of minority ethnic residents in West Lothian. The forum has an elected committee and a mailing list of

around one hundred and ten members who act as a consultative forum. Membership of the WLMCF includes broad representation of members from Pakistani, Indian and Black origins reflecting the visible ethnic minority profile in West Lothian.

With the assistance of such agencies and other community contacts, the researcher gained access to mailing lists in each local authority area from which he selected 550 names and addresses to which postal questionnaires were sent in November 2008. Included with the questionnaires were pre-paid envelopes for return of the completed questionnaire. The decision to use these mailing lists was also to engender trust with participants and by aligning the research to the support of existing visible ethnic minority support forums to elicit their support in encouraging respondents to complete the questionnaires. This primary activity was supplemented by snowball sampling of a further ten questionnaires in each local authority area to specifically target the local Chinese community who were not well represented on the various mailing lists.

In considering the use of a postal survey, care was taken to ensure that this approach would not inadvertently reinforce the marginalisation of excluded groups through language difficulties associated with a survey written in English. However, previous assurances had been received from contact lists administrators that everyone on the various contact databases were either British born or had a good command of English. It is however important to highlight the issue of not further marginalising 'hidden communities' and the level of care required in research design. The return rate for the

quality of life survey was 55.8% giving a sample size of 307 survey questionnaires for analysis.

3.6 Secondary Analysis of Racial Incidents Reported to the Police

In addition to postal questionnaires the researcher conducted secondary analysis of all racist incidents reported to the police by visible ethnic minority victims living in the five rural local authority areas that make up the designated study area for this research. This aspect of the research was based on secondary analysis of all reports made to Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary for the calendar year 2007. Having worked for both of these police agencies, the researcher had unique access to the data from both police areas and to two distinct computerised recording systems. This data was retrieved for analysis in February and March 2008. This process of using data collected by others is known as secondary analysis (Dale *et al*, 1988) or in other words analysis of data by anyone other than those responsible for its original commissioning or collection.

The researcher was aware at the outset that these data sets would contain material that was supplementary to this research in the form of reported racist incidents where the complainer was either 'white', most typically involving persons experiencing Anglophobia, or alternatively where the complainer was a serving police officer of visible ethnic minority heritage who had experienced racism from a member of the public solely in the course of his/her duty. Accordingly, these types of crime report were filtered out delivering a sample size of 307 crime reports for secondary analysis.

The Lothian and Borders Police 'Crime Recording System' and the Fife Constabulary 'CrimeFile System' enabled the researcher to directly extract common independent variables such as victim age, gender and self-inferred racial identity as well as dependent variables such as the crime type and the crime location for quantitative analysis. In recognition of the fact that verbal abuse is the most widely reported form of racist incident, both recording systems also contained a free-text narrative field where the precise form of verbal abuse can be recorded.

By examining the contextual information within the crime report narratives such as the forms of verbal abuse uttered, qualitative data was also extracted with a view to providing evidence of how different forms of abuse serve as discriminatory mechanisms which act to 'other' visible ethnic minorities. This qualitative discourse analysis (Wetherell, 2003; Mama, 1995) was designed to assist validity and reliability by linking the theoretical perspectives with observable facts that relate to the selected theoretical approach and often through analysis of discursive 'power words of prejudice' as discussed by Allport (1979). This aspect of secondary analysis was considered very important as the analysis of racial incidents by Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary or indeed the police service nationally is solely quantitative and does not extend to analysis of the data around the forms of verbal abuse. As Hakim (1982) suggests, original research can often be done with old data.

The advantages of such research include the possibility of interrogating secondary data from a different theoretical perspective and to reflect on the theoretical debates raised by

the data rather than the practical issues surrounding data collection. Another advantage was ease of access to the 'official' data set on reported racist incidents in two separate police force areas covering the five distinct local authority boundaries that make up the designated research area in southeast Scotland. By contrast, it is recognised that there are some disadvantages with secondary analysis including the fact that the available data varies in terms of its quality and accuracy.Utilising the SPSS software, the complete data set for the various variables from the police crime reports were manually loaded into the software package 'data editor' before commencing basic analysis of the various variables using 'descriptive statistics'.

The researcher is currently a Chief Superintendent with Fife Constabulary and was previously a senior officer in Lothian and Borders Police and had the consent of both Chief Constables (Mrs. Norma Graham QPM and Mr. David Strang QPM) to conduct this research. This unique 'insider' situation also provided an opportunity of convenience and enabled the researcher direct access to both police data systems during 2008 to extract all necessary data for the calendar year 2007. As the research does not reveal the personal details of crime victims there are no concerns around breaches of the Data Protection Act. This was confirmed with the Data Protection Managers for Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary.

The purpose of this aspect of the research was to reveal what the 'official statistics' had to say about the nature, extent and impact of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities living in the research area and to ascertain how the official statistics contrast and compare

with other data sets obtained during the research. This aspect of the research also served as a useful mechanism for revealing the inadequacies of quantitatively focused police intelligence and recording systems in terms of both linkages to wider debates around the deficiencies of administrative approaches to criminology and the lack of understanding of the phenomenon of rural racism by agencies of the state such as the police service.

In conducting research into incidents reported to the police, the researcher also used his privileged position as a senior police officer to reflect on the institutional dimensions of the police approach to equality and diversity through ancillary literature review of a number of 'restricted' information sources[4] and in particular the ACPOS 'Strategic Assessment'[5] and the ACPOS 'Intelligence Requirement'[6] for 2010. This aspect of ancillary research activity was considered as extremely important in terms of ascertaining what level of strategic priority the police service in Scotland were attaching to racism in society and whether other strategic policing priorities might conflict with this and thus present a barrier to the holistic promotion of diversity. Whilst, the specific detail of these documents cannot be revealed in this thesis, a number of generic strategic deficiencies will be exposed in subsequent findings chapters that strike at the very heart of the arguments around the active suppression of diversity. These particular dimensions relate to issues previously identified through Macpherson's (1999) references to 'unwitting' and 'institutional' racism and in particular to the failure of public agencies such as the police

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[4] 'Restricted' in terms of the Government Protective Marking Scheme (GPMS) and therefore the specific detail of the information are restricted to police and government agencies only.
[5] The ACPOS 'Strategic Assessment' is agreed between Chief Constables each year and details the very highest level policing priorities for Scotland.
[6] The ACPOS 'Intelligence Requirement' details what overt and covert intelligence products are required in order to support the delivery of the national policing priorities identified in the Strategic Assessment.

and local authorities to adequately understand and conceptualise broader structural debates around racism within society.

3.7   Qualitative Interviews with Visible Ethnic Minority Victims

In addition to the public attitudes survey, quality of life postal questionnaires and secondary analysis of police data, the researcher employed 'purposive sampling' to identify a small selection of visible ethnic minorities who have experienced racist incidents in each of the five local authority areas and obtained a sample group of 20 who were willing to participate in semi-structured personal interviews. To avoid any conflict with the Data Protection Act, voluntary participants were sought through local community safety practitioners and via the personal ethnic minority contacts of the researcher.

These interviews took place between July and September 2009 and were semi-structured in approach. The agenda, set by the researcher, focused on their experiences of racism in rural southeast Scotland and their perceptions of their local area, involvement in the community and how their experiences impact on perceptions of rural community and safety. As indicated, discussions were introduced and led with minimal intervention by the researcher and interviews were digitally recorded with the permission of the interviewees and this provided as full and accurate a record of the interview as possible. To save research time, the recordings were later transcribed by a professional typist for qualitative analysis by the researcher.

The purpose of digital recording of the discussions was to obtain as much data as possible and to enable rigorous comparison between the contributions of different interviewees whilst retaining the context of data within each interview. A confidentiality assurance was given to those who participated in the semi-structured interviews. In addition to digital recording of the interviews, field notes were taken at the time by the researcher to capture emergent themes that linked into the analytical framework and all recordings were reviewed for quality of recording before being transcribed.

In conducting the qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts, the researcher sought to identify emerging themes and concepts that would contribute towards the understanding of the nature, extent and impact of racism on victims in the research area. Themes and concepts captured from one interview were captured and were then compared and contrasted with similar material from other interviews. Again, this was an iterative process as new themes emerging in later transcripts or interview notes often necessitated further consideration of earlier material.

The decision to use purposive sampling was based on the richness and depth of the data that was likely to be obtained and because it was capable of adding real value to the qualitative aspects of the research. In doing so, this particular research instrument set out to see rural society in southeast Scotland through the eyes of those being researched. In other words, it sought to understand the phenomenon of rural racism and in particular its nature, extent and impact through the real-life experience of visible ethnic minority residents who had been victims of racism.

As will be discussed later in this thesis, this aspect of the research involved many harrowing personal accounts and in terms of the process of engagement then this was an emotionally charged aspect of the research process where once again great care was exercised to both avoid researcher subjectivity and to remain neutral in body language, tone and thought so as not to inadvertently allow personal bias to enter or influence the research process. Again, this process and experience of engagement was a particularly difficult and sensitive aspect of the research given the researchers position as a senior police officer and the fact that this was not known to those being researched to avoid the introduction of bias as previously discussed.

3.8   Chapter conclusions

This third chapter has concerned itself with the identification and adoption of an appropriate methodological framework with which to research racism and racist victimisation within a rural context. In doing so, five primary research instruments have been identified that enable the 'othering' of visible ethnic minority residents to be explored through the key investigative themes which centre on 'public attitudes to discrimination' in the research area and the precise 'nature', 'extent', and 'impact' of the phenomenon of rural racism in southeast Scotland.

Those primary research instruments include a public attitudes survey of white residents to ascertain the nature and extent of discriminatory attitudes towards visible ethnic minority residents followed by focus groups with white rural residents to give a broader insight into these dimensions. The third research instrument is a quality of life survey of visible ethnic

minority residents to explore levels of integration with the white community and to ascertain how the nature and extent of racism in the rural impacts on perceptions of community and safety. The fourth involves secondary analysis of all racist incidents involving visible ethnic minority residents reported to the police in the research area during 2007 to ascertain what the 'official statistics' tell us about the nature and extent of the problem, with related qualitative discourse analysis to explore what the attitudes verbally expressed by perpetrators tell us about the problem in rural southeast Scotland. The fifth and final primary research instrument involves qualitative interviews with victims to explore all main themes but impact issues in particular.

As an ancillary methodology, the researcher also used his privileged position as a senior police officer to reflect on the structural and institutional dimensions of the police approach to equality and diversity through ancillary literature review of a number of 'restricted' national policing strategy documents. As discussed, this aspect of ancillary research activity was considered as extremely important in terms of ascertaining what level of strategic priority the police service in Scotland were attaching to racism in society and whether other strategic policing priorities might conflict with this and thus present a barrier to the holistic promotion of diversity.

By researching the four key identified themes through five primary research instruments, and with some ancillary activity as discussed, the researcher has devised an appropriate methodology to capture both quantitative and qualitative data for subsequent analysis and by adopting an eclectic approach has sought to ground the theoretical approach to answer

the research question. Collectively, these five separate data gathering techniques were designed to achieve the stated objectives of this doctorial research and to assist in the process of triangulation or the combination of methodologies in the study of phenomena as discussed by Denzin (1970).

Having devised an appropriate methodological framework with which to research the problem of rural racism in southeast Scotland, this thesis now turns to reflect on the findings from this research.

Chapter 4   The nature of the problem of racism in rural southeast Scotland

4.1   Introduction to Chapter

In order to provide dialogue and linear progression between the research problem, the literature review and the selected methodology, the findings chapters of this thesis will continue to follow the four broad analytical themes as previously discussed. However for clarity of presentation, the initial research findings around the theme of 'feelings and images of difference' are consolidated with the theme of 'nature' by considering how internalised feelings about others who are different might influence the nature of rural racism in southeast Scotland and how this may be analysed and interpreted through the lens of the expressed public attitudes to discrimination by the dominant white population. Accordingly, this and the following two chapters will reveal the research outputs, interpretation and findings of this thesis on the specific 'nature', 'extent' and 'impact' on victims of the phenomenon of rural racism in southeast Scotland.

To provide an analytical paradigm which also facilitates the selected theoretical approach, analysis of the findings from each of the various research instruments includes micro sociological examination of the specificity of these three key variables within the context of the research area that grounds the theoretical approach through the revelation of clear evidence of the 'othering' mechanisms of racist discourse as discussed by Philo (1992) at work within the communities of rural southeast Scotland.

This initial findings chapter will commence by presentation and discussion of the 'nature' of the phenomenon of rural racism as interpreted through the lens of the feelings and images of difference as expressed by the attitudes of white residents towards visible ethnic minorities and others seen as 'different' from quantitative analysis of the attitudes to discrimination survey. The related qualitative findings around this dimension as established from the supplementary focus group interviews with white residents will then be presented for discussion before consolidated reflections are advanced in relation to what these initial public attitudes actually tell us about the nature of racist attitudes in southeast Scotland.

The chapter concludes by offering a consolidated perspective on what the various findings about the attitudes of the majority white population towards visible ethnic minorities tells us about the nature of racism in rural areas of southeast Scotland. In doing so, the findings in this chapter acknowledge the widespread nature of the problem and set the initial context against which we may begin to understand how those attitudes can sometimes translate into actual racist actions that can have a devastating impact on victims.

4.2   Attitudes to Discrimination Survey – quantitative analysis of the nature of prejudicial attitudes towards visible ethnic minorities

The survey began by replicating selected questions from the earlier Scotland wide survey (Bromley and Curtice, 2003) and began by asking 175 White respondents whether they thought that there was a great deal of prejudice in Scotland against people from different

racial or ethnic backgrounds. Analysis of the results of this initial question revealed that 41.7% of respondents' thought that there was a great deal or quite a lot of prejudice whilst 34.5% thought that there was a little. When viewed in isolation, these results show that the overwhelming majority of rural dwellers surveyed (76%) acknowledge the existence of prejudice against people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds in Scotland whilst only 20.6% of respondents' believed that there was none at all.

When contrasted with the results from the 2003 survey, basic analysis shows some interesting comparisons. Firstly, in the earlier Scotland wide survey the majority of respondents' also acknowledged that significant prejudice existed against ethnic minorities. However, the 2003 survey (*ibid*:9) reported the acknowledgement of such prejudice at significantly higher levels with 56% of respondents' acknowledging a great deal or quite a lot of prejudice and 32% acknowledging a little. In other words, 88% of respondents in the 2003 survey acknowledged the existence of such prejudice by comparison with a lower figure of 76% in this research survey. Conversely, whilst only 9% of respondents' in the 2003 survey believed that there was no such prejudice in Scotland at all, there is a significant variation in this survey where perhaps disturbingly, analysis found that 20.6% of respondents' believed that such prejudice did not exist in Scotland.

These initial results tend to suggest that there may be a lack of awareness of the nature and extent of racial prejudice against visible ethnic minority residents by white rural dwellers and perhaps this is not entirely surprising given the exceptionally small visible ethnic

minority population in the research area. Equally, it may be hypothesised that these very low numbers of visible ethnic minority residents living in rural areas of southeast Scotland may contribute to the 'invisibility' of the precise scale of the problem which may also then be further compounded by a range of other variables such as distinctive rural media perspectives or the paucity of support networks for visible ethnic minority residents. Significantly though, this initial analysis delivered results which tend to add weight to the findings of the 2003 survey which concluded (*ibid*:10) that people who live in urban areas are consistently more likely to think that there is a lot of prejudice towards various groups including ethnic minorities when compared with those living in rural areas.

Given the widespread acceptance of the presence of racism within Scottish society (Scottish Executive, 2003), the next question in the questionnaire again sought to replicate the approach from the 2003 Attitudes to Discrimination Survey (*ibid*) and sought to ask a specific question designed to test respondents' support for initiatives designed to reduce such discrimination. Therefore, respondents' were asked to give their view on a scale asking whether attempts to give equal opportunities to people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds had gone far enough. Analysis of the results of this question revealed that 49.1% of respondents' thought that things were about right whilst 17.7% said not far enough or not nearly far enough. Disturbingly, 31.4% of rural dwellers thought that such attempts to give equal opportunities had gone too far.

When contrasted with the results from the 2003 survey, some further interesting comparisons are revealed. Firstly, in the earlier survey a smaller percentage of 32% of

respondents' thought that things were about right whilst a significantly larger percentage of 41.1% said not far enough or not nearly far enough. Additionally, in the earlier survey only 18.1% thought that attempts to give equal opportunities had gone too far. These comparisons are very interesting and when considered alongside responses to the first question in the survey appear to tell a consistent story. Firstly, it is clear that whilst rural dwellers acknowledge that racial prejudice is a problem in Scotland, they appear to see it as less of a problem that when the same question is asked of non rural dwellers. Secondly, and possibly as a consequence, they appear to be significantly less supportive of initiatives to reduce such inequality as evidenced by the significant numbers expressing the opinion that too much had already been done to reduce discrimination.

These initial results tend to suggest that rural dwellers may hold more discriminatory attitudes than those expressed by the general white population and perhaps as a consequence they may be less willing to support policy initiatives designed to invest monies in activities designed to reduce such discrimination. Equally, and given that such discriminatory attitudes cannot exist in a vacuum, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the apparent greater incidence of discriminatory attitudes in the rural may well be indicative of the potential for such negative attitudes to both actively suppress diversity and equally to influence the prevalence of actual discriminatory practices or behaviour.

To ascertain whether such discriminatory attitudes openly or tacitly legitimate some form of social exclusion, the survey then sought to test attitudes to social and public participation by seeking respondents' views on the provision of bespoke local authority

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services to assist those whose first language may not be English. In this case the question was framed around respondents' views on the provision of multi language marketing of services by their local council. Analysis of the results of responses to this question revealed that the majority of respondents' (53.1%) agreed that the council should publish information about their services in other languages whilst 37.1% thought that this was a waste of money.

These results are very similar to those from the 2003 Scotland wide survey where the respective response rates were 58.9% and 35.3% respectively. As the survey question in this case specifically highlighted the economic impact of providing such services, the generally positive response by those surveyed tends to suggest that any discriminatory attitudes expressed by the majority of white rural dwellers towards visible ethnic minority residents and others whose first language is not English may not be being particularly influenced by economic factors.

The survey then sought to strike at the theme of democratic and political participation and specifically to ascertain the views of white respondents with regard to the involvement of visible ethnic minority residents in the political process. This question is important as at the time of this survey there were no visible ethnic minority elected members in any of the five local authority areas of rural southeast Scotland. Indeed none of the local authorities in the study area have *ever* had an elected member who was not white. Equally, at the time of writing, there is only one member of the Scottish Parliament of visible ethnic minority heritage from the whole of Scotland.

To ascertain perspectives on this dimension, participants were asked to comment on whether people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds should have more say in decisions about how Scotland is run. Analysis of the results of this question revealed that 56% of all respondents stated that things are fine as they are and this percentage was identical to results from a similar question in the 2003 survey. A further 36% of respondents stated that they should have less say whilst only 4.6% thought that they should have more say. This extremely low level of support for people from different ethnic or racial groups having more say in the political process is perhaps not too surprising given the very low numbers of visible ethnic minority residents, and again the results are not too dissimilar from the 2003 survey where 9% of respondents advanced a similar perspective. However, such attitudes may help to explain why visible ethnic minorities simply do not have a voice in Scottish rural politics and when considered against the context of there never having been an elected member in the survey area who was not white, also serves to demonstrate how diversity can be suppressed through the political dynamics that sustain the balance of power in favour of those who are already powerful.

The survey then continued with this theme by asking respondents views about the kind of person that they would like to represent them as a member of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) and whether they had a preference for someone who is white. Analysis of the results revealed that most people surveyed (55.4%) stated that they did not mind either way and whilst this is encouraging, it is significantly less that the 88.5% who answered in a similar manner in the 2003 survey. Only 0.6% of respondents stated that they would

prefer a Black or Asian MSP and this is almost identical to the 0.5% response in the 2003 survey. Conversely, some 32% of respondents expressed a positive preference for a White MSP and this is significantly higher than the 10.7% who answered in a similar manner in the 2003 survey.

These responses tend to support the analysis from the previous question around the theme of political engagement and show that there is very low support for the notion of actively giving more say in the rural political process to people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. From the results of this analysis, it is also clear that self-expressed racist attitudes are far more prevalent in this rural survey than they were in the Scotland wide survey of 2003. However, when considered in isolation, it is difficult to know whether this differential is symptomatic of the prevalence of more discriminatory attitudes in the rural *per se* or whether the differential may simply be attributable to hardening of attitudes more generally over the five year period between the respective fieldwork activities.

The survey then moved on to explore public attitudes to relationships and family life by asking those surveyed whether they thought that most people in Scotland would mind or not mind is one of their closest relatives were to marry someone from a different racial or ethnic background. Analysis of responses revealed that the overwhelming majority of those surveyed (70.3%) thought that most people in Scotland would not be comfortable with this proposition (would mind a lot or would mind a little) with 37.7% of respondents specifically stating that most people would probably mind a lot. Only 20% of respondents thought that most people would not mind and again these attitudes appear somewhat

harsher than in the 2003 survey where the corresponding response rates were 20.3% who would mind a lot and 36.3% who would not mind.

In this question, the purpose in giving respondents the opportunity to comment on what they think the majority of people might say was to make it easier for them to openly voice their own opinion on the matter whilst also giving a further insight into their perceptions of how much of this type of prejudice exists in Scotland. However, in order to test this dimension further respondents' were then asked to give their own personal views on mixed marriages. Once again, responses to this question appear to suggest that rural dwellers may have far more prejudicial views on such matters with 43.4% of respondents stating that they would personally mind a lot if a close relative was to marry someone from a different racial or ethnic background. This is a far higher response than in the 2003 survey where the response rate was 16.7%. Similarly, whilst the most common response to this question (44.6%) was that people would not personally mind, this again is at significant odds with the far more liberal response of 78.1% in the 2003 survey. Another variable worth considering is whether this is a generational rather than a psychological phenomenon as in both this and the 2003 the attitudes appear to harden with age which may optimistically mean that the more positive views of younger people may stay with them through life.

The next three questions in the survey questionnaire were designed to test the attitudes of the white residents surveyed with specific reference to their views on 'difference' and their thoughts on the integration of visible ethnic minorities into local rural communities.

Question number eight therefore commenced by asking how much respondents thought that people from Black or Asian backgrounds in Scotland have in common with people from white backgrounds. Analysis of responses revealed that only 18.3% thought quite a lot or a great deal whilst 49.8% of respondents' stated not very much or nothing at all. This psychological 'othering' or discomfort with difference is far more marked that in the responses to the 2003 survey (*ibid*) where 27.2% of those surveyed had expressed the attitude that Black and Asian people have not very much or nothing at all in common with people from White backgrounds.

Q: How much do visible ethnic minorities like Black and Asian people have in common with people from white backgrounds?	Frequency	Valid Percent
A great deal	7	4.0
Quite a lot	25	14.3
Some	56	32.0
Not very much	54	30.9
Nothing at all	33	18.9
Total	175	100.0

Table 1. **Rural respondents' views on how much people from Black or Asian backgrounds in Scotland have in common with people from White backgrounds.**

This theme was then continued by asking whether respondents thought that Scotland should do everything that it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice, or whether sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups. Analysis of the responses to this question revealed that whilst the most common response at 56% was in the affirmative, some 42.9% of respondents stated that in their opinion sometimes there is

good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups. Again the acceptance of the legitimacy of prejudice towards certain groups shown in this survey is of interest as it is far more pronounced than in the 2003 survey where 26.3% of respondents expressed similar views. These results are of particular significance for if 42.9% of those surveyed accept the legitimacy of prejudice towards certain groups then this is almost certainly an indicator of an underlying generalised support for discrimination *per se*.

In order to tease out the issue of attitudes to integration, the white residents surveyed were then asked whether they would rather live in an area with lots of different kinds of people or whether they would rather live in an area where most people were similar to them. Analysis of responses revealed that only 20.6% of respondents expressed a preference for living in a diverse community and this compares with a response of 36.7% to the same question in the 2003 survey. Significantly, an overwhelming majority of 69.7% stated that they would prefer to live in an area where most people were similar and again this compares with a response rate of 46.4% to the same question applied to the general population of Scotland in the 2003 survey. The strength of response to these three questions around negative attitudes to difference when considered in isolation appears relatively consistent and tends to suggest that a significant proportion of rural dwellers in southeast Scotland are uncomfortable with notions of difference. Perhaps not surprisingly, some also appear simultaneously comfortable with the defensibility of the proposition of the acceptability of prejudice in certain circumstances.

The attitudes survey then returned to the question of the economy and such questions were viewed as particularly pertinent to the fieldwork in the autumn of 2008 as this coincided with the United Kingdom economy entering a period of significant financial recession. Accordingly, responses were sought to the question of whether people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black or Asian people provide Scotland with much needed job skills. This was followed by a question which sought views on whether people believed that Black or Asian people take jobs away from other people in Scotland.

From analysis of responses it was noted that 32% of those surveyed either disagreed or disagreed strongly that ethnic minorities provided Scotland with much needed job skills and this is significantly higher than the 18.4% who answered in a similar manner in the 2003 Scotland wide survey. However, 28.6% of those surveyed took a different view and either agreed or agreed strongly with the view that ethnic minorities do provide Scotland with much needed job skills and this is not too dissimilar to the 2003 survey results where the corresponding response rate was 34.6%.

The majority of those surveyed did not adhere to the view that Black and Asian people take jobs away from other people in Scotland with 36% of people stating that they disagree or disagree strongly with a lesser proportion of 25.7% taking an alternative view and either agreeing or agreeing strongly. Again these results are broadly in line with the corresponding response rates to similar questions asked in the 2003 Scotland wide survey and are of particular interest for two main reasons. Firstly, as this survey was carried out during a period of economic recession, the general similarities of response to those carried

out in an earlier period of prosperity suggest that economic factors are having little bearing on the views being expressed by those surveyed. Secondly, as the views of rural dwellers are broadly in line with those of the general population of Scotland it further supports the view that economic factors are not having a significant bearing on attitudes to discrimination.

To ascertain whether attitudes to discrimination in the rural may be being informed by actual experience or simply by other uninformed perspectives, those surveyed were then asked whether they 'personally' knew anyone from a different racial or ethnic group such as Black or Asian people. Analysis of responses to this question was particularly revealing from a rural perspective with a remarkable 91.4% (160 out of 175 people surveyed) stating that they did not personally know anyone from a different racial or ethnic background.

Q: Do you personally know someone from a different racial or ethnic background such as a Black or Asian person?	Frequency	Valid Percent
I don't know anyone	160	91.4
someone I know very well	1	.6
someone at my work	14	8.0
Total	175	100.0

Table 2   **Response to whether rural dwellers personally know someone from a different racial or ethnic background such as Black or Asian people**

As discussed earlier in this thesis, the visible ethnic minority population in southeast Scotland is very small and for each of the local authority areas surveyed ranged between 0.6% and 1.3% at the time of the 2001 census. However, the above analysis is particularly

revealing both in terms of reinforcing just how few visible ethnic minority people actually reside in southeast Scotland and equally in revealing just how many white residents have no personal contact with Black and Asian people other than a very small minority who appear to have such contact solely in the context of their working environment. This begs the obvious question of whether attitudes to discrimination towards visible ethnic minorities in rural southeast Scotland and any associated fear of difference may be partly as a consequence of that very unfamiliarity and absence of contact with those who are clearly viewed as 'other'.

To tease out these unique rural dimensions further, the survey then posed two unique rural questions that had not featured in the earlier 2003 Scotland wide survey. The first was on the theme of rural integration and asked those surveyed whether they thought that people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black and Asian people fit well into communities in rural areas of Scotland. Perhaps not surprisingly, analysis revealed that a staggering 86.9% of people surveyed disagreed or disagreed strongly that Black and Asian people fit in well to communities in rural areas of southeast Scotland.

The second bespoke rural question then asked whether local agencies such as the Council or Police should do more to deliver specific services for people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black or Asian people living in rural areas. Again, responses to this question were broadly supportive with 36% of people surveyed agreeing or strongly agreeing. This analysis is interesting within the context of the previous question for whilst white residents overwhelmingly appear to believe that ethnic minorities do not

fit in well in rural communities it is equally the case that they are generally not averse to the conceptual notion of more being done around the provision of bespoke public services to such groups.

Some caution is of course required in simplistically contrasting the responses of white rural dwellers to all questions by comparison with the 2003 Scotland wide survey as whilst the former was predominantly conducted in the urban it did contain some limited rural dimensions. However, despite this it is nevertheless apparent that the indicators of racial prejudice are far more pronounced in rural southeast Scotland. Whilst this in itself is perhaps not too surprising given that the 2003 survey (*ibid*, 30) also noted a relationship between rural living and increased levels of racial prejudice, it is the scale of the racial prejudice uncovered in this survey that is so revealing. These indicators range from higher levels of the acknowledgement of general public and self-reported prejudice to lower levels of support for equal opportunities and initiatives to reduce discrimination. The indicators show low levels of integration in terms of the acceptance of visible ethnic minority residents into white rural communities and low levels of support for political engagement and participation.

This discomfort with difference is also evidenced through significant self-reported anxiety around the concept of interracial marriage and by openly expressed positive preferences for white elected representatives. Significantly, there is clear evidence to support the view that these prejudicial attitudes are being informed by something other than 'experience' as validated by the fact that the overwhelming majority of white rural dwellers surveyed do

not personally know anyone from a visible ethnic minority background. This lack of contact is of course partly due to the very small number of visible ethnic minority people who live in the research area and this 'invisibility' factor may in itself also assist in explaining the accompanying higher levels of denial of prejudice that are also a feature of the findings of this survey.

For clarity of context, it must be emphasised that the 'majority' of white rural dwellers surveyed did not demonstrate significant levels of racial prejudice in their attitudes however it sadly remains the case that a very significant minority did. One clue as to why this might be comes from the inclusion in this survey of a question that was not asked in the Scotland wide survey in 2003. That question was number 26 in the survey and it sought to tap into the conceptualisation and linking of notions of 'nation' and 'belonging' as discussed in detail in chapters one and two of this thesis. The inclusion of this question was viewed as essential given those previous debates and in particular when considering that this survey was solely directed at white rural dwellers living in essentially 'white landscapes' with only a tiny visible ethnic minority presence. Accordingly, those surveyed were asked whether they would describe their nationality as British, Scottish or other nationality. Remarkably, all 175 persons surveyed (100%) stated quite ambiguously that they saw themselves as Scottish and as these were face to face interviews, the researcher also noted that 'Scottish of course' was the most common response uttered and sometimes with a sense of indignity as if to suggest that the answer to the question should have been obvious.

These higher than anticipated levels of minority prejudice uncovered are of particular concern, and the magnitude of these marked differences in the nature of racial prejudice within the current context of rural southeast Scotland by comparison with the 2003 Scotland wide survey is graphically demonstrated through the analysis of a small selection of variables as shown in the following comparative table:

% who say	Rural southeast Scotland (Fieldwork in 2008)	All of Scotland (Fieldwork 2002)
Equal opportunities for Black and Asian people have gone too far or much too far	31.4%	18%
Would prefer an MSP who is white	32%	11%
Would personally mind or mind a lot if one of closest relatives was to marry someone from different racial or ethnic background	43.4%	17%
That ethnic minorities take jobs away from other people in Scotland	25.7%	20%
That ethnic minorities do not provide much needed job skills	32%	18%
Language translation services by councils are a waste of money	37.1%	35%
Total sample size	**175**	**1665**

Table 3. **Comparative responses between identical questions asked in 2002 and 2008 public attitudes to discrimination surveys.**

In addition to the bespoke self inferred nationality question, the remainder of the questions in the survey questionnaire took the form of 'about you' questions and sought to replicate the collection of similar personal information to that of the 2003 Scotland wide survey. Accordingly, data was collected on variables such as gender, age group, place of residence, educational attainment, income, financial circumstances, economic position, political affiliation and religious beliefs.

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4.2.1   Exploring the factors of causality for discriminatory attitudes

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the primary purpose of the attitudes to discrimination survey was to determine the general nature of the attitudes of white residents in rural southeast Scotland towards visible ethnic minorities. However, given that the conclusions of the 2003 Scotland wide survey (*ibid*, 60) had also sought to explore the issue of causality, this survey also sought to explore whether further analysis of the survey data might reveal any non spurious relationships between the independent and dependent variables and also to consider whether there was any evidence to be found of cause preceding effect.

In doing so, it was recognised at the outset that a number of variables would make this endeavour problematic. Firstly, as highlighted by Bryman and Cramer (2006) the research design in a social survey is far different from that carried out in a laboratory experiment. In this case, and in the 2003 Scotland wide survey, the research was designed to test attitudes for comparison over a number of related questions and also to elucidate whether other variables such as social background, age and gender etc had any correlational relationship in terms of those expressed attitudes. However, it is accepted within the social sciences that such social surveys have a very limited ability to demonstrate causality as variables cannot be manipulated as they could in traditional research design. As Bryman and Cramer rightly observe (*ibid*, 16) 'precisely because in survey research variables are not manipulated (and often are not capable of manipulation), the ability of the researcher to impute cause and effect is very limited'.

Another problem here is that in a social survey all of the data is collected simultaneously and therefore even when an apparent relationship is identified it is not possible to say with any confidence that the putative cause precedes the putative effect. For example, when conducting bivariate analysis of the relationship between the age of respondents in question seventeen and the acceptability of prejudice in question nine cursory examination would tend to suggest that those in the 18 to 24 category are almost twice less likely to state that sometimes there is good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups. However, this does not mean that discriminatory attitudes necessarily increase with age as these results may equally have been measuring a generational phenomenon, a random statistical variation, or may be associated with a greater diversity of contact situations. Equally, older people may be less economically active than younger people and therefore any apparent hardening of attitudes could be economic or generational or psychological or may stem from other sociological factors rather than simply being age related. Similarly, examination of educational attainment in question seventeen against question nine might equally tend to suggest from the results that discriminatory attitudes decrease with higher educational attainment, but equally this could be random given the relatively small sample size or it could be a measure of something else such as a better economic position. Equally, it may well be that the more educated are less likely to give their genuine view if they feel that such answers may be socially unacceptable.

In order to explore these issues further, and in order to replicate the approach from the earlier 2003 Scotland wide survey, the data gathered in this survey was then aggregated within the SPSS software with a view to conducting exploratory factor analysis of the

economic, psychological and sociological models of explanation. However, unlike the Scotland wide survey with a sample size of 1665, it is important to note that the sample size of the survey in rural southeast Scotland although significant was relatively small by comparison at only 175 questionnaires. This in itself raises the potential of reliability and as suggested by Bryman and Cramer (2006) there is no consensus within the social sciences around what the minimum size should be although writers such as Gorsuch (1983) suggest an absolute minimum of 100.

However, these debates about factor analysis and its potential reliability were arbitrary in the case of the results of the data from the public attitudes survey in southeast Scotland as the SPSS software demonstrated no significant correlations between the independent and dependant variable data. Although this outcome was disappointing in terms of precluding any further debates around causality, it was not entirely surprising given that this survey was only approximately one tenth the size of the 2003 national survey. Additionally, it is important to remember that this survey was solely directed at white persons living in the rural and that the primary purpose of this survey was to ascertain what those attitudes might tell us about the nature of racist attitudes in the research area.

Similarly, and given the presence of more generalised discriminatory attitudes in the responses to almost every question in this survey by comparison with the 2003 Scotland wide survey then the very establishment of such higher levels of generalised prejudice serves to decrease the likelihood of such extraordinary levels of prejudice being mainly or exclusively attributable to any single or small amount of factors. Under final analysis

therefore the results of quantitative analysis of the data may have told us little about causality but its real value is in revealing the presence and nature of significant levels of discriminatory attitudes towards visible ethnic minorities in rural southeast Scotland. It has also revealed strong and compelling evidence of how the 'nature' of those discriminatory attitudes are as a direct product of people being uncomfortable with perceived difference based solely on the myth of race as interpreted through the lens of a physical characteristic such as skin colour.

4.3   Qualitative analysis of the views of white residents on Scottish rural identity

As indicated in chapter three of this thesis, in order to develop a richer insight into local white attitudes towards visible ethnic minority residents in the rural, the researcher organised one small focus group in each of the local authority areas to which this research project relates. The purpose of the various focus groups was to find out more about public attitudes to discrimination in rural southeast Scotland and as a consequence to gain a broader insight into the nature and extent of any apparent hegemonic attitudes that may have consequences for those who do not conform to traditional notions of white rural identity.

The first of those themes was in relation to the exploration of the self-inferred identity of white residents living in rural southeast Scotland, and to initiate discussions participants were firstly encouraged to explain how they saw themselves in terms of their notions of national identity and sense of belonging. In turn, this led intuitively to wider discussions around who are the Scots and what it means to be Scottish. Participants were also

encouraged to give their feelings around their preferences for rural living and to discuss what attracts them to the rural and what living in the rural actually means to them.

From analysis of these initial questions posed over the separate focus groups in each of the five local authority areas of southeast Scotland four distinct but related themes became apparent. These four themes centre firstly on a very strong sense of Scottish national identity being expressed by local white residents and related to this the importance of both Scottish and rural tradition. Secondly, on that sense of national identity as being somehow linked to the Scottish rural topography through the aesthetic power of the Scottish landscape and associated symbolism of the countryside. Thirdly, on clear bonds of psychological attachment through expressed notions of both national and rural 'belonging' and fourthly on how the Scottish rural is socially experienced in a positive manner by white residents who choose to live in the countryside.

These findings are generally consistent with the argument advanced by Neal and Agyeman (2006) with regards to the symbolism of the countryside and its linkages to notions of national identity and belonging as key issues in what they refer to as 'The trialectics of space' in the countryside. For these authors 'perceived' and 'conceived' spaces embody the symbolism of traditional rural images and linkages between those images and the whiteness of the countryside landscape and notions of white national identity. In other words, they advance a paradigm of how real and imagined space is thought of and how it is socially and visually experienced.

Each focus group commenced by asking those present a very broad and open question in relation to how they saw themselves in terms of their sense of personal identity and as indicated, the various responses indicated an exceptionally strong sense of Scottish national identity.

'Without doubt, I see myself as a Scot and I am very proud of that. My people have been Scottish through countless generations and that gives me a very strong sense of who I am and where I belong. We should be proud of our Scottish heritage, for a small country, our contribution to the world has been immeasurable'.

(White female, East Lothian focus group)

'I feel 100% Scottish rather than British and I am proud to be a Scot. Strangely, I feel even more Scottish when I am away from Scotland on holiday. For me, being Scottish is about taking pride in our history and our Celtic past. I am not a nationalist and would not vote SNP but I do have a very strong sense of being born and bred in Scotland'.

(White male, Fife focus group)

'...when the hairs on the back of your neck stand up when you hear the sound of the pipes (bagpipes) you know what it means to be Scottish. We might be a bit on the peelie-wally pale side and be prone to sunburn and freckles but there really is no better place to belong'.

(White female, Scottish Borders focus group)

'For me the sense of being Scottish is part of what defines me. I do feel a very strong sense of national identity and probably got this from my parents. We would always take our summer holidays in the highlands of Scotland or the Western Isles. I guess that this was in part an annual pilgrimage to re-connect with who we really are'.

(White female, Midlothian focus group)

'I certainly consider myself as Scottish before anything else. I am not anti-British but my personal sense of identity is definitely about having a sort of emotional connection with both the country of my birth and the ancestral homeland of my family'.

(White male, West Lothian focus group)

These examples of the initial comments made by white residents in the research area demonstrate a strong sense of national pride and a strong sense of Scottish national identity amongst those surveyed. In addition, these initial responses are rich in other attitudinal data which may signify or signpost other variables of importance in the determination of the self-ascribed identity of those surveyed. Those variables quite clearly include a significant psychological bond of attachment to ancestors, history and tradition through notions of belonging to a hegemonic white Celtic or highland past, together with a contemporary affinity with the cultural artifacts that arise from those historical and traditional dimensions as discussed in chapter one of this thesis.

In terms of exploring these dimensions further, those participating in the focus groups were then asked in very broad terms to explain their own views on whom the Scots actually are, what might define them, and what might make them distinct from other residents of the United Kingdom.

'I think of myself as Scots in terms of national identity and ancestry. We are probably all a blend of Pictish, Irish or Viking ancestors but above all it is our unique culture, heritage and traditions that really define who we are'.

(White female, Midlothian focus group)

'Scots people have migrated and exported our talent all over the globe, but even exiled Scots get married in kilts and celebrate Hogmanay. The pull of the clans and our common highland ancestry are what bind us and make us who we really are'.

(White male, Scottish Borders focus group)

'I know that most people prefer the Mel Gibson Braveheart version of who we are but I am really not so sure. The modern Scots seem to lack confidence as evidenced by our constant under performance in sports generally. I am proud to be Scottish but it annoys me that Scotland seems to be the sick man of Europe with our appalling attitude to alcohol and diet and the widespread related problems of heart disease'.

(White female, Fife focus group)

'I think that the dour Scots character and our dry sense of humour is defined by the wildness of our landscape and the harshness of our weather. Let's be honest, it rains for most of the year and the rest of the time it's like living in the eternal winter of a grey Tupperware coloured sky. On the positive side though, it means that nobody else wants to come and live here'.

(White male, East Lothian focus group)

'I think that it is our rural life and countryside that defines who we are and makes us so different from other parts of the United Kingdom. Nothing changes that much in Scotland and when I travel into the countryside I see the same country scenes and same types of faces that I saw during my childhood. I wouldn't imagine that you could say the same in parts of England'.

(White male, West Lothian focus group)

These examples provide some further interesting and contrasting views of what those surveyed think about who the Scots are and what defines and delineates them from residents in other parts of the United Kingdom and gives some further insight into underlying attitudes. Again these examples of expressed attitudes and beliefs appear to include psychological bonds of attachment to a real or imagined utopian rustic past but in this case tempered by the reality of some genuine sociological and health problems that beset contemporary Scotland. Again, there is evidence of the conflation of notions of landscape and nation and of nation and belonging with two separate and distinct

references which may suggest the presence of underlying hegemonic and xenophobic attitudes as discussed in chapters one and two of this thesis.

To move discussions from national to local rural dimensions in each of the distinct local authority areas, participants were the encouraged to give their feelings around their preferences for local rural living and to discuss what attracts them to the rural and what living in the countryside actually means to them.

> *'I used to live in Glasgow but moved to the village of Torphichen about 15 years ago. To be honest, City living had some advantages like public transport and access to shopping and leisure facilities but it was also very impersonal. Village life is far more personal and inclusive and everyone seems to know and look out for each other. There are also a lot less problems here with some beautiful hills and countryside right on our doorstep'.*
> (White female, West Lothian focus group)

> *'East Lothian really is god's country. We have miles and miles of unspoilt beaches and some of the best golf courses in the world in places like Gullane and North Berwick. There are a few executive housing developments for the few incomers and commuters from Edinburgh but otherwise village life has not changed since I was a boy. We just don't have the problems that you get in large cities and everyone seems to get on just fine'.*
> (White male, East Lothian focus group)

'I have lived in the village of Aberdour all of my life and I could not imagine living anywhere else. The village really is quite idyllic with a blue flag beach and some wonderful surrounding farmland and beautiful woodland walks. I enjoy living in a safe, problem free and unpolluted community where everyone just gets on with their life'.

(White female, Fife focus group)

'Country living has advantages and disadvantages. I do enjoy travelling in to Edinburgh for the shopping and nightlife but I wouldn't want to live there. The village where I live has none of the attractions of the big City but equally it doesn't have some of the problems. I prefer living in the countryside and going to the village pub as it is safe and problem free. I think that this is simply because everyone knows each other so there is more mutual respect'.

(White male, Midlothian focus group)

'Living in the Scottish Borders really is the good life. I enjoy hunting, shooting and fishing and we have some of the best hunting estates in Scotland with some excellent game estates and salmon rivers like the Tweed. People in the Borders are different, we have a more middle class outlook and we do not like change. We like rugby and not football. We have our own traditions such as the annual Common Riding (horseback parade) to celebrate our past and we are free from the dirt and grime of the big cities'.

(White male, Scottish Borders focus group)

Reflections on the analysis of these rural narratives reveal a number of additional variables that are evidenced in the attitudes of white rural dwellers. These variables range from the unchanging, nostalgic and welcoming perceptions of the rural to the conceptualisation of the rural as an idyllic, safe and relatively problem free environment. Again the power of the landscape is a feature as is the notion of purified or unpolluted landscapes and space. As such, these finding align with the views of eminent writers such as Neal (2009) who highlights the importance of nature in relation to how the rural is thought of by those who live in it. From the views expressed by these rural dwellers it is also clear that there is a positive preference for the social experience of rural living with some evidence of middle class narratives and a preference for tradition and continuity rather than change.

Cumulatively, the findings from this initial qualitative analysis of the views of white residents on the broad theme of Scottish rural identity serves not only to enforce the argument advanced by Neal and Agyeman (2006) with regards to the symbolism of the countryside and its linkages to notions of national identity and belonging but also provides some initial evidence of the notion of geographic hegemony as advanced by Lefebvre (1992). In that regard, it is clear that it is not adequate to conceptualise geographic rural space as a passive space of social relations but instead to understand it as an outcome of natural, social and psychological relationships and products.

4.4   Qualitative analysis of the views of white residents towards rural 'incomers'

In order to explore such notions of 'geographic hegemony' (Lefebvre, 1992) in the attitudes of those surveyed, and to test the related concepts of 'zones of sameness', 'fear of

the other' and the 'othering process' (Philo, 1992), the focus group questions then turned

to the question of rural incomers. In doing so, those participating were firstly asked to give

their general views on the sort of people who live in the countryside and related to this

their views and experiences of any new people moving in to the area.

> *'Most of the people who live in my area have been there almost all of their lives.*
>
> *There are a lot of traditional mining communities in Midlothian and we all tend to*
>
> *know each other. Even when kids grow up and get married they tend not to move*
>
> *too far from home so you tend to get several generations of the same families in*
>
> *the village which is actually quite nice'.*
>
> (White female, Midlothian focus group)

> *'There are lots of good people living in West Lothian. There were some real*
>
> *problems a few years ago when they built Livingston as a New Town with lots of*
>
> *undesirable incomers from council estates in Edinburgh and Glasgow but things*
>
> *are much better now. In recent years the incomers have mainly been professional*
>
> *and business people to the posh housing developments and they seem to fit in just*
>
> *fine'.*
>
> (White female, West Lothian focus group)

> *'It's a curious concept. Unless someone is born in our village they are always*
>
> *thought of as an outsider. It's as if you are assigned a unique identity at birth that*
>
> *has to stay with you. Even when a local woman has been married for many years,*

everyone will still refer to her by her maiden name when talking about her. I'm not

really sure why they do that'.

(White male, Fife focus group)

'Most people living in the Scottish Borders are born and bred here and we don't

seem to have many problems associated with incomers. Some of the towns like

Peebles have a lot of Edinburgh commuters taking advantage of the less expensive

executive housing developments. We do get a lot of tourists in the summer which is

good for the local economy but I prefer the winter when we get our towns and

villages back'.

(White female, Scottish Borders focus group)

'Property in the towns and villages in East Lothian tends to be very expensive so

although we get the Edinburgh commuters, we only get the right sort. I would say

that we are very welcoming to outsiders which is probably why lots of nice people

buy retirement properties here. One of my friends gets a lot of friendly banter in

the village pub for being English but that's just the way it is'.

(White male, East Lothian focus group)

Analysis of these narratives reveals a number of interesting points about the experiences
and attitudes of those surveyed in relation to rural life and their views on generic
outsiders. Firstly, it is clear that in very general terms there is a mainly static population in
the research area as borne out by population trends and census data (Scottish Executive,

2001). Secondly, there appears to be a close sense of who comprises the traditional community and therefore who does and does not belong. Thirdly, there is a clear sense of the undesirable qualities of some incomers and the more acceptable qualities of others and in particular evidence of the greater 'acceptability' of the mobile middle class. Fourthly, and related to this is the apparent psychological segregation of those viewed as incomers in terms of who is or is not welcome. Finally, there is some tentative evidence of the othering mechanisms being played out in real life situations through the discourse of 'friendly banter'.

In order to explore these dimensions further and to subtly steer the activity towards testing attitudes towards visible ethnic minorities, group activities then progressed to consider the broader theme of immigration. Without any reference to skin colour, those participating were simply asked to give their views on what they personally thought about general immigration to the United Kingdom and to consider this from a Scottish perspective.

> *'I think that our immigration system is in meltdown. You just have to watch all those television programmes about those Arabs and Africans trying to smuggle themselves onto British lorries in France. I mean, I don't blame these people for wanting a better life but why do they have to come here? Thankfully we don't get many in Scotland, I think that the weather is probably a bit too cold for them here'.*
> (White male, Scottish Borders focus group)

> *'Well it's pretty clear that previous immigration policies are in a mess, we appear to be raising generations of British- born bus and shoe bombers who are intent on*

killing us all. How can we have reached a situation where Asian lads from this country are queuing up to go to places like Afghanistan to shoot British soldiers?'
(White male, East Lothian focus group)

'I think that things are much better now that the European Union has opened up its borders. There are a few girls at my work from places like Poland and Latvia and they are really nice. I think that they fit in really well and they are really hard workers. They would put most of us to shame. Apart from a slight accent, you would never know that they were from a foreign country'.
(White female, Midlothian focus group)

'I don't really think too much about immigration at all. I can understand why it's a big issue in places like London and Birmingham but it really doesn't cause us any problems in Scotland'.
(White female, Fife focus group)

'We could probably do with more migration into Scotland given the declining birth rates. There must be quite a few Eastern Europeans here judging by the foreign languages that you hear in Asda but I guess that many of them are just here for a short while. I have no issues with anyone coming to Scotland as long as they are prepared to fit in to our way of life and don't expect us to change everything just for them'.
(White female, West Lothian focus group)

Analysis of these initial responses to the broad theme of immigration to the United Kingdom and Scotland are of interest as are the differing views expressed by participants. These views range from very negative views of immigration policy to equally negative views of isolated incidents of criminal activity by British citizens that are somehow conflated with the question of 'foreigners' and immigration. By contrast, there are very positive views expressed towards the desirable qualities of white migrants with their positive work ethic and valuable behavioural attributes being mentioned together with their general 'invisibility' within the indigenous population. It is notable that this endearing quality is not expressed towards those whose skin colour is not white and that this dimension is viewed as a 'problem' for large English cities rather than Scotland. Perhaps bizarrely, there is also mention of the presumed protective qualities of the cold Scottish weather as a perceived barrier to Arab or African immigrants whom it is speculatively projected may find the Scottish climate objectionable.

In order to tap directly into these underlying themes and issues, the next question advanced for focus group members was to ask them specifically for their views on how well visible ethnic minorities such as Black and Asian people fitted in to local rural communities and whether this differed from the views that they had already expressed in relation to outsiders and incomers in more generic terms.

> *'There are no Black or Asian people in my village so it is difficult to say how they would fit in. There was a Black guy in the village for a short time a couple of years ago but he moved on quite quickly and I think that he got a bit of a hard time from some of the locals. I remember a joke going about at the time about him saying*

that he couldn't whistle for his dog because his lips were too big. It's not even

funny when you think about it now'

(White female, Fife Focus group)

'There is an Asian shop in our village and the guy, I think his name is Akram, is

really nice. You will hear people say that they are just going to the Paki shop and

they are pleased that he works long hours in case they run out of things. However,

he doesn't live here and I have heard people say that they wouldn't want a Paki

living next to them in case it lowers the value of their house. Most people are nice

to his face but they refer to him as 'the Taliban' or 'terrorist' behind his back. I'm

not surprised that he doesn't want to live here with attitudes like that'.

(White male, West Lothian focus group)

'We have an Asian restaurant in our town and it does a really good trade. I think

that it must be a family business as there is a wife who I have seen pushing a

young child in a pram. She doesn't seem to fit in very well though and you can't

really say hello as she always has her face covered with one of these strange

Muslim outfits. I think that these people would have more chance of being

accepted if they made an effort to fit in to our way of life and treated their women

better'.

(White female, Midlothian focus group)

'No, I don't think that Black or Asian people would fit in to life in the Borders way of life at all. I am not a racist but we simply do not have much in common with these people or them with us. Look at what has happened in the cities with large Black and Asian communities, ...drugs, crime, terrorism, the lot. Leave the countryside to country-folk that what I say'.

(White male, Scottish Borders focus group)

'I am not sure that I can answer that question. There are no Black or Asian people living in our community and as far as I am aware there never have been. I suppose it would really depend on who they were and why they were here. I wouldn't imagine that it would be too much of a problem if it was a British professional person like a doctor but I am not so sure what would happen if it was a family of asylum seekers. I would doubt that they would be welcome. I am just being honest, sorry if this offends anyone'.

(White male, East Lothian focus group)

From analysis of these various responses it is clear that those interviewed have little personal experience of close contact with anyone from a visible ethnic minority background and this is not entirely surprising given the very small visible ethnic minority population in the survey area. However, the various responses do give a very interesting and disturbing insight into some of the beliefs and attitudes that clearly prevail in rural areas of southeast Scotland. These examples range from accounts of overt and covert forms of racist behaviour to the more subtle aversive techniques involving the discreet yet

purposeful avoidance of social contact. There is clear evidence of the acceptability of racist humour and evidence of the erroneous association between race, crime and terrorism. There is evidence of negative attitudes around the perceived detrimental or 'alien' properties of traditional items of clothing together with stereotyping of the perceived negative behaviour and attitudes towards their women by Muslim males. There is clear evidence of fear of difference and of moral boundaries where others are seen as not belonging, out of place, and as polluting 'their' space. There is also evidence to support the 'no problem here' perspective through a view that sees the question of race as predominantly an urban problem. Finally, there is the suggestion of middle class narratives and suggested evidence of racial hierarchies of acceptability in terms of who would or would not be welcome in the rural.

4.5   Qualitative analysis of the views of white residents on promoting rural diversity

The third and final broad theme directed towards white rural residents participating in the focus group activity was in relation to the subject of initiatives by local public service providers to promote diversity. This theme was considered very important given both the relative 'invisibility' of visible ethnic minority residents in the survey area in terms of their tiny population size and equally due to the related complete absence of any elected members over the five local authority from a non-white perspective. In this case, those participating were simply asked whether they thought that local agencies such as the Council and the Police in particular should do more to support visible ethnic minority

residents and whether they should provide bespoke services for minority communities such as this.

'I am certainly not against the council or police doing what they can to assist ethnic minorities but I really don't believe that there is a particular need for anything additional in this area. We simply don't have that many ethnic people living here in the first place and so it is only appropriate that the council and police provide services that meet the needs of the majority. That's what the democratic process is all about, isn't it?'

(White female, East Lothian focus group)

'I think that local agencies do a really good job in providing services for foreign people that come to live here. You regularly see notices in the local council paper printed in a number of different languages and I am sure that the police do the same. I'm not so sure that we would get the same service if we were to go to someone else's country'.

(White female, Midlothian focus group)

'Now this is where equal opportunities goes too far and becomes ridiculous. The fact of the matter here is that about ninety-nine percent of the local population or more are local white Scottish people. It is we who fund the public services like the police and the council and it is we who have elected the politicians to represent our needs. I am not against equal opportunities for everyone in fact I strongly support it. That said, we have to look after our own first and I am afraid that the

numbers speak for themselves. It would be sheer folly to invest lots of effort in this area when the demand is simply not there'.

(White male, Scottish Borders focus group)

'I actually work for Fife Council and know that the council and police do make an effort to provide services to all minority communities although how effective these are I couldn't really say. I don't think that this has been raised as a particular problem in Fife although again I am not sure how we would know about it if it was'.

(White female, Fife focus group)

'I think that the politically correct answer to your question would be to say yes but to be honest I just don't agree. There are very few ethnic people that live here anyway and those that do clearly don't have any difficulties or they wouldn't stay here would they? I think that agencies like the police and the council do a really good job for local people and sometimes don't get the recognition that they deserve. If we go down the road of providing some kind of special service for ethnic minorities and the like, then the next thing you know the word will be out and we will get flooded with these bloody asylum seekers'.

(White male, West Lothian focus group)

Reflections on this final theme directed at focus group members again raises some interesting and disturbing perspectives around the attitudes of the local white residents

surveyed. Firstly, there is clear evidence of perspectives which support a numbers rather than needs based approach and this is entirely in line with the problem found by de Lima (2001) in her earlier small scale survey of minority ethnic communities in highland areas of rural Scotland. Secondly, there is evidence of political perspectives that advocate the delivery of public services designed to meet the needs of the majority which by inference of course serves as a self-fulfilling prophecy to sustain both the interests and power of the already powerful. Thirdly, there was evidence of the conflation of notions of visible ethnic minorities as foreigners who clearly belong elsewhere and thus may be less deserving of services tailored to their individual needs. Fourthly, there was clear evidence to suggest that although there is a limited awareness that some local services do provide bespoke services to promote diversity, there appears to be no awareness of whether such services and initiatives are effective. Finally, and of most concern was the suggestion that initiatives to promote diversity should not be pursued through an expressed belief that such strategies would attract minority groups such as asylum seekers.

4.6   Chapter conclusions

This chapter has explored the 'nature' of the phenomenon of rural racism as interpreted through the lens of the feelings and images of difference as expressed by the attitudes of white residents in rural southeast Scotland towards visible ethnic minorities. In doing so, it has uncovered extraordinary levels of prejudicial attitudes within the majority white population towards people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds and a disturbing and widespread landscape of rural intolerance with clear evidence of the 'othering'

mechanisms of racist discourse at work within the communities of rural southeast Scotland.

By replicating the ethnic minority questions from the earlier Scotland wide Attitudes to Discrimination Survey (Bromley and Curtice, 2003) the findings from this research have built on that earlier work but in this case as applied solely to the rural context. By contrasting response levels to identical individual questions, the results of this survey appear to confirm that rural dwellers hold far more discriminatory attitudes than those expressed by the general white population and perhaps as a consequence, are less willing to support policy initiatives designed to promote equality and diversity so as to reduce discrimination.

The fact that racist attitudes appear more prevalent in the rural was also a finding of the 2003 Scotland wide survey (Bromley and Curtice, *ibid*), however it is difficult to know whether the results differential in this survey is symptomatic of the prevalence of more discriminatory attitudes in rural southeast Scotland *per se*, or whether the increased levels of prejudicial attitudes and the associated acceptance of the legitimacy of prejudice may simply be attributable to hardening of attitudes more generally over the five year period between the respective fieldwork activities.

A remarkable feature of this survey is the revelation that 91.4% of the white rural dwellers surveyed in southeast Scotland stated that they did not personally know anyone from a different racial or ethnic background. This begs the obvious question of whether attitudes

to discrimination towards visible ethnic minorities in rural southeast Scotland and any associated fear of difference may be partly as a consequence of that very unfamiliarity, and through absence of routine contact with those who are clearly viewed as 'other'.

Although factor analysis of the psychological, sociological and economic dimensions from the questions in the public attitudes survey were inconclusive in terms of causality, the fact that this survey was carried out during a period of economic recession, and the general similarities of response to those individual questions carried out in an earlier period of prosperity suggest that economic factors are having little bearing on the views being expressed by those surveyed.

The findings from the public attitudes survey were then supplemented by the qualitative analysis from focus group interviews which also found very negative views expressed towards Black and Asian people and the presence of underlying hegemonic and xenophobic attitudes. There was evidence revealed of the erroneous association between race, crime and terrorism and evidence of negative attitudes around the perceived detrimental or 'alien' properties of traditional items of clothing. By contrast there were very positive views expressed towards the 'desirable' qualities of white migrants with their positive work ethic and valuable behavioural attributes being mentioned together with their general 'invisibility' within the indigenous population, thus confirming the criticality of both skin colour and notions of Blackness and Whiteness in the determination of who belongs and does not belong in the rural.

Chapter 5   The extent of racism in rural southeast Scotland

5.1   Introduction to Chapter

Having considered how internalised feelings and images about others who are different might inform public attitudes to discrimination in rural southeast Scotland, this chapter now turns to consider how such attitudes might then translate into racist beliefs, practices or behaviour and in turn to consider how they might begin to influence not only the nature of rural racism in southeast Scotland but also the overall extent and impact of the problem.

In considering the 'extent' of the problem in rural southeast Scotland, this chapter commences with presentation of the findings from quantitative secondary analysis of racist incidents reported to the police by visible ethnic minority victims living in the five rural local authority areas that make up the study area for this research. As indicated in the earlier methodology chapter, this aspect of the research was based on secondary analysis of all reports made to Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary for the five designated local authority areas in southeast Scotland for the calendar year 2007, with data being retrieved from the Lothian and Borders Police 'Crime Recording' and the Fife Constabulary 'CrimeFile' computerised recording systems.

In addition to presentation of the findings from quantitative secondary analysis of all incidents reported to the police by visible ethnic minority residents, the findings from qualitative 'discourse analysis' of the free text narratives within crime reports involving verbal abuse will also be analysed and presented to demonstrate how different forms of

verbal abuse not only give us an insight into the underlying attitudinal factors of causality but also how they serve as discriminatory mechanisms which act to 'other' visible ethnic minorities in rural southeast Scotland.

Following consideration of the findings from quantitative and qualitative analysis of the official position from 'reported' incidents, the chapter then turns to consider the results from both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the quality of life survey of visible ethnic minority residents. These findings will then be presented so as to reveal a far broader context around the extent of the problem and will introduce additional dimensions around the phenomenon of rural racism that might not necessarily feature in the official statistics through analysis of the real-life extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents living in rural southeast Scotland and how those negative experiences impact on their perceptions of community and safety.

The chapter concludes by offering a consolidated perspective on what the various findings tell us about both the nature and the extent of the problem of racism in rural areas of southeast Scotland.

5.2   Reported Racial Incidents – Overview

The police service nationally in the United Kingdom records reports of racist incidents that are considered to constitute a criminal offence based on Macpherson's (1999) definition and in accordance with the 'perception' of the victim that the incident may have been motivated by racism. The police service seeks to adhere strictly to this nationally

accepted definition and as a consequence of this state directive around what constitutes criminal racism do not always properly record other forms of racism that fall outside of this criminal incident based definition. In other words in its creation of criminal and statutory law, it is the state which has determined which forms of racism are 'acceptable' and which are not.

Details of all criminal racist incidents reported to Lothian and Borders Police are recorded on an internal Force crime recording database known as the 'Crime Recording System'. The reports are created by a dedicated bureau of staff in response to a telephone-based transaction with operational officers and this corporate approach, combined with mandatory data fields, delivers a good standard of consistency in relation to the standardised recording of incidents. The approach in Fife Constabulary is similar and again criminal incidents are recorded onto a database known as 'CrimeFile'. In both cases, the standardised formatting of certain data fields is designed to readily facilitate quantitative analysis but in addition each Force system also contains a small number of free-text narrative fields where qualitative data can be extracted such as the precise forms of verbal abuse uttered to victims of racist harassment. Collectively, these contrasting data sets provided valuable quantitative and qualitative information for secondary analysis.

Due to coterminous boundaries with each relevant local authority and police command areas, the researcher was able to select a simple search query to return all criminal incidents reported to the police in the calendar year 2007 for the five rural local authority areas in southeast Scotland that comprise the research area. This produced an initial

sample size of 550 reported incidents; however this initial research was then refined to reveal only those reported incidents where the victims self-inferred ethnic identity was not white. Again this sample size was then further refined after examination on a case-by-case level revealed a number of obvious incidents of incorrect recording. This produced a final sample size of 308 reported incidents for detailed analysis where the victim was from a visible ethnic minority.

Although not directly the subject of this research thesis, it is worthy of note that that the significant volume of racist incidents involving white victims was predominantly measuring significant levels of Anglophobic sentiment as discussed in chapter one of this thesis. This ancillary observation is quite significant as much of this particular racist discourse was non-physical verbal abuse that was observed from the free-text narratives to revolve around expressed notions of nation and belonging. This problem was common over all five local authority areas but was found to be overwhelmingly acute in the Scottish Borders area where 88% of all recorded racist incidents involved white victims with 70% involving Anglophobia towards white English born residents. The other white victims were mainly eastern European migrant workers predominantly from Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia.

As indicated, ascertaining exactly why such extraordinary levels of Anglophobia were found to be present in the Scottish Borders in particular was beyond the scope of this particular research activity. However it is reasonable to hypothesise that the immediate physical shared border with England and the historically changing and contested border

landscape between Scotland and England may serve to heighten and accentuate the local sense of nation and notions of national identity and related to this notions of belonging and attempts at psychological boundary enforcement. In turn, it is also reasonable to hypothesise that this heightened proximal awareness of national 'self' and 'other' might readily translate through attitudes to discrimination into the local contextual nuances of racist behaviour that appear from reported incidents to be overwhelmingly dominated by Anglophobic sentiment in particular.

Another factor of note for this brief overview section was the discovery by the researcher of a relatively small but nevertheless significant pattern of incorrect recording of racist incidents by both Fife Constabulary and Lothian and Borders Police raising some minor concerns around the robustness of the quality control regimes being invoked by the respective crime registrars. Examples of such incorrect recording included housebreakings (burglary) where the ethnicity of the victim was quite clearly entirely superfluous to the simple criminal intention to steal and cases of domestic violence between husband and wife where both parties were from a visible ethnic minority. There were also several examples of recorded crimes where there was no evidence of any racial 'perception' by the victim confirming the point made by Rowe (2004) around the dangers of the police wrongly interpreting routine transactions between persons from different racial groups as racist incidents. The policing landscape in the research area in southeast Scotland covers all the area shown as policed by Fife Constabulary and most of the area covered by Lothian and Borders Police with the exception of the non-rural area covered by the City of Edinburgh:

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THE POLICING LANDSCAPE

Northern
Land Area: 10,000 square miles
Population: 285,550
Police Officers: 759
Police Staff: 403

Grampian
Land Area: 3,253 square miles
Population: 535,290
Police Officers: 1,527
Police Staff: 832

Central
Land Area: 1,016 square miles
Population: 288,810
Police Officers: 846
Police Staff: 367

Tayside
Land Area: 2,896 square miles
Population: 394,160
Police Officers: 1,194
Police Staff: 567

Fife
Land Area: 513 square miles
Population: 360,500
Police Officers: 1,082
Police Staff: 549

Strathclyde
Land Area: 5,370 square miles
Population: 2,210,370
Police officers: 8,094
Police Staff: 2,687

Lothian & Borders
Land Area: 2,471 square miles
Population: 921,220
Police Officers: 2,957
Police Staff: 1,303

Dumfries & Galloway
Land area: 2,649 square miles
Population: 148,300
Police Officers: 524
Police Staff: 303

Figure 3   **Map of Policing landscape in Scotland with research area in southeast Scotland encompassing area covered by Lothian and Borders Police and Fife Constabulary.**

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5.3   Racist Incidents Recorded by the Police – Quantitative Analysis

In seeking to assess the nature and the extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents in rural areas of southeast Scotland, initial analysis of the quantitative aspects of the police data revealed a sample size of 308 recorded incidents involving visible ethnic minority residents. In general terms, the levels of reported incidents in each local authority area are ranked consistently with the comparative population levels from the 2001 Census as discussed in the introduction to this thesis. The one exception being the Scottish Borders where despite having the lowest visible ethnic minority population in percentage terms the overall number of 'recorded' incidents appears exceptionally low. This is an issue that will be explored further in chapter six of this thesis where evidence from victims would tend to suggest that the local police are not recording all incidents reported to them.

As illustrated overleaf, the most common form of 'reported' racism took the form of verbal abuse and this was consistent over all five local authority areas accounting for nearly 69% of all recorded incidents. This overwhelming dominance of verbal abuse is consistent with national trends (Home Office: 2005) and is extremely significant in terms of assessing attitudes to discrimination through the opportunities for discourse analysis that will be discussed later in this chapter. Such racist discourse of course also provides valuable evidence of the specific forms of 'othering' mechanisms at work within rural southeast Scotland and again these will be discussed in more detail under the qualitative analysis of the police crime reports.

Crime Type	Fife	West Lothian	East Lothian	Midlothian	Scottish Borders	Totals by crime type	Valid %
	Number of reported incidents to the police in each local authority area in 2007						
Verbal abuse	80	76	23	27	6	212	68.83%
Violence or threats	29	14	11	3	3	60	19.48%
Damage to property	17	7	4	4	0	32	10.38%
Other crime	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.29%
Total number of crimes	130	97	38	34	9	308	99.98%

Table 4.   **Quantitative analysis of police crime reports for 2007 in southeast Scotland by local authority area and crime type.**

Disturbingly, violence or threats of violence were the next most common form of reported racism with 60 recorded incidents with damage to property the next most common form of racist harassment with 32 recorded incidents. Finally, there were four crimes in Fife recorded as 'other' and these related to racist abuse received by way of correspondence, e-mail or SMS text. Although these incident report types align to national trends in terms of prevalence, these results also serve to demonstrate the restrictive dimensions around what particular forms of racism are recognised by the existing laws of the United Kingdom. This is a significant observation from this research as if the state only recognises racism through the lens of criminal incidents meeting the criteria for police recording then by default a whole range of aversive racisms as discussed in Allport's (1979) five stage hierarchy of prejudice are excluded from the official statistics.

Whilst the total number of 'reported' incidents to the police in rural southeast Scotland from visible ethnic minority residents was 308, a key variable found in relation to the extent of incidents in the research area was the significant amount of repeat victimisation. In fact, from the 308 reported incidents, 106 reports or just over 34% related to only 29 victims. The prevalence of such high levels of repeat victimisation are particularly worrying and raise important community safety concerns and in particular around the effectiveness of police intervention. These findings support previous research for example Dhillon (2006) who argues that the fear of repeat victimisation is one of the main reasons why visible ethnic minority residents living in rural areas will not always report incidents to the police.

When turning to consider the issue of skin colour as a significant mediator in the various forms of racist violence, harassment and abuse, analysis of the incidents reported to the police in southeast Scotland revealed that the various forms of racism were most likely to be experienced by visible ethnic minority residents from Pakistani heritage. This is most probably a reflection of the greater number of visible ethnic minority residents in the research area from Pakistani descent as indicated by the 2001 census, although the post 9/11 Islamophobic climate may also be a factor. Victims of racist incidents reported to the police by self-inferred ethnic group membership is indicated by the following table:

ethnic group	Fife	West Lothian	East Lothian	Midlothian	Scottish Borders	Totals by ethnic group	Valid %
	Number of racist incidents reported to police by self-inferred ethnicity of victims						
Pakistani	82	61	31	25	2	201	65.26%
Indian	14	23	6	3	6	52	16.88%
Other Asian	2	2	0	0	0	4	1.29%
Black[7]	10	6	0	1	0	17	5.52%
Chinese	18	2	1	5	1	27	8.76%
Mixed Race	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.32%
Other	3	3	0	0	0	6	1.95%
Totals	**130**	**97**	**38**	**34**	**9**	**308**	**99.98%**

Table 5. **Reported racial incidents during 2007 in southeast Scotland by self-inferred ethnicity of the victim and local authority area.**

In terms of spatial distribution there was evidence of reported racist incidents in all local authority wards and police station areas throughout Fife, West Lothian, Midlothian and East Lothian but in the case of the Scottish Borders these were restricted to the two main towns of Galashiels and Hawick. Based on reports by local authority ward, the one area that was found to be particularly problematic was the Boghall peripheral housing estate in Bathgate, West Lothian which accounted for 15% of all incidents reported to the police in West Lothian. Boghall is a small run-down peripheral housing estate that occupies an elevated position on the edge of the Bathgate hills and has a relatively higher concentration of social deprivation than much of West Lothian. These findings are of particular significance for as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, it was Bathgate

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[7] The term Black in this instance is used to cover black African, black Caribbean or black British

where the far-right British National Party chose to launch their Scottish political campaign in March 2004.

Analysis of the types of locations and situations where 'reported' incidents are most common in rural southeast Scotland was relatively consistent over all five local authority areas with business premises being the most common location for racist incidents to take place. In many cases, these incidents were preceded by some form of conflict or flashpoint such as the refusal by a visible ethnic minority shopkeeper to sell alcohol to underage persons. Quantitative analysis in this case revealed that 67% of all reported incidents in the research area were at business premises such as shops, restaurants and fast-food takeaways. This prevalence is entirely in line with previous research in Scotland (RAHMAS, 2001: 3). Additionally, the concentration of such high levels of 'situational' racism also leads intuitively to the possibility of some obvious community safety prevention strategies that will be explored further in the final chapter of this thesis. Public spaces were the next most common location for reported racist incidents at 23%, followed by residential locations at 8% and schools at 2%. Analysis was also conducted in terms of other sociological variables such as the age and gender of victims but no particular correlations or factors emerged from this analysis confirming that racist harassment and abuse impacts on all sections of the visible ethnic minority community in southeast Scotland.

Whilst the quantitative aspects of the analysis of incidents reported to the police are of limited value to academic research when viewed in isolation, a key related finding of this

policing aspect of this research is the fact that the police service nationally do not routinely engage in qualitative analysis methodologies and therefore place an overwhelming and undue reliance on often simplistic quantitative analysis of reported crime and other data to identify hotspots, trends and patterns of offending upon which to prioritise their resource deployments. This paradigm problem is in part a legacy of the contemporary managerial and administrative approaches to United Kingdom criminology and is also partly due to the adoption since 2005 by all 52 police forces in the United Kingdom of a nationally agreed policing business model known as the National Intelligence Model (NIM).

In simple terms, the National Intelligence model is a hierarchical business model which commences with the determination of a number of national and politically influenced strategic policing priorities. These national strategic priorities are then developed at individual force level into force strategic priorities by Chief Constables to factor in local nuances and again these are usually politically influenced but tend to focus on matters viewed as very high risk local crime or disorder priorities. At both national and local levels, these priorities are then distilled into an annual 'strategic assessment' document from which a national and local 'control strategy' or prioritisation matrix is then set. The purpose of the control strategy is to ensure that finite policing resources are deployed to areas perceived to be of greatest risk. Police intelligence analysts then produce 'information products' aligned to this control strategy and as indicated these products tend to focus on 'volume' hotspots, trends and patterns of crimes or instances of disorder. In doing so, police intelligence analysts at both national and local levels inevitably focus on

quantitative environmental and systems scanning methodologies, or in other words adopt a 'numbers' rather than 'needs' based approach.

For example, the Scottish Police Strategic Assessment for 2009/2010 produced by ACPOS, (2009, 4) identifies 'public protection, terrorism, antisocial behaviour, drugs, serious organised crime groups, and violence' as the six key national priorities for Scottish policing. The document does not consider 'hate crimes' such as racism as very high risk (despite a year-on-year national increase in reported incidents) and accordingly racism is not included as national high priority policing objective for Scotland. Indeed the entire document only mentions hate crimes very briefly alongside other issues such as wildlife crime and adds (*ibid*) '…they remain important areas of business for the Scottish Police Service and continue to receive the appropriate police response'. Perhaps not surprisingly, the document is entirely silent in relation to exactly what that 'appropriate' police response might be. In addition, by affording a lower national priority to protecting victims of racism in Scotland than it does to the targeting of those visible ethnic minority communities defined as a potential source of radicalisation it perhaps unintentionally embeds and institutionalises new state racisms and inequalities into the delivery of policing services in Scotland.

A graphic illustration of how this quantitative analytical approach as advocated through the National Intelligence Model provides the police with a numbers only based view of crime problems can be obtained from examination of the following table. This table has been derived from direct data extraction of all crimes recorded by the police in the five

rural local authorities in Scotland for the calendar year 2007. The graph indicates that there were 136, 475 recorded crimes in these rural areas and shows that the eleven most common crime types account for 117,914 instances of all recorded crimes. The aggregation of all other remaining crime accounts for a total of 19,256 further crimes with the exception of the 308 reported racist incidents involving visible ethnic minorities.
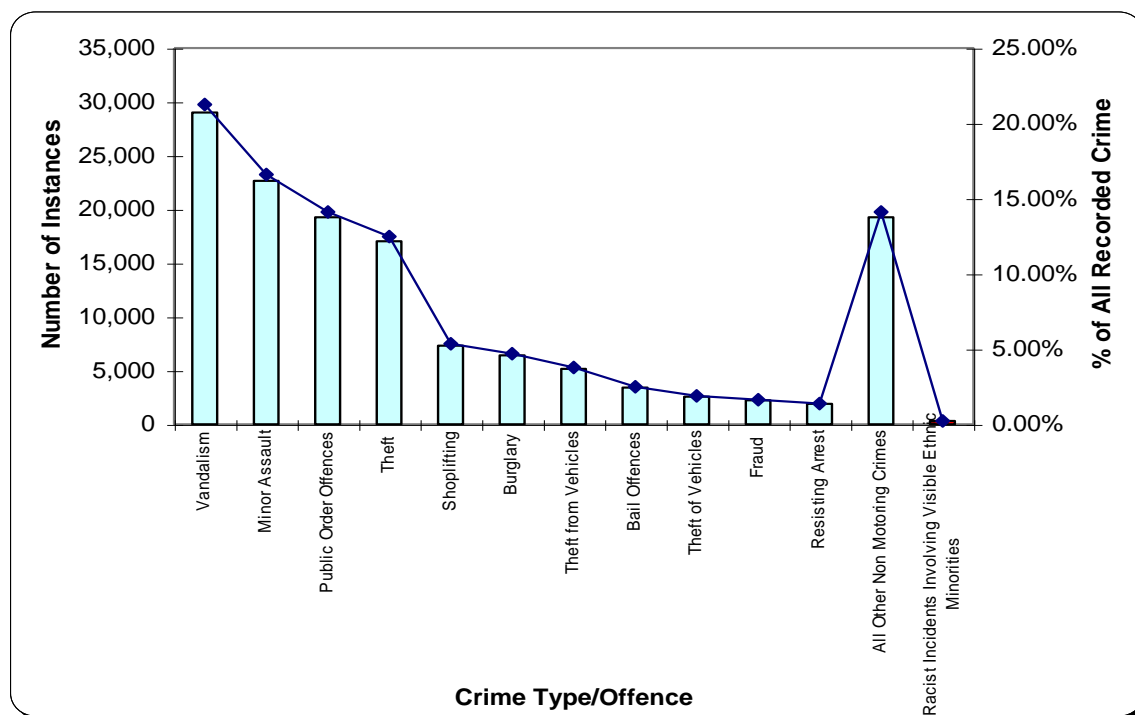
Table 6. **Analysis of all crime types recorded by the police in rural southeast Scotland during 2007.**

As illustrated by this table, the quantitative environmental scanning methodologies employed by police intelligence analysts provide police managers with a 'numbers' based view of crime problems in their area. Furthermore, by not assigning a 'value' to specific data sets such as high impact crimes, issues such as racial incidents simply do not register as a problem on the police 'radar' and accordingly no holistic consideration is given to the

real nature, extent and impact of the problem. This is then further compounded by administrative approaches to criminology where police managers are in effect forced to address 'volume crimes' such as those highlighted above as it is these more commonly reported crimes which deliver the most attractive prospect to police managers in the achievement their overall crime solvency targets. In the table above, reported racist incidents shown on the far right are almost 'invisible' to the police environmental scanning 'radar' and barely registers at 0.02% of recorded crime.

Again these findings are of particular relevance to this research as it is clear that the intensive national policing interest in diversity related issues that were so openly embraced by Chief Constables in the immediate post-Macpherson era have now waned significantly and that strategic policing debates around racism and the promotion of tolerance and diversity now appear to be viewed both politically and within police circles as 'yesterdays news'. This about-turn in national policing strategy is clearly a retrograde step, and against the context of a worsening picture of racism in local communities can only be explained as being as a direct result of a seismic shift in political and therefore policing focus towards visible ethnic minorities as now constituting a 'problem' following the media fuelled politics of fear that has proliferated in the post 11 September and 07 July eras. These new debates of course have demonised diversity and multiculturalism through focus on the detrimental and 'alien' qualities of Muslim citizens in particular and through debates about the 'war on terror', 'radicalisation' and the 'enemy within'. In short, these new debates have seen the microscope of policing being turned towards visible ethnic minority communities for entirely different reasons and as Kundnani (2007) suggests,

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tolerance of diversity appears to have given way to the state need to place limits on cultural difference.

Such observations on the shift in political focus in the post 7/7 era are perhaps best evidenced by the UK Government Preventing Violent Extremism Strategy. The 'Prevent Strategy' (Home Office, 2008) has seen the United Kingdom invest £140 million in a top-down cosmetic national strategy for preventing violent extremism which in turn informs national policing activity by openly identifying the Muslim community as the primary source of radicalisation. However, in constituting and demonising the Muslim community as the 'problem' and in seeking to target those subject to radicalisation through the 'target profiles' of the police National Intelligence Model the 'Prevent Strategy' is deficient as its cognitive perspective fails to consider wider factors which serve to marginalise and exclude. In particular, 'Prevent' fails to consider the role of government foreign policies, media perspectives and wider social, political and economic factors as primary contributors towards marginalisation, exclusion and radicalisation. Most importantly, 'Prevent' provides undue focus on the 'problem' and in addressing the symptom rather than the cause, it fails to promote true engagement, confidence and trust in minority communities by failing to deliver true equality, diversity and multiculturalism or by affording equal priority status to the factors of causality such as racist violence and harassment.

These facts around government informed current national policing priorities, the practical and limited operational capability of the National Intelligence Model, and the political role

of the police as agents of the state are of particular significance to this research as this managerial or somewhat simplistic numbers based administrative approach to criminology with its intentional quantitative focus on pre-determined national policing priorities and the resultant analytical focus on corresponding priority hotspots, trends and patterns of offending is destined at the outset to fail all needs-based minority communities. This of course includes the visible ethnic minority population experiencing ever increasing levels of racism in rural areas of Scotland as in truth their very small numbers render them 'invisible' to both rural policy makers and the unsophisticated quantitative environmental scanning radar of the police National Intelligence Model.

Against these limitations, constraints and context, this chapter now turns to consider the findings from qualitative analysis of the police reports.

5.4   Racist Incidents Recorded by the Police – Qualitative Analysis

As indicated through debates about the National Intelligence Model, the police service does not routinely engage in qualitative analysis methodologies and in particular the police service does not apply these techniques to the consideration of data to be sourced from individual crime reports involving racist incidents. However, in contrast to the quantitative analysis of racial incidents reported to the police in rural southeast Scotland, the qualitative aspects of the analysis revealed a richness of data that presents not only a disturbing picture of the endemic problem of racism within rural southeast Scotland but also one which grounds the theoretical approach through the revelation of clear evidence of the 'othering' mechanisms of racist actions and discourse at work within local communities.

By employing qualitative analysis to the actual forms of physical and verbal abuse directed towards visible ethnic minorities, the researcher was able to reveal clear evidence of the process of active exclusion as articulated by Philo (1992), which positions people of colour as being out of place in the countryside. Such processes of exclusion were found to be widespread with qualitative discourse analysis of the forms of verbal abuse uttered revealing racism based on biological explanations, notions of whiteness, nation and belonging, the perceived association between blackness and dirt and disease and psychological associations between immigration and crime. There was also clear and widespread evidence of Islamophobia based on notions of the so-called war on terror and perceptions of the detrimental and alien properties of people of colour and related to this clear evidence of notions of purified space and boundary enforcement.

For example, in one case a female shopkeeper of Indian heritage (born in Edinburgh) was told 'fuck off back to your own country you black bastard'. Similarly, in another case a male of Pakistani descent (born in Glasgow) was told 'black scumbag, go back to your own country', whilst in another case a male of mixed nationality (born in Livingston) was told 'this is a white country, why don't you fuck off back to nig-nog land'. In each of these cases, the victims concerned were of course Scottish and were living in their own country of birth but were clearly being 'othered' by a stereotype which locates them as belonging elsewhere solely on the basis of skin colour. Therefore regardless of their place of birth, the presence of colour in the countryside appears to be particularly potent as in essence they are viewed as immigrants because of the social and cultural construction of the rural as a white landscape.

This emphasis on visible difference was also evident through examination of the specific forms of verbal abuse uttered and in 79 of the 212 cases (37%) of reported incidents of verbal abuse the phrase 'black bastard' was found to have been used. This negative use of the word 'black' in this context is clearly being used as a power word or linguistic tag (Allport, 1979: 304) and is clearly a linguistic symbol of power and rejection intended to provoke a strong response from those at whom it is directed. This negative abuse was applied to victims regardless of whether they had black or brown skin and this widespread pejorative word association again provides clear evidence of the mechanisms of social and cultural regulation, which seek to position people of colour as out of place in the rural. This use of colour to signify a negative or inferior status is an important legacy of colonialist discourse and as Sibley (1995: 19) contends '… rules expressed in terms of black and white have been important in the process of regulating and dominating the colonised'. Thus the derogatory use of the term 'Black' in this context has clear psychological and moral associations which make it a potent marker of social difference.

Other forms of verbal abuse were found to embody biological or hierarchical interpretation around ideas about 'race' and associated ideas of racial superiority (Gilman, 1991). For example in one case a victim was referred to as a 'black bastard monkey' by a group of males who then threw bananas at his house. In another case a young Asian female was advised that 'she was just a slave' by a local man who then stated 'I have seen all of your family on the television with David Attenborough. You lot want to fuck off back to the jungle and piss off up the trees where you belong'. In another case, a victim was told 'All I can see is your fucking white teeth, you lot are not intelligent so why don't

you fuck off back to the sugar plantation'. These notions of biological superiority and inferiority were also found to be embodied within many of the other forms of verbal abuse uttered for example in one case where the child victim was told 'you're *just* a Paki'. This negative use of 'just' is obviously replete with negative connotations based on theoretical interpretations of race that deliver an inevitable predilection for establishing distinct hierarchies as associated with the legacy of colonialism and the associated racial ideologies and practices of domination, exclusion and images of the 'other'.

Notions of purified space and boundary enforcement were also found within the qualitative analysis of the forms of verbal abuse uttered with many references by perpetrators to 'living in a white country' and for victims to 'go back to where they belong'. There was also clear evidence of people with black or brown skin being 'othered' by white members of the rural community as fuelled by a range of moral panics (Cohen, 1972). For example, there was widespread evidence of moral panic around the so-called war on terror through the stereotyping of Scottish Asians living in the rural as terrorists. One victim was told to 'Fuck of back to Pakistan ya suicide bomber' whilst another getting onto a bus heard a local woman say to the driver 'I hope that he has been checked for bomb belts'. In another case, a victim was approached in the street by a stranger who stated 'fuck off you Paki bastard, who are you going to bomb next. Are you going back to Glasgow airport to finish the job?' Such examples provide clear evidence of how such moral panics heighted boundary consciousness and how 'othering' mechanisms based solely on stereotypes are used in an attempt to maintain the sanctity of 'white' rural territory.

Other examples from the qualitative analysis of the forms of verbal abuse demonstrate how perpetrators view the perceived purity of that white territory and seek to cleanse and defend that territory against the 'dirty' or detrimental alien properties of those who do not conform to the conventional white Scottish rural stereotype. For example, there were several cases of victims being referred to as 'dirty black bastards' or 'smelly black bastards' and such references to the polluting nature of visible ethnic minority residents clearly suggests a psychological perspective that advances a notion that people with black or brown skins do not meet the required standards of white purity or cleanliness. These examples provide clear evidence of what Sibley (1995, 49) refers to as a process of 'mapping the pure and defiled' or in other words a process where people are 'othered' because of a perceived threatening physical characteristic such as skin colour. Equally, there were several instances of abuse directed at Islam or the perceived detrimental 'alien' properties of traditional dress. For example, one puzzling case where a Sikh male was asked 'Is that hat a Yorkie Pudding or are you just a fucking Taliban rag head?'Again this example demonstrates not only ignorance of different religions and cultures but also provides clear evidence of a myopic view by some white residents in the Scottish rural of non-Western culture and the demonisation of the perceived 'alien' properties of cultural items of clothing.

Qualitative analysis of reported incidents of physical abuse again reveals a very disturbing and random pattern of violence directed against visible ethnic minority residents in the Scottish rural solely on the basis of their skin colour. For example in one case in Fife a 37 year old Scottish male of Pakistani heritage was attacked by a gang of five white males

and was forcibly beaten to the ground with sticks before the group stamped on his head and kicked him severely about the body whilst calling him a 'paki bastard'. In another Fife case a 75 year old Pakistani male and old-age pensioner was kicked on the arm whilst there were also examples of child victims aged from 8 years of age who had been randomly assaulted in the street and often by complete strangers who uttered racist remarks whilst carrying out these violent and unprovoked attacks. None of these attacks were gender specific with examples of male and female victims and male and female assailants.

Indeed, violent assaults on visible ethnic minority residents were found to be most prevalent in Fife and in another case a 54 year old Pakistani male was beaten about the head before being threatened with being stabbed with a large kitchen knife. There were also several examples of visible ethnic minority residents being assaulted at their place of work (typically restaurants or takeaway food establishments) including two cases where Chinese females had been punched in the face. Other examples included several cases of persons being randomly punched by white assailants, three instances of visible ethnic minority residents being head-butted and one assault with possible sexual dimensions where a 32 year old Scottish female of Pakistani heritage was slapped on the buttocks by a white male.

In one example in the Scottish Borders a 22 year old Scottish male of Indian Heritage was attacked by a stranger at his place of work and in this case the assailant presented a knife at the victim whilst stating 'If you don't speak English I will cut your fucking throat'.

Similarly in Midlothian a 24 year old Scottish male of Pakistani heritage was attacked at the shop where he works by a local white male who violently struck him to the head with a glass bottle. There were also several similar instances in East Lothian including several assaults on visible ethnic minority children (usually by older white children) and several examples of visible ethnic minority residents being attacked in the street with stones, sticks, bricks or bottles by gangs of local white youths.

Although the highest numbers of actual physical assaults were recorded in Fife, those of a more extreme and violent nature appeared to occur in West Lothian. Examples ranged from a 41 year old male of Pakistani heritage being attacked with sticks, stones and bottles by a gang of white youths through to several incidents of violent attacks on visible ethnic minority residents. This included one case of what can only be described as child abuse where a 33 year old local white woman attacked and verbally abused an 11 year old girl whose parents were from Pakistan. In a further two extreme cases these physical assaults were accompanied by genuine life threatening situations. For example one case where a petrol bomb was thrown into an Asian shop and another where an explosive substance (potassium nitrate) was thrown into a café owned by a Scottish couple of Pakistani heritage.

A recurring theme in all of these physical attacks was that they were commonly accompanied by associated forms of verbal racial abuse using a range of derogatory terms as previously discussed and based largely on white hegemonic rural narratives. This perspective could also be evidenced through qualitative analysis of the various instances

of damage to property involving visible ethnic minority victims including discourse analysis of forms of racist graffiti. For example in Fife, such narratives included the word 'Chinky' being scratched into the paintwork of a Chinese residents expensive Mercedes car and 'Egg fried rice massive 2007 chinkies' being painted onto his shop premises. In another case the phrase 'niggers go home' was painted onto the front door of a house owned by a Black Scottish family and in another case dog excrement was posted through the letterbox of a Scottish family of Pakistani heritage.

In Midlothian, the words 'fuck Islam' were painted onto a bakers shop owned by an Asian couple whilst in a similar case in East Lothian the phrase read 'go back to your own country you fucking cunts'. In West Lothian there were several similar examples of the phrase 'black bastards' and 'fucking Pakis' being painted onto shops owned by visible ethnic minority residents and one instance where the graffiti on the shop of a local Scottish Indian family read 'This is a white country, you don't belong here so fuck off or we will kill you'.

Such representations of blackness and whiteness and notions of belonging or being 'other' appear central to understanding how diversity is actively being suppressed in the Scottish rural and in seeking explanations for racism within the context of rural southeast Scotland. Indeed analysis of the specific forms of racist violence, harassment and abuse appears from the evidence to be based at least in part on white hegemonic narratives which seek to link notions of identity and belonging and notions of identity to place. Such instances of abuse also provide clear evidence of the 'othering' processes at work within the Scottish

rural and how they seek to stereotype, derogate, marginalise and socially exclude people of colour who are clearly viewed as being out of place in the rural.

Reflections on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data contained within the police databases has revealed some initial evidence of the nature and extent of racism experienced by visible ethnic minorities in rural southeast Scotland. Analysis of the police data has also provided numerous practical examples of the lived experiences of people of colour that grounds the theoretical approach through the revelation of clear evidence of the 'othering' mechanisms of racist behaviour and discourse at work within the rural communities of southeast Scotland. However, as discussed in previous chapters, the reliance on administrative approaches to criminology and subjective assessments around what constitutes a racist incident makes it difficult to ascertain the true extent of the problem from 'reported' incidents alone. Indeed as Virdee (1995) suggests, reported incidents are of course only the visible tip of a much larger and more sinister iceberg. Similarly, the police data and the deficiencies of the police National Intelligence Model as previously discussed tell us very little about the actual impact of such incidents on victims. Accordingly, to explore the variables of nature, extent and impact in more detail, this doctorial thesis now proceeds to the analysis of the results of the quality of life survey questionnaire sent to visible ethnic minority residents in rural southeast Scotland.

5.5   Quality of Life Survey Questionnaire – Overview

As discussed in chapter three, the survey questionnaire was designed to take the form of a general quality of life survey and commenced with some demographic questions before

proceeding to link to the theoretical framework by exploring the nature, extent and impact of racism through perceptions of life in rural southeast Scotland, experiences of racism, extent of integration to the local (white) community and perceptions of community and safety. The questions were framed so as to reveal evidence of the mechanisms of exclusion and marginality associated with the theoretical framework of 'othering' without leading respondents' in a manner where answers were in essence cultivated.

The questionnaire contained 14 questions for quantitative analysis with a further three questions where respondents' were invited to make additional free-text opinion based responses for subsequent qualitative analysis. An example of one of the local authority questionnaires is included as an Appendix to this thesis. From the 550 questionnaires distributed through both local visible ethnic minority contact networks and by snowball sampling, a return of 307 completed questionnaires was achieved. This gave a return rate of 55.8%, which was very welcome given that writers such as Gilbert (2001: 87) highlight that some postal surveys '…do not achieve more than a twenty percent return rate'. For ease of presentation, the findings from the survey questionnaire will be presented for analytical discussion firstly in terms of quantitative analysis and secondly in terms of qualitative analysis.

5.6   Quality of Life Survey Questionnaire – Quantitative Analysis

The survey questionnaire opened with exploration of some demographic information about respondents' commencing with questions about which town or village the respondents' lived in within each of the five local authorities that make up the research

area in rural southeast Scotland. The towns and villages were grouped in the survey questionnaires into separate clusters in line with each of the local authority ward based community planning areas[8]. From the 307 returned questionnaires, it was noted that responses were received from visible ethnic minority residents throughout the research area as indicated by the following table:

Self-inferred ethnic group	Fife	West Lothian	East Lothian	Midlothian	Scottish Borders	Totals by ethnic group	Valid %
	Number of returned questionnaires by self-inferred ethnicity of respondent						
Pakistani	42	41	39	38	22	182	**59.28%**
Indian	20	14	11	12	9	66	**21.49%**
Other Asian	1	2	2		1	6	**1.95%**
Black[9]	5	6	3	6	2	22	**7.16%**
Chinese	8	6	5	2	3	24	**7.81%**
Mixed Race	3	2				5	**1.62%**
Other			1		1	2	**0.65%**
Totals	**79**	**71**	**61**	**58**	**38**	**307**	**99.96%**

Table 7.   **Responses to quality of life survey of visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland by self-inferred ethnicity of respondent and local authority area.**

When participants were asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with their town or village as a place to live the most common response was that they were fairly satisfied. Indeed only 30 respondents or just fewer than 10% said that they were either fairly dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their town or village as a place to live. When asked

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[8] The Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 introduced the concept of Community Planning to Scotland on a statutory basis. Since then, all community planning indicators such as social deprivation indicators have been listed and measured at ward level.
[9] The term Black in this instance is again used to cover Black African, Black Caribbean or Black British

how long they had lived at their present address and within the particular local authority area where they now reside, analysis revealed that 38% of respondents had lived in their present house for two to five years with 46% having lived in the same local authority area for six to ten years.

When asked about the best thing about living in their town or area the most common positive response was housing with a response rate of 49%, closely followed by the cost of living at 42%. When asked to comment on two other good things about their town or area the most popular response was the quality of education at just over 53% closely followed by work, jobs and employment prospects at 47%. Whilst these results are encouraging given that the survey was carried out during a period of economic recession, it is of particular significance to this study that not a single respondent cited safe place to live with little crime whilst only five percent of respondents cited family and friends. However, it is equally worthy of note that not a single respondent said that there were no good things at all about their local town, village or area.

Conversely when asked about the main problem in their town or area, 179 respondents or just over 58% said that it was racism. Similarly, when asked about two other important problems 168 respondents or just under 55% said that it was non-violent crime or harassment. These significantly high response rates when considered in parallel with generally high levels of expressed satisfaction with rural southeast Scotland as a place to live are very revealing. In particular, these results serve to demonstrate how the negative experiences of racism by visible ethnic minority residents are revealed only by micro

analytical and location specific exploration and how they are otherwise immersed by their invisibility within a macro analytical social, political and economic context. These results also tend to suggest that some of the positive aspects of rural living serve to mask the underlying realities of racist violence and harassment within rural southeast Scotland.

In seeking to establish the extent of integration with the local (white) community, visible ethnic minority residents were asked to indicate whether they knew and mixed with local white people in their area. The findings from this analysis are of particular significance as the responses from each local authority area in rural southeast Scotland tell a strong and consistent story. In particular, the analysis clearly demonstrates that the perceived levels of full integration amongst visible ethnic minority respondents was less than four percent with only 12 out of 306 persons who answered this question stating that they knew and mixed fully with local white people and this raises important questions about community cohesion in rural southeast Scotland. The responses are indicated in the following table:

Options for Response	Fife	West Lothian	East Lothian	Midlothian	Scottish Borders	Total no of responses	Valid %
	Responses to levels of integration questions local authority area						
Don't know many people, don't mix	12	17	14	11	3	57	**18.62%**
Know many people, prefer not to mix	23	22	15	21	9	90	**29.41%**
Local people do not mix with us	40	27	31	23	26	147	**48.03%**
Know and mix fully with local people	4	5	1	2		12	**3.92%**
Totals	**79**	**71**	**61**	**57**	**38**	**306**	**99.98%**

Table 8.   Extent of integration with the local (white) community by local authority area

These exceptionally low levels of integration are exacerbated further by the analysis which shows that over 18% of respondents expressed no desire to mix with the local white community, presumably due to negative experiences, whilst 48% of visible ethnic minority respondents expressed the belief that it was the local white members of their rural community who did not wish to mix with them. Collectively, these findings serve to demonstrate how the 'othering' experiences of people of colour has serious implications for their personal sense of belonging to the rural and how this leads to exclusion and marginalisation. In turn, these findings also raise important local community safety concerns which link to wider contemporary debates surrounding racism, rurality, identity, community and belonging.

Another interesting feature of this analysis is that fact that there appears to be some initial evidence which suggests that there may be some potential correlation between extent of rurality, size of visible ethnic minority population and levels of integration. For example the most sparsely populated area in this study and the area with the lowest visible ethnic minority population is the Scottish Borders followed by East Lothian and it is interesting to note that both of these areas returned the lowest levels of reported full integration and in that sequential order with only one respondent over both areas stating that they knew and mixed fully with local white people. Similarly when expressed in percentage terms, the area reporting the highest levels of local white people not wishing to mix with visible ethnic minority residents was the Scottish Borders at over 68%, followed by East Lothian and Fife both at just over 50%. Significantly, the two local authority areas reporting the highest levels in percentage terms of white residents integrating with visible ethnic

minorities were West Lothian and Midlothian and again these are the least rural areas in the study when contrasting population levels with geographic landmass.

When asked about their experiences of violence, threats or harassment in the local area, 71% of respondents said that they frequently experienced some form of violence or abuse with only 18% of respondents indicating that such problems were occasional. This analysis tends to confirm that the actual incidents reported to the police are indeed only the visible tip of a much larger and more sinister problem in rural southeast Scotland. Of equal significance was the fact that only two respondents stated that they had never experienced racism in southeast Scotland and both respondents were females who described themselves as mixed race. This tends to support the view that actual skin colour is a very significant mediator with regard to experiences of racism and that notions of blackness and whiteness are central to contemporary constructions of racist discourse and in the psychological determination of who does and does not belong in the Scottish rural.

In seeking to quantify the nature and extent of the problem in southeast Scotland, respondents were also asked to circle a range of variables to ascertain a more holistic perspective on their experiences of different forms of racist violence, abuse or low level harassment so as to reveal broader forms of racism that do not necessarily meet the criminal based test that is applied to incidents reported to the police. Results of this particular analysis showed that 91% of respondents had experienced unnecessary staring from members of the local white community whilst 85% reported a perception of having been purposively avoided. 69% of respondents stated that they had experienced verbal

abuse with 14% of respondents stating that they had experienced damage to their property. Finally, some 5% of respondents stated that they had experienced personal violence. The scale of these differing responses is very interesting and is entirely in line with Allport's (1979) classic hierarchy for acting out prejudice which commences on his scale with antilocution before progressing incrementally through to avoidance then to actual discrimination then physical attack. In other words these results are entirely in line with the theory expressed by Allport (*ibid*) that the least energetic forms of prejudice and discrimination are the most common and that the most energetic on the part of the perpetrator are least common.

This analysis tends to validate the findings from the police data which found that verbal abuse was the most common 'criminal' incident and this comparison also serves to confirm that the least energetic forms of racism are certainly the most prevalent over both spectrums examined in this chapter. This analysis also demonstrates how intangible aspects of the perceived behaviour of members of the local white rural community can serve to 'other' visible ethnic minority residents through conduct which although sometimes unintentional nevertheless demonstrates behaviour based on unfamiliarity with difference. Such perceptions clearly impact adversely on the sense of community and safety of those affected and demonstrates how non-criminal forms of racist prejudice blight the lives of people of colour living in the rural without impacting on the official statistics and without registering on the 'radar' of agencies charged with a general duty to promote effective race relations such as the police or local authorities. These findings validate the arguments of writers such as Virdee (1997: 272) who highlights the reliance

on individual subjective assessments in the determination of whether a particular form of conduct is racially motivated and how this in turn continues to undermine the value of the official statistics making it almost impossible to ascertain the true nature and extent of the problem from reported incidents alone.

Despite these experiences, over 53% of respondents stated that overall their quality of life in the past year had either been very good or good. Only 19% stated that their quality of life had been fairly poor with just over 8% stating that it had been very poor. In terms of perceptions of risk, respondents in rural southeast Scotland expressed no significant concerns about leaving their home unoccupied or about being alone at home or letting their children go out alone. However, over 25% of respondents said that they would feel somewhat unsafe walking alone in their neighbourhood whilst 32% stated that they would feel somewhat unsafe travelling on public transport. Again these results are of particular significance and tend to suggest that the racist experiences of visible ethnic minority residents in the rural has translated into correspondingly elevated perceptions of risk and concerns about personal safety and security.

5.7   Quality of Life Survey Questionnaire – Qualitative Analysis

To add some richness and depth to the largely quantitative nature of the research questionnaire, three of the main questions were followed by directly related supplementary questions where respondents were invited to make additional free-text opinion based responses. In general, the majority of respondents did not complete these free text narratives with the completion rates for these particular questions being just over

10%. Therefore whilst some caution is required in relation to interpretation of the findings some valuable themes were apparent.

The first free-text question asked respondents who were not entirely satisfied with their town or area to say why. In total, 31 respondents gave short narrative responses to this question and many of these comments were on social, political and economic dimensions and in particular how those various dimensions translate through perceived deficiencies in local agency service provision. For example one respondent from the Scottish Borders wrote:

> *'The entire way of life in the Scottish Borders seems to revolve around some subservient bond of attachment to those who own most of the land. The Council and members of parliament seem to bend over backwards to do the bidding of these rich and powerful land owners and local people seem happy with this because they provide employment and that's how it has always been here. However when people like me ask for help because of regular racist abuse we are just fobbed off with the same old promises and excuses and nobody seems willing or able to really help'.*
> (Female of Indian heritage, Scottish Borders).

Similarly, a respondent from East Lothian wrote:

> *'All of our local elected members are white and so are all members of the Scottish Parliament. The Chief Executive of the Council is white and so is the Chief Constable. They always have been and they always will be around here so what*

else can I say. Nobody round here is interested in anything that a Scottish Asian

might want to say'.

(Female of Pakistani heritage, Fife)

These two responses to the first free-text question adequately summarise several similar responses and appear to strike at the very heart of the processes of managerialism, paternalism and clientism described by Shucksmith and Philip (2000: 4) where the 'othering' processes in the rural serve to reinforce the social and political marginalisation of people of colour whilst simultaneously reinforcing dominant perspectives through the monopoly of an exclusively white political landscape.

These exclusionary qualities were also reflected in the comments of other respondents who observed that there were few, if any, cultural activities for visible ethnic minorities with one respondent from the Scottish Borders noting that he had to make a 170 mile round trip every week to attend Friday prayers at the Central Edinburgh Mosque due to the absence of suitable local facilities. Similarly, a respondent from East Lothian noted that the local education system was not equipped to deal with the bi-lingual needs of her children. All of these experiences mirror previous research in rural parts of Scotland (de Lima, 2001) which noted discrimination in accessing rural services due to a prevailing political philosophy based on a numbers rather than 'needs' based approach.

The second free-text question asked respondents to comment on what makes local white people welcoming or not welcoming. In this case there were 32 responses which in

general terms seemed to focus on the themes of religious, cultural or psychological barriers and on processes of active exclusion. Of equal interest was of course the fact that not a single respondent gave any free text comments which provided evidence of local white people or local white groups actually being welcoming. In relation to religious and cultural barriers several respondents gave examples of having experienced negative comments about their Muslim religion whilst others spoke about pejorative remarks having been made to them whilst wearing traditional items of clothing associated with their cultural heritage. In relation to the processes of active exclusion 11 respondents made specific reference to people in their local area being less friendly towards them by comparison with their previous experiences of city life. In one of these cases the respondent from Midlothian stated 'When I was at university in Edinburgh the colour of my skin was simply not an issue. But in a village like Gorebridge people just stare at you as if you had two heads and they will cross the road rather than speak to or acknowledge you'.

Another respondent echoed similar sentiments with her narrative which read:

> *'I had lots of white friends when I lived in London and in over five years there I did not experience a single incident of racism. Things are very different here and in general most local people are not that welcoming but are otherwise fine. However a significant minority here definitely are racist and are deliberately rude to you. They point and stare at you in the street as if you are some exotic stranger and I have lost count of the number of times that I have heard someone shouting that I am a black bastard'.*

(Male of Indian heritage, East Lothian)

This notion of the exotic was also noted by other respondents' including one from Fife who stated:

> *'My grandparents are from Pakistan but my mum and dad were born in England in the Midlands. I was born in Glasgow and I am as Scottish as you can get. I get really annoyed when people round here constantly ask me where I am from. When I say Glasgow, they look surprised and then ask where I am really from. They just don't get it'.*

(Male of Pakistani heritage, Fife)

Similarly, another respondent noted 'I was born in Scotland so I get really annoyed at people constantly asking me how long I have lived here. Another really annoying thing is the constant questioning about whether I find it cold here'. Another respondent from West Lothian simply answered the question posed by stating 'when you experience racist abuse on a daily basis as I do, then it is fairly safe to assume that local people are not that welcoming around here'.

These various experiences of religious, cultural and psychological exclusion, isolation and marginalisation and not being made to feel welcome through aversive techniques such as deliberate social avoidance appear typical of the 'othering' processes in the rural that are directed at people solely on the basis of their skin colour. Similar findings have been noted by other researchers such as Chakraborti and Garland (2004: 133) who observe how

cultural, linguistic, religious and social barriers are key factors which accentuate the difference of people of colour in the rural.

The final free-text question asked respondents whether they had any other general comments regarding socialising with local white people in their area. In this case there were 29 respondents' with many comments simply reiterating similar remarks to those made in the first two free-text questions. However, a clear theme coming through from responses to this question was virtual rather than physical segregation and their resultant experiences of social isolation. Indeed several respondents' indicated that there was little if any socialisation between themselves and local white people in rural southeast Scotland. Respondents' also indicated a general lack of integration, the persistence of negative stereotypes and a sense of there being a barrier being imposed against them. These themes are much in keeping with Sibley's (1995) notion of 'geographies of exclusion' where issues such as racism within western culture have become a dominant factor in the creation of social and spatial boundaries. These findings of clear perceptions of social and spatial boundaries are a recurring theme of research into rural racism and for writers such as Cloke and Little (1997: 1) representations of rurality and rural life are replete with such devices of exclusion and marginalisation. Such evidence also suggests that these social boundaries are in part moral boundaries where the presence of people of colour in a predominantly white landscape such as rural southeast Scotland results in what Sibley (1995: 33) refers to as a 'zone of abjection' where powerful (white) groups seek to 'purify' and dominate rural space.

5.8   Chapter conclusions

This chapter has sought to build on the initial findings on the 'nature' of the phenomenon of rural racism in southeast Scotland towards visible ethnic minorities by considering whether the extraordinary levels of prejudicial attitudes within the majority white population towards people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds might then translate into racist beliefs, practices and behaviour. In doing so, this chapter has considered quantitative and qualitative analysis of racist incidents reported to the police and also a quality of life survey of visible ethnic minority residents so as to reveal more about the 'nature' and 'extent' of the problem and so as to begin to understand 'impact' issues.

From analysis of the incidents reported to the police a disturbing picture of endemic racism within rural southeast Scotland was revealed with high levels of repeat victimsation with business premises being observed as the most common location for 'reported' incidents to take place. However, on reflecting on the limitations of the 'official statistics' it was noted that it was actually the state who has determined what forms of racism are 'acceptable' and what are not, and therefore if the state only recognises racism through the lens of qualifying criminal incidents meeting the criteria for police recording then by default a whole range of aversive and other racisms are excluded.

A key related finding of this policing aspect of this research is the fact that the police service nationally do not routinely engage in qualitative analysis methodologies and instead place an overwhelming and undue reliance on often simplistic quantitative analysis of crime and other data to identify hotspots, trends and patterns of offending upon

which to prioritise their resource deployments. This simplistic 'numbers' rather than 'needs' based approach is enshrined within the design of National Police Intelligence Model (NIM) and is then further compounded by a related 'Strategic Assessment' process which despite a year-on-year increase in reported racist incidents in Scotland does not currently list racism as one of its very high policing priorities.

A key finding of this research therefore is that the National Police Intelligence Model (NIM) is not equipped to deal with 'needs' rather than 'numbers' based problems and because of this and the United Kingdom wide adoption of the NIM it appears that the diversity related issues that were so openly embraced by Chief Constables in the immediate post-Macpherson era have now waned significantly and that strategic policing debates around racism and the promotion of tolerance and diversity now appear to be viewed both politically and within police circles as 'yesterdays news'.

Findings from the police data was then enhanced by analysis from the quality of life survey questionnaires which found exceptionally low levels of integration with the local white rural community and clear perceptions of social and spatial boundaries. A key finding from this analysis was in relation to how other non-criminal forms of racist prejudice blight the lives of people of colour living in the rural without impacting on the 'official' statistics and without therefore registering on the 'radar' of agencies charged with a general duty to promote effective race relations such as the police or local authorities.

Collectively, the findings from this chapter have provided numerous practical examples of the lived experiences of people of colour that grounds the theoretical approach through the revelation of clear evidence of the 'othering' mechanisms of racist behaviour and discourse at work within the rural communities of southeast Scotland. The findings also serve to demonstrate how the negative experiences of racism by visible ethnic minority residents are revealed only by micro analytical and location specific exploration and how they are otherwise immersed by their invisibility within a macro analytical social, political, economic and policing context.

Chapter 6   The Impact of racism on visible ethnic minority residents in rural southeast Scotland

6.1   Introduction to Chapter

The previous two chapters have considered the nature and extent of the problem of rural racism in southeast Scotland through interpretative analysis of public attitudes to discrimination in the research area and how these attitudes then translate into racist practices and experiences. However in order to fully understand the actual consequences of such attitudes and behaviour it is of course necessary to consider the actual impact of the phenomenon of rural racism on visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland. Accordingly, this third findings chapter now turns to consider the impact of the phenomenon on victims and what this might mean for their perceptions of 'community' and 'safety' through presentation and qualitative analysis of a limited number of the interviews conducted with visible ethnic minority victims.

As indicated in the earlier methodology chapter, this aspect of the research involved qualitative interviews with a sample group of 20 visible ethnic minority residents who were selected through purposive sampling with four victims from each of the five local authority areas. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and the agenda focused on their experiences of racism, perceptions of their local area, involvement in the community and how their experiences impact on perceptions of rural community and safety.

In order to provide a conceptual framework for presentation of the findings from this aspect of the research, analysis of the nature and extent of victims experiences will be presented under applicable themes drawn from Allport's (1979) escalating hierarchy for acting out prejudice and in doing so will explore the themes of social avoidance, actual discrimination and finally threats of violence and actual physical attacks. These conceptual themes will be presented and explored through the presentation and interpretation of individual case studies against the theoretical framework of Philo's (1992) 'othering' theory before a consolidated perspective is then advanced in relation to what impact these various experiences have on visible ethnic minority victims and how such experiences impact adversely on their perceptions of community and safety. In utilising the conceptual framework provided by Allport (1979, 15) his first hierarchical theme of 'antilocution' is naturally excluded from this chapter as such expressed antagonisms have already been adequately explored in chapter four through analysis of the findings from the expressed public attitudes to discrimination. Additionally, his theme of 'physical attack' includes physical intimidation and threats of violence, or what Allport (*ibid*) refers to as acts of 'semi violence' in addition to the more serious actual physical attacks on their person.

6.2   Victims' experiences of Avoidance

In order to commence reflections on the findings from qualitative analysis of the impact of purposive social avoidance of visible ethnic minority residents in rural southeast Scotland it is useful to firstly reflect on Allport's (1979) description of this the second stage of his five point hierarchy for acting out prejudice:

'...it leads the individual to avoid members of the disliked group, even perhaps at the cost of considerable inconvenience. In this case, the bearer of prejudice does not directly inflict harm upon the group he dislikes. He takes the burden of accommodation and withdrawal entirely upon himself.'

(Allport, 1979: 14)

The inclusion of this definition in this findings sub-chapter is of particular significance for it will be argued through analysis of the experiences of victims that such subtle and purposive avoidance of social contact does indeed inflict direct emotional or psychological harm onto those who are 'othered' through such aversive techniques and that the burden of accommodation is not entirely on the holder of prejudice as simplistic reflection on Allport's model might otherwise suggest.

Case Study number one is a Black female of African heritage who works for the National Health Service in Fife. She will be referred to as Miss 'A'. When interviewed, Miss 'A' explained that she moved to Fife with her boyfriend two years ago due to employment opportunities in the NHS after both had graduated from university in Edinburgh. Both she and her boyfriend are originally from London. Her boyfriend is white and she explains that she is the only Black person living in their small Fife village. Although she has not experienced much in the way of overt racism from the local community, she states that local people do seem to avoid her and appear to be uncomfortable with her visible difference:

'Whenever I walk to the shops in the village I am constantly reminded of my physical difference. I notice how some people seem awkward around me and how they are not really sure how to react. Some people avoid eye contact completely and do not speak whilst others just avoid you and walk by. Some will simply pretend that you are invisible and don't acknowledge you whilst others remind you of exactly how visible you are by staring continually as if they have never seen a Black woman before. It's very rude and both these extremes make me feel really uncomfortable. I have to say that I never experienced any of this in London or Edinburgh. It's definitely something about being Black in small country village as my boyfriend doesn't experience any of this when he is out alone in the village and he has been made to feel very welcome'.

(Miss 'A', Black English female of African heritage, living in Fife)

From this opening narrative a number of variables are apparent which link to the theoretical framework by demonstrating how visible ethnic minority residents are in effect 'othered' in rural southeast Scotland through active withdrawal, non-engagement, discomfort, avoidance and other forms of aversive behaviour which may not conventionally be regarded as racist. Firstly, there is the issue of less tangible forms of racism where people of colour are actively excluded by a process of alienation manifested through the purposive avoidance of social contact. Such intangible forms of racism are extremely important when considering the nature and extent of racism in rural southeast Scotland as they are explicitly excluded from the official police statistics due to the previously articulated dilemma around the subjective processes involved in determining

what constitutes a racist incident. Secondly, there is the issue of marked and significant differential in the treatment of rural incomers in this case study where Miss 'A' is Black but her boyfriend is White, thus providing compelling evidence of the role of skin colour and visible difference as a determinant of equitable or prejudicial treatment. Thirdly, it is clear that the rural is a significant contributory factor to the experiences of Miss 'A' as she has not previously encountered such experiences in the cosmopolitan urban environments of large cities such as London and Edinburgh. Fourthly, there is the issue of the accentuated visibility of Miss 'A' as being viewed as 'exotic' or 'out of place' within the context of an almost exclusively white landscape in the rural as evidenced through the unnecessary staring and resultant feelings of emotional or psychological discomfort. These various points of initial analysis are significant and validate the findings from the previous limited research in rural parts of Scotland by de Lima (2004) which have recognised the distinct impact of the phenomenon of rural racism.

Case study number two is a Scottish female of Pakistani heritage and she will be referred to as Miss. 'B'. She has recently separated from her husband because of domestic abuse and has had to relocate from a major Scottish city to a council housing estate in a medium sized Midlothian town with her young son. Since moving to the council estate she has noted that there are no other Scottish Asian families living in the area and she has been experiencing some difficulty with racial abuse. Like Miss 'A', she is particularly concerned about every-day problems with less tangible forms of racism including unnecessary staring, unfriendliness and being avoided and this had added to her personal sense of vulnerability in the rural:

'Most local people here seem to resent me because I look Asian to them and the majority of local people just don't let on if you pass them in the street. One or two of the young mothers will speak to me when I have my son out in his buggy but older women just ignore me and seem quite unfriendly. I remember one lady in the post office asked me where I was from and I told her I was born in Glasgow. She looked really puzzled for a moment and then said that she wondered where I was actually from originally. It's a strange thing really because whenever I speak to a stranger on the phone they are usually very friendly and just accept me as Scottish and Glaswegian because of my accent. It just goes to show that some people don't see beyond the colour of your skin'.

(Miss 'B', Scottish female of Pakistani heritage, living in Midlothian)

Because of these experiences, Miss 'B' feels isolated from her immediate geographic community and feels that this has been exacerbated because of her previous experiences of domestic abuse and feelings of isolation from friends within the Scottish Pakistani community in the city from which she relocated. Analysis of the experiences of Miss 'B' also demonstrate how the nature and extent of racism is mediated through tangible and intangible forms of aversive racism which serve to marginalise and socially exclude people of colour. However in this case, analysis reveals a further three variables through which such aversive racisms are amplified within the rural. Firstly there is the issue of the general vulnerability of people of colour in the predominantly white Scottish rural landscape and how that vulnerability is increased when they are isolated from other members of their own ethnic heritage communities and corresponding support networks.

Secondly, these barriers and lack of support networks accentuate that very vulnerability through a sense of physical and emotional isolation and raise important questions for notions of community and safety whilst simultaneously raising important associated questions of risk. Thirdly, there is the exclusion and stereotyping of Scottish born nationals as belonging elsewhere based on subjective assessments made solely around the physical characteristic of skin colour and as completely contrasted with the alternative experiences of warm and welcoming treatment in situations where such physical characteristics were not visible. This latter aspect in particular again providing compelling evidence of the role of skin colour as a significant mediator in the determination of who does and who does not belong in the Scottish rural.

Case study number three is a Scottish male of Indian heritage who was born in Edinburgh. He now lives in the Scottish Borders and he will be referred to as Mr. 'L'. He currently resides in one of the larger towns in the Scottish Borders having moved there two years ago to open a family restaurant business. He is married with three young children and his wife who is from India has lived in Scotland for nine years since their arranged marriage. In common with the experiences of Miss 'A' and Miss. 'B' in relation to social avoidance, Mr. 'L' drew clear lines of distinction between his experiences as a child and young man growing up in urban Edinburgh in terms of both integration with, and acceptance by, the local white community and his very different experiences in the rural Scottish Borders. He also noted situational distinctions between his perceptions of engagement or avoidance within the context of external public space and how this contrasted sharply with those of

his working environment. Similarly, he notes differential personal experiences between himself and his wife.

> *'As a boy growing up in Edinburgh we lived in quite a diverse area and everyone knew and talked to their neighbours. There were lots of Asian kids and lots of white kids and to be honest I never gave a second thought to the colour of my skin. We all went to the same school in Leith and we all went to see Hibs play on Saturdays. Since leaving the City though things have been very different and many of the local people simply will not speak to you. It's very different at work in the restaurant of course, but as soon as I walk down the street I get a sense that many country people are really not comfortable with my presence. My wife finds the whole thing quite intimidating and has real problems if she wears traditional items of clothing in particular. She really cannot understand why her experiences of unfriendliness are far worse than mine or why people will stare and point at her from a distance in the street but then act like she's invisible and ignore her when she gets closer'. She once tried to report someone spitting at her in the street to the local police but they wouldn't take her seriously and said that it was not a police matter'.*
>
> *(Mr. 'L', Scottish male of Indian heritage, living in the Scottish Borders)*

Analysis of the experiences of Mr. 'L' and those of his wife again reveal the contrasting negative dimensions around purposive social avoidance for visible ethnic minority residents in a rural setting and again as contrasted with more positive and welcoming experiences in the urban. His contrasting experiences of active engagement and

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friendliness within the confines of his restaurant are sharply contrasted with his experiences of disengagement and unfriendliness when he interacts with the local white community in the public arena and these experiences provide a revealing insight into how power is exercised in rural society and how feelings of ownership attach to public space and territory. These findings are of significance, for such 'othering' mechanisms or geographies of exclusion align with Philo's (1992) 'zones of exclusion' in the rural and Sibley's (1995, 90) more generalised insights into social 'spaces of exclusion'. Similarly, his insight into the experiences of his wife within an identical social context as being worse than his in terms of her greater experiences of aversive racisms provide a compelling insight into the relationship between 'ethnicity' and gender in relation to subjugation within society. Indeed feminist writers such as Mama (1995) highlight how visible ethnic minority women are far more vulnerable to the aversive power relationships within white society due to the triple-bind impact of hierarchies around class, racism and sexism within contemporary United Kingdom society.

Cumulatively, these three initial cases studies provide compelling evidence of the negative impact that these aversive racisms have on victims, and albeit that such racisms may be unintentional it is clear that there is 'leakage' of the internalised burden of accommodation and withdrawal described in Allport's model. For Devine (2009) such aversive racism results from the repression of prejudiced attitudes and the resultant internalised conflict. She argues:

> *'Although these negative feelings are largely disavowed and consequently unacknowledged by many White people, they are nevertheless activated during*

interactions with Black people. This juxtaposition of prejudice and egalitarianism leads to aversive racism, such that the conflict between simultaneously-activated prejudice and egalitarian views causes aversive feelings, such as discomfort, unease, and sometimes fear'.

(Devine, 2009: 330)

This aversive racism as mediated through leakage of personal attitudes, beliefs and values may not always be capable of physical observation but from these initial case studies it is clear that its transmission and reception is certainly tangible through the emotional intelligence and sensory awareness of visible ethnic minority residents. From analysis, it is also clear and that such aversive techniques have a real and damaging physical impact on visible ethnic minority residents living in rural southeast Scotland.

6.3   Victims experiences of Discrimination

The third stage of Allport's (1979) hierarchy for acting out prejudice relates to situations where the person holding the prejudice makes actual detrimental distinctions which seek to exclude those at whom the action is directed. In presenting analysis from the findings of interviews with visible ethnic minority victims in southeast Scotland in relation to this hierarchical dimension, it will also be demonstrated how such discriminatory practices result not only from personal prejudices as identified by Allport (*ibid*), but also from the structural and institutional dimensions of contemporary prejudices such as racisms of the state.

Case study number four is a Black male of African heritage who was born and educated in Birmingham and he will be referred to as Mr. 'M'. He is a doctor working at a local surgery and has lived in a medium sized town in West Lothian for four years and has many white friends with whom he socialises. He regularly experiences verbal abuse from strangers but attributes this mainly to the effects of alcohol on persons whom he thinks would not otherwise act in this way. However, when interviewed, he gave various specific examples of forms of racist discrimination that he had suffered in the past year. In one particular instance, he had been invited to a local private golf course to attend a corporate charity event when he was made to feel 'out of place':

> *'When I arrived at the golf course with a friend we parked our car and began walking towards the clubhouse. At this point, I was approached by two elderly men and one of them informed me that the course was for members only. When I advised him that I was a guest, he then said that golf in Scotland had actually always been a white game and that 'unless my name was Tiger Woods I should fuck off back to Africa as Black people were not welcome'. I advised this elderly gentleman that I was a local doctor and that I was actually born in London and had never even been to Africa. By response, the other elderly male then said 'that's even worse then, you're a black bastard and an English cunt'. He then went on to ask 'if I wanted to go for a full house and reveal that I was a fucking catholic as well'.*

> *(Mr. 'M', Black English male living in West Lothian)*

Analysis of the experiences of Mr. 'M' demonstrates how people of colour are 'othered' by a further range of discriminatory practices and narratives which seek to exclude and marginalise in the Scottish rural. Firstly, there is the obvious issue of the cultural and historical conflation of Scotland and of Scottish golf as an exclusively white landscape. Related to this is the 'othering' of visible ethnic minorities through overt racist discrimination and through a climate of fear which is mediated through heightened boundary consciousness around the private golf club as 'white space' which additionally reveals the issue of racism in sport as highlighted by writers such as Hylton (2009).

Analysis also reveals how racism is mediated through a fondness of tradition, in this case Scotland as the 'home of golf', based exclusively on white narratives which are pictured as stable, culturally homogeneous and historically unchanging and how these narratives are sometimes aligned with both nationalistic discourse and sectarian perspectives. These findings expose how discriminatory processes such as racism are subtly interwoven with other forms of prejudice such as Anglophobia and sectarianism and these multi-dimensional aspects of racism have also been revealed through other research into racism in rural areas of Scotland (de Lima, 2006) or indeed in other Celtic parts of the United Kingdom such as Northern Ireland (Connolly, 2006). Such findings also serve to validate Philo's (1992) assertion that the unwanted focus upon the interests of powerful white rural groups results in the active exclusion of 'others' and serves to demonstrate the ongoing barriers to the promotion of diversity within Scottish rural society.

Case study number five is a Scottish female of Chinese heritage who works in the public sector in East Lothian and she will be referred to as Miss 'C'. Miss 'C' is an accountant and has lived in a small East Lothian town for three years and previously lived in Dundee with her parents. Although she has not experienced much in the way of overt racism from the local community she has had occasional difficulties with both racism and racist discrimination:

> *'I am very aware that people treat me differently because I look Chinese. I remember when I first moved down from Dundee and I was looking for a job. On one occasion I had telephoned a local business to enquire about an advertised vacancy and I was invited to uplift an application pack. However when I called in I was advised by the personnel representative that the vacancy no longer existed. I could just tell that the person was lying and when I asked a male friend to make a similar enquiry he was told that the job was still available. I later heard from a friend whose sister works at this business that they just didn't want to employ any foreigners'.*
>
> *(Miss 'C' Scottish female of Chinese heritage living in East Lothian)*

In a similar way to the experiences of Miss 'B', these findings provide yet another example of the discriminatory exclusion and stereotyping of Scottish born nationals as belonging elsewhere based on subjective assessments made solely around the physical characteristic of skin colour, and again as completely contrasted with the alternative experiences of welcoming treatment in situations where such physical characteristics are not visible. Whilst this also provides further compelling evidence of the role of skin colour

as a significant mediator in the determination of who does and who does not belong in the Scottish rural, it also serves to validate the findings of other limited research in rural Scotland (de Lima, 2006) which highlights the complexity of racism in rural parts of Scotland which is manifested through various forms of prejudice and discrimination towards those who are not white and therefore are clearly viewed as 'other'. Clearly such experiences have a significant impact on the emotional and psychological wellbeing of victims and in the case of British born nationals create a 'crisis of identity' due to lack of full acceptance by some from their country of birth and a sense of not belonging to the country from which their ethnic heritage may be assigned by others.

Case study number six is a middle-aged Pakistani born male who has lived in Scotland for 26 years. He is a successful businessman living in a medium sized Fife town which serves the Edinburgh commuter belt and will be referred to as Mr. 'N'. When interviewed, Mr. 'N' explained that he has not experienced much in the way of individual racism in his town in Fife and he feels that he is well known and respected by the local community. However, he cites a very differing experience when travelling in other parts of southeast Scotland. Whilst some of these experiences are quite clearly not tapping in to pure rural dimensions, they are nevertheless worthy of inclusion as they expose a range of variables through which racist discrimination is mediated through agencies of the state such as the police.

For example, Mr. 'N' explained that in the last year he had been stopped by the police whilst driving in various rural parts of Scotland for a 'routine check' on no less than ten

occasions and that on each occasion the police officers who had stopped him noted that everything was in order. He contrasts this with the experiences of white business colleagues in his own age group who have similar travel profiles and yet have never been the subject of a routine police stop. When interviewed, he commented on government policies in the post 9/11 and 7/7 eras and expressed the view that multiculturalism was under attack by state sponsored racism:

> *'I have noticed a definite decline in my human rights in recent years. The government and media appear to have embarked on yet another global anti-Muslim crusade and as an Asian man living in Scotland I certainly feel the consequences. I have been stopped by the police ten times in the last year without reason whilst driving and have had 'routine' searches of my car. I always get a body search at Airport security screening whilst white* associates *often do not. I was recently parked near the train station in North Queensferry waiting to meet my sister from the Edinburgh train when I was approached by several police and literally interrogated whilst they searched my car for no reason. I noticed that the officers were armed and so I made an official complaint to the local police office. I was told that it was a routine search but I later learned that the Prime Minister has a house nearby and that the police have orders stop anyone who looks foreign'.*
>
> *(Mr. 'N', Pakistani born male with British nationality living in Fife)*

Analysis of the experiences of Mr. 'N' identify a range of variables through which visible ethnic minorities may be 'othered' in rural southeast Scotland although in this case

potentially by more generalised structural and institutional racisms as well as individual discrimination and racisms. Firstly, there is the issue of global politics and the so called war on terror being played out in rural areas of southeast Scotland through media hyped anti-Muslim politics and the stereotyping and therefore target profiling of anyone of Asian appearance as a potential terrorist. This is clearly evidenced by the experiences of Mr. 'N' in relation to the completely excessive use of routine stop and search whilst travelling in his vehicle or when passing through airport security despite the fact that he is a perfectly law abiding citizen. The excessive nature of this is readily apparent and when contrasted with the very different treatment of his white associates provides compelling evidence of the role of skin colour as the most important determinant of prejudicial or equitable treatment. Secondly, there is the issue of him as a perfectly law abiding member of the public having been subjected to an apparent search by armed officers under Section 44 of the Terrorism Act, 2000[10] in circumstances which would not meet the 'reasonable grounds' for suspicion criteria specified by the legislation and in circumstances where it is reasonable to assume that the police actions were based solely on skin colour. Thirdly, there is compelling evidence of the erosion of human rights and in this case a clear parallel with Philo's (1992) active exclusion of certain social groups from a zone of white sameness and one which clearly leads to alienation, resentment and the active suppression of multiculturalism and diversity within rural communities. Such issues clearly have a negative impact on the sense of wellbeing and civil liberties of those at whom such state policies are directed and clearly have negative consequences for multiculturalism through such assaults on public diversity. Such experiences of course reflect the rise in stop and

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[10] A standing authority under Section 44 of the Terrorism Act, 2000 applied to the village of North Queensferry in Fife at the time of research due to the location of the home address of Mr Gordon Brown the United Kingdom Prime Minister

search against Asians post 9/11 and the current situation to June, 2010 in the United Kingdom where an article in the Guardian (Travis, 2010: 12) reported that Black and Asian people are still 'seven times more likely to be stopped by the police than white people'.

6.4   Victims experiences of Threats of Violence and Physical attack

The fourth point on Allport's escalating hierarchy of prejudice is that of physical attack where he argues that 'under conditions of heightened emotion prejudice may lead to acts of violence or semi violence…' (*op cit*: 15). Reflecting on his five-point scale he also notes that whilst the social consequences of antilocution or 'polite prejudice' may be harmless enough, it is the social acceptance of such forms of attitudes, beliefs and behaviours that makes transition to a more intense level more probable. In other words, if society tolerates even the most harmless forms of prejudice then it is inevitable that the more intense or extreme levels of violence will proliferate.

Case study number seven is a male of Indian heritage who was born in West Yorkshire. He now resides in West Lothian where he operates a convenience store. He will be referred to as Mr. 'O'. He states that he previously operated a similar business in Glasgow when he had first moved to Scotland where he experienced only occasional problems with racism. However, since opening his business in West Lothian two years ago he has regularly experienced verbal abuse from customers and he notes that these instances of verbal abuse regularly escalate into threats of violence and in particular where they are preceded by some form of conflict. He states that these flashpoints typically revolve

around his refusal to sell cigarettes or alcohol to persons in his shop who appear either under-age or those who enter the shop whilst drunk. Occasionally this conflict also results in direct physical violence and quite often damage to his property and threats to other members of his family:

> *'When I moved my family from Glasgow to open this new business in West Lothian I was hoping that it would be a better environment for my children to grow up in. We never had much in the way of problems with any racist stuff in Glasgow but things can be quite scary here despite being a very small town in the countryside. In the last two years the shop window has been smashed several times, we have had racist slogans painted on the shop, dog excrement put through our letterbox, and my car has had all of the tyres slashed and the words 'jungle monkey' painted onto the bonnet. I regularly get threatened with violence from drunk or underage customers when I won't sell them alcohol. I have even had a knife held to my throat by the father of a boy who I had asked to leave the shop after I had caught him stealing. The father called me a black bastard and said that he would cut my throat and stab my wife and children if I ever spoke to his son again'.*
>
> *(Mr. 'O', English male of Pakistani heritage living in West Lothian)*

Mr. 'O' states that he did not report this particular incident to the police as he was concerned that the male had already shown the propensity and capability to use real physical violence and he was genuinely concerned that the male might actually kill his wife and children should he do so. When interviewed, he stated that he does have confidence in the local police but does not call them any more to report racist incidents.

When asked why, he explained that there had been several previous racist incidents where violence of threats of violence had been used which he had reported to the police but despite them charging the persons responsible the matters were never taken to court. He also explained that his local trade had suffered previously when he had reported incidents and that abuse from local residents had increased when it was known that he had involved the police.

Analysis of the experiences of Mr. 'O' again serves to demonstrate how visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland who have previously lived in a large city perceive that that nature and extent of racism is exacerbated by their location within the rural context. Such analysis also reveals how routine conflict or heightened emotions can serve as a catalyst for racist discourse and how these flashpoints often escalate into more serious forms of racist violence and abuse. It also becomes clear that those who are already 'othered' by racist discourse in the rural run the risk of then being further marginalised and excluded by the local community when reporting such racist incidents to the police. This fear of retribution is based on the experience of visible ethnic minority residents in terms of the negative impact on their business and in this case through a direct physical threat to the life of a visible ethnic minority resident and members of his family.

Such fear of retribution serves to underscore the fact that 'reported' incidents are only the visible tip of a much larger problem and how the individual experiences of racism do not occur in isolation and that they can and should be conceptually located within the context of an entire hierarchy and continuum of systematic racist violence and abuse. It also serves to demonstrate how perceptions of risk impact on the lives of people of colour living within almost exclusively white communities who are unfamiliar with difference. This

analysis is in line with previous research in to the problem of rural racism in Scotland where researchers such as RAHMAS (2001: 3) have highlighted that a large percentage of racism occurs within business premises, and also by others such as Lemos (2000) and Rayner (2005) which suggests that the chances of being a victim of a racist assault may be higher *pro rata* in rural rather than urban areas.

Case study number eight is a Scottish female of Pakistani heritage who lives in a small town in East Lothian and she will be referred to as Mrs. 'D'. She operates a small family restaurant in one of the larger towns in East Lothian which is located about ten miles from the family home. When interviewed, Mrs. 'D' explained that she has operated the restaurant business for nearly three years and that she is regularly exposed to verbal racist abuse but that this mainly happens at weekends when there are customers who have had too much to drink before entering the restaurant. She explains that she does not report this lower level abuse to the local police as she does not wish to aggravate the situation. In any event she feels that the local police could do very little about it as she does not know the personal identity of the majority of her customers. However, she has also experienced threats of physical violence:

> *'I remember just last week there was a group of four women in the restaurant and they had probably all had a bit too much to drink before they came in as they were very abusive. Firstly, I overheard one of the women saying to her friend to 'ask the Paki Bitch when our drinks are coming' and I then heard her friend reply 'the dirty black cunt is probably pissing in the glasses through the back to get them clean'. I asked the women to keep their voices down as they were disturbing other customers and a short while later I served their meals and asked the women if*

everything was ok with their food. One of them who was having a chicken dish then stated that the food was 'filthy Paki shit' and asked if I had given her someone's stolen cat to eat stating that she knew that was what dirty immigrants such as me normally ate . By this point I had had enough and told the women that they would have to leave and one of them then stood up and tried to punch me in the face whilst holding a glass. Fortunately one of the regular customers intervened and he told the women to behave. In the end they all left after my husband had threatened to call the police but not before shouting out that this is a white country and that scum Muslim terrorists like me were not welcome. Incidents like this have a real impact on my personal sense of worth and my confidence and they leave you shaken for days. I have had to see the family doctor on several occasions just to get help with calming my nerves'.

(Mrs. 'D', Scottish female of Pakistani heritage living in East Lothian)

The experiences of Mrs. 'D' were found to be very similar to case study number nine who is another female victim interviewee and she will be referred to as Miss 'E'. Miss 'E' is also a Scottish born female of Pakistani heritage who has recently left full time education having just completed a degree course at Edinburgh University. She is currently seeking vocational employment commensurate with her degree but in the meantime works in her parent's fast-food takeaway business which is located in a medium sized Midlothian town. Like Mrs. D, she regularly experiences verbal abuse and particularly late in the evening when customers call in on their way home from local pubs and yet she is puzzled why

persons who are so obviously racist come into the family business at all. However, she is particularly upset at having been physically assaulted on two recent occasions:

'A few weeks ago I was working in the shop on a Friday evening when three local guys came in to order some food. Whilst they were waiting for their order one of them started asking me if I had any friends in the Taliban. When I asked him what he meant he replied 'you lot, you Paki scum…you are just a bunch of fucking dirty immigrant parasites. You come to this country and scrounge off the government and you send money back to your terrorist mates so that they can blow up British soldiers'. He then became very aggressive and spat in my face. His friends dragged him out of the shop as they could see that I was terrified. A few nights later I was in the shop again when a group of youths ran up to the door of the shop shouting 'black terrorist bastards' and 'Muslim scum'. The next thing I remember was a sharp pain on my head as one of them ran into the shop and threw a beer bottle at me. I had to go to the hospital for stitches to my scalp and later found out from the police that the bottle actually had petrol or some other kind of accelerant in it and that they had probably been trying to petrol bomb the shop'.
(Miss 'E', Scottish female of Pakistani heritage living in Midlothian)

Analysis of the experiences of both Mrs D and Miss E again demonstrate how the experiences of racism in rural areas of southeast Scotland are not isolated events but rather that they should be viewed as part of an ongoing 'othering' process of systematic, sustained and endemic racism which has a severe and profound impact on victims. In these case studies, the particular experiences of victims further reinforce the point that

such events are provoked by a mixture of ignorance, acceptance of stereotypes and resistance to the presence of those who are viewed as not belonging through a physical characteristic such as skin colour.

However, in these case studies some additional stereotypes by which people of colour are 'othered' and marginalised become apparent. Firstly, there is the issue of racialisation through the construction of perceived undesirable or polluting social characteristics of visible ethnic minority residents in the form of an association between deviance and colour. Secondly, there is the hierarchical inference of a link between skin colour and dirt and disease being associated with visible ethnic minorities. As Sibley (1995, 22) argues 'Black is routinely used to describe dirt which, in turn, is associated with shame and disease. In other words, it has both practical and moral associations, which make it a potent marker of social difference'. Thirdly, there is the issue of folk devils and moral panics (Cohen, 1972: 9) where spatial and moral boundaries are being enforced through racist discourse which seeks to 'other' and exclude visible ethnic minorities based solely on stereotypes as perpetuated through the popular media. Fourthly, there is the demonisation of Scottish born nationals through 'othering' stereotypes which view them as parasitic immigrants and cast them in the role of perpetual outsiders. Fifthly and finally there is clear evidence of what writers such as Kundnani (2007) refer to as 'New anti-Muslim racisms' as widely associated with the climate of hatred and racism resultant from the United Kingdom politics of fear that have emerged in the wake of the London and Glasgow bombings and the so-called 'War on Terror'.

The final case study being presented under this impact section on violence and threats of violence is a Black male of African heritage who will be referred to as Mr. 'P'. He was born in Birmingham and initially moved to Edinburgh five years ago when his job in the banking sector was relocated to Edinburgh but he now works in the retail sector in one of the larger towns in the Scottish Borders where he has lived for the past 18 months. Like many of the previous victim interviews presented, he has experienced little in the way of overt racism within large city environments in Birmingham or Edinburgh but states that such racisms are a feature of everyday life in the Scottish Borders. His experiences as a Black man living in an almost exclusively white landscape are similar to those reported by Miss 'A' insofar as her experiences of social avoidance as he is the only Black person living in his local town. He also notices and feels discomfort from prolonged unnecessary staring when walking in the street and also detects a sense of unease from many local residents who will simply avoid or fail to acknowledge him.

Like many of the other victims, he has also experienced direct and indirect discrimination but it is his experiences of sexual intimidation and racist violence that gives him most cause for concern:

> *'Since moving to the Scottish Borders it has become apparent that I am an object of curiosity for some people whilst an equally significant minority of the local people clearly resent the presence of a black man. Some people will stare at me in the street and point and I get monkey noises and racist abuse on a regular basis. I have had gangs of local youths throwing bananas at my windows and shouting that I should go back to the jungle but when I called the police the officers put it*

all down to 'high spirits' telling me that racism wasn't really a problem in the Borders. I have been in local pubs where the bar staff deliberately try to avoid serving me and I have been really embarrassed by some of the local women in the pub who have approached me and have asked whether it is true that 'black men have bigger cocks' and asking me to show them. This is real sexual abuse that just gets laughed off but it is really intimidating and I can't help but thinking that the local people and the police would take a very different view on the acceptability of such conduct if the roles were reversed. On another occasion I was walking home late at night when I was attacked in the street by a gang of four local white men who punched and kicked me to the ground and told me that a 'black English bastard' was not welcome in Scotland as it is a white country. The attack was so severe that I was left with a broken nose and three cracked ribs but when I reported it to the local police it was clear that they were uninterested and they told me that there was nothing that they could do unless I had any witnesses. I can tell you that it is really scary round here if you are not white or one of the locals and I will be moving back to the city as soon as I can'.

(Mr. 'P', Black English male of African heritage living in the Scottish Borders)

Analysis of the experiences of this final victim under the theme of violence provides more compelling evidence of the traumatic impact of such experiences of visible ethnic minority residents living in rural southeast Scotland in terms of victims commonly having been subjected to all of the first four of Allport's (1974) five point escalating scale of prejudice. In this case, it is clear that Mr. 'P', and in common with many victims, has

personally experienced antilocution, avoidance, discrimination and physical attack. As a Black man living in the Scottish Borders there is clear evidence of him having been 'othered' through the colonialist discourse of biological explanations for race as discussed by writers such as Back and Solomos (2005) through the throwing of bananas and the associated verbalisation of primate noises which also serves to illustrate underlying notions of racial superiority and inferiority as discussed by writers such as Gilman (1991). There is also clear evidence of the linguistic tags of power and rejection as discussed by Allport (1974, 304) through the pejorative use of the word black and in this case with associated Anglophobic sentiment providing further evidence of the complex and multi-dimensional nature of racism in Scotland as discussed by de Lima (2006). There is also clear evidence of boundary-enforcement and the purification of exclusionary space as articulated by writers such as Sibley (2005) in terms of the victim having been told that he was not welcome because Scotland is a white country and further evidence of 'othering' through sexual affronts and racial frontiers through the stereotyping and humiliation of debates on physical characteristics such as the genitalia of Black people. Collectively, these variables provide powerful evidence of the nature and extent of the pernicious effects of racism experienced by visible ethnic minority residents living in rural areas of southeast Scotland.

6.5 The impact of victims experiences on perceptions of community and safety

In order to ascertain the impact of the nature and extent of these experiences of different forms of racism, victims were interviewed with regard to ascertaining how those experiences impact on their perceptions of life in their local area, involvement in the

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community, and how these experiences impact on their perceptions of rural community and safety.

In relation to perceptions of their local area, analysis revealed that despite their very different and often alarming experiences of racism the overwhelming majority of the 20 victims interviewed were generally happy with their individual local authority area in southeast Scotland as a place to live. This context is extremely important for despite some of the harrowing experiences, those interviewed did not see themselves as 'victims' in the wider sense and had many positive things to say about rural life. When probed further, many of those interviewed expressed satisfaction with the local economy and employment opportunities and again this is significant given that the fieldwork conducted in 2009 fell during a period of significant economic recession. In addition, several ethnic minority residents had very positive views about other aspects of rural life such as lower levels of general crime and antisocial behaviour, attractive countryside and good standards of housing, educational establishments and health service provision.

Although many of the interviewees acknowledged that there was room for improvement in the local authority and public agencies service provision to visible ethnic minority residents, it was equally the case that many expressed the view that local service providers were doing a good job. However, almost all of those interviewed were very aware of the fact that none of the local authorities in the survey area had any elected members who were not white and felt that issues impacting on visible ethnic minority residents were simply not on the local political agenda of any of the public services with the possible

exception of the NHS who interviewees seemed to think were far more advanced both as equal opportunities employers and also in addressing the needs of diverse client groups.

These general levels of satisfaction with rural southeast Scotland as a place to live largely mirrors the results from the quality of life survey questionnaire as discussed in chapter five of this thesis and again serves to emphasise how the pernicious effects of racism in rural southeast Scotland is to an extent concealed beneath the respectable veneer of many other positive aspects of rural life. These findings are of particular significance for without this detailed qualitative analysis there would be a danger that the results of this research would misrepresent visible ethnic minorities in rural southeast Scotland in the primary role of victims without balancing their overall experiences with some wider contextual information. Indeed as highlighted by writers such as Robinson and Gardner (2004) this has been a key weakness of much existing research into the problem of rural racism and they highlight the need not to stereotype the negative aspects of rural life for minority groups without also balancing the positive dimensions.

In terms of involvement with their local community, interviewees were asked to indicate whether they knew and mixed with local white people in their area. From those case studies already presented, analysis of responses revealed that only Miss 'C' who is Scottish and of Chinese heritage living in East Lothian felt that she engaged fully and was generally accepted by white members of the local community. Similarly, Miss 'E' is Scottish and of Pakistani heritage and the youngest of those interviewed stated that she used to feel that she was fully accepted by the local community but now feels that this is

no longer the case due to media and government sponsored attacks on Islam and the Muslim culture in the last few years.

Conversely, all other visible ethnic minority victims interviewed stated that they had either very limited or no close involvement with the local white community, many of whom they viewed as unwelcoming. The interviewees of Pakistani or Indian heritage in particular stated that their social activities tended to centre round family and friends from their own ethnic group and that often this involved significant travel to major cities in Scotland or in some cases as far as the Midlands. In the case of Miss 'A' and Mr. 'M' who are both English born and of Black African heritage, analysis revealed that they had little involvement in the local community outside of their respective employment context and this was exacerbated by a number of other variables including lack of family support networks, anti-English sentiment, and also by the inordinately low numbers of Black people living in rural southeast Scotland. Similarly, Miss 'B' explained that she felt isolated from her immediate geographic community whom she views as unwelcoming and also feels that this has been exacerbated in her case by feelings of isolation from friends and family within the Scottish Pakistani community due to personal safety reasons after her marriage breakdown due to domestic abuse and her subsequent relocation from a major Scottish city.

Significantly, all interviewees expressed the view that problems with racism were far more acute in rural southeast Scotland than they had previously or currently experienced in large urban or city environments. These observations are of particular significant to this

research as these starkly contrasting experiences serve to illustrate how visible ethnic minority residents are 'othered' by rural dimensions and how diversity is actively suppressed within the context of human interactions within the Scottish rural, and as completely contrasted by the interviewees largely positive view of the more cosmopolitan and welcoming nature of the urban. Such contrasting distinctions serve to validate previous research in Scotland (Bromley and Curtice, 2003) and wider United Kingdom research (Rayner, 2005) which has previously suggested that racism is a greater *pro rata* problem in the rural than it is in the urban.

Such analysis of perceptions of rural community and safety is extremely significant as it reveals how the terms 'community' and 'safety' become difficult to conceptualise for the very small number of visible ethnic minority residents living in rural southeast Scotland because of the processes of active exclusion which blights their lived experiences. Furthermore, their perceptions of being excluded from the mainstream white rural community is constantly reinforced by the active suppression of their diversity through the racist behaviour of others further reinforced by a stereotype that locates their belonging as elsewhere based on stereotypical narratives revolving around a physical characteristic such as skin colour. A worrying dimension in this regard was the experiences reported by Mr 'L' and Mr 'P' both of whom reported the police in the Scottish Borders as having failed to note or take action on their complaints. Indeed, the researcher was able to confirm that no police records exist in either case raising the possibility that the local police are failing to record racist incidents properly.

An experience common to the majority of those interviewed was the phenomenon of continually being asked where they are from during transactions with white residents and this was a point of great frustration and in particular to those visible ethnic minority residents interviewed who were born in Scotland and who as a consequence had strong regional accents. This recurring theme is a classic 'othering' mechanism as by default it seeks to deny true national identity to Scottish born nationals and views them as not belonging through a phenotypical stereotype which appears to regard them as 'immigrants' from elsewhere. Such perceptions also demonstrate how the rural 'other' is effectively denied entry to the established white community and such exclusionary mechanisms are clearly intended to suppress diversity and sustain the dominance and power of the already dominant and powerful rural elites. These findings validate previous research into the problem of otherness, marginalization and rurality and as Cloke and Little (1997: 277) suggest, demonstrates the tendency of parochial rural communities to deny difference and reject any challenges to established norms of behaviour and belief.

This evidence of the processes of active exclusion at work in rural communities of southeast Scotland leads intuitively to questions around the appropriateness of broad rural social policies and community safety responses based primarily on a 'traditional' and geographic-based notion of community as discussed by Chakraborti and Garland (2004). It also raises fundamental questions around whether such broad approaches may create geographies of exclusion for 'other' rural dwellers and whether such processes serve to exacerbate the marginalisation of visible ethnic minority residents through the unwarranted focus upon policy serving solely to sustain the interests of the already

dominant and therefore powerful (white) rural groups as articulated by Philo's (1992) 'othering' theory.

In relation to their perceptions of safety within rural southeast Scotland almost all of the 20 'victims' interviewed stated that they felt at risk on an almost daily basis from lower level racist victimisation and harassment. However, the degree to which this impacted on their perception of personal safety varied between those interviewed. Miss 'A' and Miss 'B' for example both stated that their individual experiences of racist abuse were so frequent that they felt there was nothing that they could do to change this and so just accept it as a consequence of having a different skin colour in a predominantly white landscape. This was true of many of those interviewed and this finding of resigned acceptance helps to explain why so many incidents are not reported to the police and mirrors previous research findings, for example Malcolm (2002: 13) who argues that such racist incidents are so common that they are viewed by victims as somewhat unremarkable.

Conversely, Miss 'C' was the only interviewee who thought that her personal experiences of racism in rural southeast Scotland did not impact significantly on her perceptions of personal safety but she did acknowledge that it was a more serious concern for Black and Asian visible ethnic minority residents than it perhaps was for those of Chinese heritage. Significantly, both Mr. 'M' and Mr. 'P' expressed the opinion that the vulnerability of people of colour was increased because of their small numbers and general isolation with rural southeast Scotland. Both being Black, they also expressed the view that they were

only too aware that their highly accentuated visible difference in terms of skin colour placed them at far greater risk of being racially abused by complete strangers based on parochial perceptions of them 'not belonging' or not being a 'local' within the context of an almost exclusively white rural community. Again these findings are of significance and builds on much previous research (Henderson and Kaur, 1999; Dhalech, 1999) which has shown how those seen as not belonging are exposed to significant risks arising from hostility and intolerance.

In relation to their general emotional and psychological wellbeing, another significant finding from the qualitative interviews with victims was the fact that the overwhelming majority of those interviewed stated that the levels of racist harassment and abuse were such that they often felt unsafe whilst walking alone in public and many had severe reservations around using public transport during the hours of darkness. Many also confided that the constant levels of abuse allied to the media fuelled demonisation of immigrants, asylum-seekers, Muslims and just about anyone else with a different skin colour had resulted in negative personal outcomes in terms of their sense of emotional wellbeing and their physical and mental health. These impact factors included angst, fear, embarrassment, anger, despair, depression, apathy, withdrawal and despondency. Such findings provide clear evidence of the impact of rural racism on visible ethnic minority residents in rural southeast Scotland and serves to reinforce and underscore the argument put forward by Garland and Chakraborti (2004: 124) who argue that it may be more appropriate to conceptualise the predicament of such vulnerable groups in society from the

perspective of 'communities of shared risk' rather than as geographical communities of place.

6.6   Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has sought to build on the initial findings on the nature and extent of the phenomenon of rural racism in southeast Scotland towards visible ethnic minorities by considering how the extraordinary levels of prejudicial attitudes within the majority white population towards people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds and the related forms of racism and racist 'othering' mechanisms actually impact on visible ethnic minority residents.

The chapter commenced with presentation of the findings from qualitative analysis of interviews with a selection of victims and provided a rich and valuable insight into the distinct nuances of differing forms of racism from each of the five local authority areas. These findings were presented for analytical discussion under applicable themes drawn from Allport's (1979) escalating hierarchy for acting out prejudice and were analytically dissected and theoretically explored through the presentation and interpretation of individual case studies against the conceptual framework of Philo's (1992) 'othering' theory.

From analysis, is was observed that even in circumstances where personal racisms did not extend beyond mild internalised withdrawal or avoidance that such aversive 'othering' techniques nevertheless 'leak' and as a consequence have a real and damaging emotional

and psychological impact on visible ethnic minority residents living in rural southeast Scotland. Similarly, in considering the analysis from the victims' experiences of discrimination it was noted that such dimensions arose not only from personal prejudices as identified by Allport (1979), but also from the structural and institutional dimensions of contemporary prejudices such as racisms of the state.

The analysis from interviews with victims also revealed an endemic problem of differing forms of racist harassment, discrimination, violence and abuse and with some harrowing personal accounts of physical, sexual and emotional abuse and clear evidence of boundary enforcement and the purification of exclusionary white rural space. In terms of the impact on victims it was noted that the cumulative effect on the physical, psychological and emotional wellbeing of visible ethnic minority residents included angst, fear, embarrassment, anger, despair, depression, apathy, withdrawal and despondency.

It was also noted that such disturbing experiences had a negative impact on the perceptions of 'community' and 'safety' amongst visible ethnic minority residents, and how in turn that it may be more appropriate to conceptualise the predicament of such vulnerable groups in society from the perspective of communities of shared risk rather than as geographical communities of place. Indeed, it was argued that such accentuated perceptions of risk based on recurring experiences of racist violence and harassment also demonstrates how visible ethnic minority residents are 'othered' by various rural processes and dimensions and how diversity is actively suppressed within the context of both human interactions and societal structures and policy within the Scottish rural. It was

also argued that such exclusionary 'othering' mechanisms are clearly intended to suppress the diversity of the 'other' and sustain the dominance and power of the already dominant and powerful (white) rural elites.

However, in these concluding reflections on the impact of rural racism in the research area it is also important to reflect on the fact that despite some really harrowing personal experiences, those interviewed did not see themselves in the role of primary 'victims' in the wider sense, and such positive and integrative attitudes amongst visible ethnic minority residents further serves to demonstrate how the pernicious effects of racism in rural southeast Scotland is otherwise invisible and how it is often concealed beneath the respectable veneer of many other positive aspects of rural life.

Chapter 7   Suppressing the Diversity of the 'Other'

7.1   Introduction to chapter

This concluding thesis chapter seeks to draw together the various findings from this research into the problem of rural racism in southeast Scotland and will demonstrate how these findings are relevant to the central research question and the key themes identified at the outset. In doing so, the chapter will firstly reprise each of the main research themes and theory ideas and will ground each securely in the consolidated findings from the middle chapters. It will then focus on what has been shown and will pull together and connect these findings before distilling and clearly articulating the higher level central issues, questions and messages from this research and in doing so will explain precisely why these key revealed findings are so important.

As indicated in the early chapters, there has been a paucity of academic research into the problem of rural racism in a general Scottish context and yet curiously, Scotland has witnessed a year-on-year increase in reported incidents of racist violence and harassment in rural areas. Despite this, the specific phenomenon of rural racism is largely unknown outside of academia with very little being known about the actual 'nature', 'extent' or 'impact' of the problem. Accordingly, this research breaks new ground as it arguably represents *the* most detailed research into the issue of rural racism conducted in a general Scottish context, and it is certainly unique as the only research of this type to have been conducted in southeast Scotland and with a potent blend of bespoke qualitative and

quantitative research instruments and privileged and unrestricted access to local police data and national intelligence strategies and products.

The second half of the final chapter will then focus on what these findings mean for higher-order debates around the promotion of effective race relations and the promotion of diversity and multiculturalism in the rural. In doing so, discussions will focus on what the findings tell us about the role of agencies in terms of both promoting diversity and in discharging their 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations before opening these discussions into the examination of theory and wider relevant professional debates and controversies including more appropriate policy responses in the rural. The pulling together of key themes and messages throughout will provide a holistic perspective upon which to advance the central argument in relation to how the diversity of visible ethnic minority residents in rural southeast Scotland is actively suppressed through a range of 'othering' processes, devices and mechanisms of exclusion and marginalisation.

7.2   Consolidated reflections on the nature of rural racism towards visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland.

In exploring the unique 'nature' of the phenomenon through the lens of the feelings and images of difference as expressed through the attitudes of white residents, this research has uncovered extraordinary levels of prejudicial attitudes within the majority white population towards people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds. In doing so, it has also revealed a disturbing and widespread landscape of rural intolerance with clear evidence of the 'othering' mechanisms of racist narratives at work within the communities

of rural southeast Scotland due to the exclusionary nature of rural groups, power and politics. Importantly though, whilst a significant minority do clearly hold such prejudicial attitudes it is important for clarity of context to note that the majority of white residents surveyed actually held more positive and integrative attitudes and appeared to be at ease with and more tolerant of visible ethnic minorities in southeast Scotland. There were also some mixed findings within the attitudes to discrimination expressed by many white residents which would tend to support the view that whilst social and psychological variables were significantly influencing such attitudes to discrimination it was equally the case that economic variables were having little influence.

Significantly, many white residents appeared genuinely unaware of the problems associated with racism in rural southeast Scotland and did not see racism as a problem locally. Indeed many had very idealised views of their towns and villages that masked a far more brutal reality.

7.3 Consolidated reflections on the extent of rural racism towards visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland.

The findings from this research in relation to the extent of the problem of racism have demonstrated that it is certainly far greater than suggested by the official statistics as drawn solely from quantitative analysis of racist incidents reported to the police. This is highly significant for if these official statistics are accepted at face value, then this 'numbers based view' as interpreted solely through the official statistics for southeast Scotland might suggest that rural racism was not really a problem.

Whilst, this research offers powerful and compelling evidence to the contrary, a key finding is that this simplistic 'numbers' based view of the problem in the United Kingdom is in actual fact a national dilemma, as it in turn represents the 'official view' held by those agencies charged by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations such as the police and local authorities. Therefore, as a consequence of the state directive around what constitutes 'criminal racism', the police do not always recognise other forms of racism that fall outside of this criminal incident based definition and it is this conceptual paradox that lies at the very heart of agency (mis)understanding of the real issues of racism in United Kingdom society.

7.4 Consolidated reflections on the impact of rural racism towards visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland on their perceptions of 'community' and 'safety'

In seeking to pull together a consolidated perspective on the specific 'impact' of rural racism on the perceptions of 'community' and 'safety' in southeast Scotland it becomes clear that unlike assessments of the nature and extent of the problem, the official statistics in this regard are of very little value. In fact, at the outset it is obvious from earlier discussions that those charged with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations in the rural do not actually have appropriate environmental scanning methodologies in place to assess the impact on victims as their focus is mainly on understanding the problem through a simplistic numbers based paradigm that revolves around incidents reported to the police. This is an important issue for as this research has shown, the true impact of issues such as rural racism is not understood at a macro level and indeed can only be

understood through a micro analytical and location focused understanding of the problem based on a meaningful understanding of the distinctiveness of place and equally meaningful and direct engagement to ascertain the needs of minority ethnic communities.

However, in concluding on the impact of rural racism in the research area it is also important to reflect on the fact that despite some really harrowing personal experiences, many of those interviewed tended to accept racism as a regrettable 'fact of life' but did not see themselves in the primary role of victims in the wider sense. These dynamics further serve to demonstrate how the pernicious effects of racism in rural southeast Scotland is otherwise invisible, and how it is often concealed beneath the respectable veneer of many other positive aspects of rural life.

7.5   The 'Invisible Problem' – The role of Agency in suppressing diversity in the rural and the 'needs' versus 'numbers' conundrum.

A key finding from this research in southeast Scotland into the nature, extent and impact of the problem of rural racism is not just the evidence of the endemic problem of individual racisms, but equally how those individual racisms are located within a broader social, political and economic context. This broader context involves clear findings which reveal how the active suppression of the diversity of visible ethnic minority residents living in rural areas of southeast Scotland is mediated through the structural and institutional dimensions of the power relationships within both rural and general society including global influences and those of the United Kingdom state and its agencies.

In considering how well equipped agencies such as the police are to deal with the problem of racism in rural areas it was clear at the outset from the literature review that they were most certainly not, as nationally the police service are not even aware of the specific dynamics of the phenomenon of rural racism. In addition, an important finding in relation to the 'policing' aspects of this research is the fact that the police service nationally do not routinely engage in qualitative analysis methodologies and instead place an overwhelming and undue reliance on often simplistic quantitative analysis of crime and other data to identify hotspots, trends and patterns of volume offending upon which to prioritise their resource deployments. Therefore in relation to the issue of racism in rural areas such as southeast Scotland with very small visible ethnic minority populations, the police and indeed local authorities have no qualitative mechanisms or research methodologies in place by which to research or seek to understand the true nature, extent or impact of the problem within a nuanced and location specific local context.

Instead, the police and their community planning partners rely on a simplistic 'numbers' rather than 'needs' based approach to understanding the problem and employ simplistic quantitative analysis methodologies to measure only the number of reported incidents, and it is these 'numbers' that form the basis of the police and local authority understanding and assessment of whether or not any problem exists. Therefore, this research has demonstrated precisely why agencies in rural southeast Scotland are in essence blind to the actual nature, extent and impact of the problem as they solely equate its seriousness with how significantly it is reflected in the official crime statistics. This approach then means that the needs of victims of racism are overlooked due to the relatively small

number of reported incidents in areas where the population is almost entirely white. Therefore unless agencies can go beyond this simplistic analysis and understand the severity of the problem then ethnic minority residents will continue to be excluded and marginalised not only by the white hegemonic narratives and political dimensions of rural society but also by the power relationships embedded within those agencies of the state charged with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, this simplistic policing approach in terms of the 'needs' versus 'numbers' conundrum is actually representative of a national dilemma for the science of policing as such simplistic environmental scanning methodologies, or administrative approaches to criminology are enshrined within the design of National Police Intelligence Model (NIM) that is used by all 52 police Forces in the United Kingdom. Therefore by design the National Intelligence Model is deficient as it is in truth no more than a generic business model designed to assist the police to identify volume hotspots, patterns and trends in their data collection through a form of Pareto Analysis so as to then enable police managers to prioritise finite resources to the areas of greatest (quantitative) need to deal effectively with those all important crime solvency targets.

This simplistic quantitative environmental scanning delivers a phenomenon that social science might refer to as 'the theory ladenness of observation' where those observing facts or statistics focus in on what they are expecting to find. In others words by not applying any specific values to distinguish between the importance or worth of different sets of data, the police and indeed those other agencies and government who place so much stock

in the 'official statistics', are only informed by issues which appear to present in numbers terms as apparently significant problems. Therefore, their erroneous and indeed crude assumption is that the numbers of reported racial incidents in rural areas are far too small to constitute a 'real' problem and yet as this research has revealed, the problem is a very significant and real problem indeed.

For these reasons, it becomes clear that the official statistics in relation to the problem of racism in rural areas are of little value as they are indeed only the tip of a much larger iceberg. Equally, it becomes clear that they are derived from an entirely subjective and quasi-scientific approach and one that does not employ any of the eclectic scientific methodologies that are really required to understand and interpret the social world. It also becomes apparent that agencies such as the police in adhering to the simplistic numbers based approaches of the National Intelligence Model actually make no attempts to really understand the true nature, extent and impact of racism in rural areas such as southeast Scotland. To draw on a medical analogy, the approach is akin to trying to respond to the visible symptoms of an illness without having sought the slightest scientific insight into the underlying factors of causality.

7.6 Key Theoretical Coordinates for explaining rural racism in southeast Scotland

Having reprised the consolidated reflections on the nature, extent and impact of rural racism in southeast Scotland, and having broadened into wider debates and controversies around the role of agency, this sub-chapter now turns to consider the key theoretical

coordinates for explaining racism within the specificity of a Scottish rural context. In doing so, there is a need to address two key related questions which arise from this research. The first is in relation to which of the various theories or theoretical coordinates discussed in this thesis best underpins explanations of how the Scottish rural is constructed and perceived as a cultural and social space in which dominant versions of majority (white) belonging is conceived and reinforced. The second is in relation to how such dominant conceptions then inform the feelings and images of difference that in turn lead to the exercise of power and prejudice through a particular form of social ordering in the form of the phenomenon of rural racism.

In considering these questions, it becomes clear from this research that there is no single universal theoretical explanation which adequately explains rural racism in all nuanced and location specific circumstances. Nevertheless, the data informed findings from this research have found compelling empirical evidence to support the view that 'othering' theories are the most appropriate conceptual framework through which to understand how power and the mechanisms of social and cultural regulation are exercised in the Scottish rural. Those which are most compelling to the findings of this research are Philo's (1992) 'othering theory' derived from his seminal essay on neglected rural geographies and his insightful views (*ibid*: 200) on how the apparent hegemonic condition of white male middle class narratives in the rural marginalises the interests of rural 'others' by reducing the complexity of the rural population to a single dominant mainstream narrative.

However, whilst Philo's (*ibid*) discussions and theory focused more broadly on the neglected rural geographies of those hidden from mainstream view, it does not fully explain the many ways in which power is exercised in rural society. This notion of rural 'otherness' and the exercise of power was certainly expanded upon further by writers such as Sibley (1995) who identified the tendency of powerful white groups to 'purify' rural space and to view minorities as defiled and polluting, and further by writers such as Cloke and Little (1997) who advanced understandings of how rural society is created and differentiated in line with social and cultural constructions of rurality.

It becomes clear then that Philo's 'othering theory' has been a seminal and key influencer of many subsequent and eloquent theorisations, including Chakraborti and Garland (2004) who focused specifically on the phenomenon of rural racism and revealed how this 'othering process' can be tinged with racist harassment, hate and violence. Most recently, such theoretical perspectives have been applied to the examination of ethnicity and community and the plight of rural others in the contemporary English countryside by Neal (2009) who argues:

> *'The social and cultural construction of problem rural populations and 'difficult'*
> *and unruly urban-rural figures who do not belong can be understood as part of a*
> *process of othering which simultaneously marks out what/who is defined as rurally*
> *desirable and conventional and what/who is not'.*
> *(Neil, 2009: 21)*

However from the data revealed in this research it also becomes clear that such compelling 'othering' theories which centre on the exercise of power and exclusion need also to be understood against a number of other key theoretical coordinates for explaining racism in a specifically Scottish rural context. The first of those coordinates revealed from this research is one of historical representation and in particular the notion of 'highlandism' and the invention of Scottish tradition as a response to a crisis of identity following the Act of Union as discussed by Devine (2006) in chapter one. This and the related role of myth, romance and legend on the Scottish psyche was clearly evidenced through the public attitudes to discrimination revealed when reflecting on the findings of the nature and extent of the problem of rural racism in southeast Scotland.

The second key theoretical coordinate revealed is that of a natural representation and in particular as evidenced through the power of the Scottish topography and how this in turn translates to a topography of power. These dynamics were clearly evidenced through the data revealed in this research where the symbolic power of the Scottish rural landscape and its mountains, lochs and glens were readily conflated with notions of 'countryside', 'nation' and 'belonging'. Such notions of the rural idyll in a Scottish context appear from the findings of this research to be heavily influenced by nature, and in relation to the specific phenomenon of rural racism appear to operate at the convergence between cultural and natural representations of the rural as discussed by Neal (2009).

The third key theoretical coordinate revealed from this research is that of socio-cultural representations or in other words the consolidated social and cultural context within which

attitudes to discrimination are formed in a Scottish rural context, and through the social and cultural mechanisms of regulation through which power is exercised. Again this was evident from the data informed findings of this research which revealed the phenomenal levels of private land ownership, the cultural artifacts of white Scottish society and how racialised others were viewed as being out of place in the countryside through a range of white hegemonic narratives and the 'othering' mechanisms of social and cultural regulation.

These key theoretical coordinates of the historical, the natural and the socio-economic whilst not exclusive, appear from the findings of this research to be the three most important variables which inform dominant perceptions of Scottish national and rural identity, and which in turn inform the fourth key theoretical coordinate revealed which is the psychological. Again there was clear evidence of this from the findings of the research where historical, natural and socio-cultural factors were clearly evidenced as primary influencers of the hegemonic public attitudes leading to the psychological determination of 'self' and 'other'. Such images of difference are clearly based on the internalisation of such images into the psychological boundary consciousness through a process of abjection as discussed by Sibley (1995: 8) which then renders those not belonging as out of place.

However, in order for such conceptions of self and other to manifest beyond internalised racist attitudes into actual rural prejudice, racisms and discriminations it becomes clear from the findings of this research that a fifth 'situational' key theoretical coordinate is then required. This variable was found from the discourse analysis in particular to often involve

some form of stimulus or flashpoint and most commonly through the negative psychological assessment of transactions with others by the perpetrator through a process which Allport (1979) describes as the phenomenological emphasis:

> *'A person's conduct proceeds immediately from his view of the situation confronting him. His response to the world conforms to his definition of the world. He attacks members of one group because he perceives them as repulsive, annoying or threatening…'*
>
> *(Allport, 1979: 216)*

Collectively, these five key theoretical coordinates of the historical, the natural, the socio-cultural, the psychological and the situational provide a compelling framework through which to understand and explore ideas of otherness and the specific phenomenon of rural racism in southeast Scotland. Collectively these key theoretical coordinates and contextual influences also demonstrate the many ways through which power is created and maintained within white rural society and how challenges to the prevailing norm and diversity are actively suppressed.

In seeking to construct a bespoke paradigm which illustrates the theoretical orientation to the problem of rural racism in a Scottish context, the researcher has sought to hybridise the five key theoretical coordinates discussed with the 'othering' theories of the distinguished writers explored at the commencement of this sub-chapter, and also with Allports (1979) consolidated theories on the nature of prejudice. The result is a visual representation of the key theoretical coordinates through which the process of 'othering'

in southeast Scotland may be interpreted, and one which the researcher would describe as a conceptual 'pyramid of power and prejudice'. In advancing this visual paradigm, it is emphasised at the outset that all component parts need not be present and equally that it is neither mathematically nor hierarchically constructed. It is however based on reflections on the consolidated findings from this research and serves to call attention to the key theoretical coordinates and contextual influences revealed in terms of the dominant factors found to be influencing rural racism within the context of southeast Scotland. It also calls attention to the enormous complexity of the various factors which may inform psychological perceptions of 'self' and 'other' and helps to explain how subsequent psychological assessments of transactions with others as the object of stimulus lead to the 'othering' mechanisms of social exclusion as manifested through the specific phenomenon of rural racism in southeast Scotland.
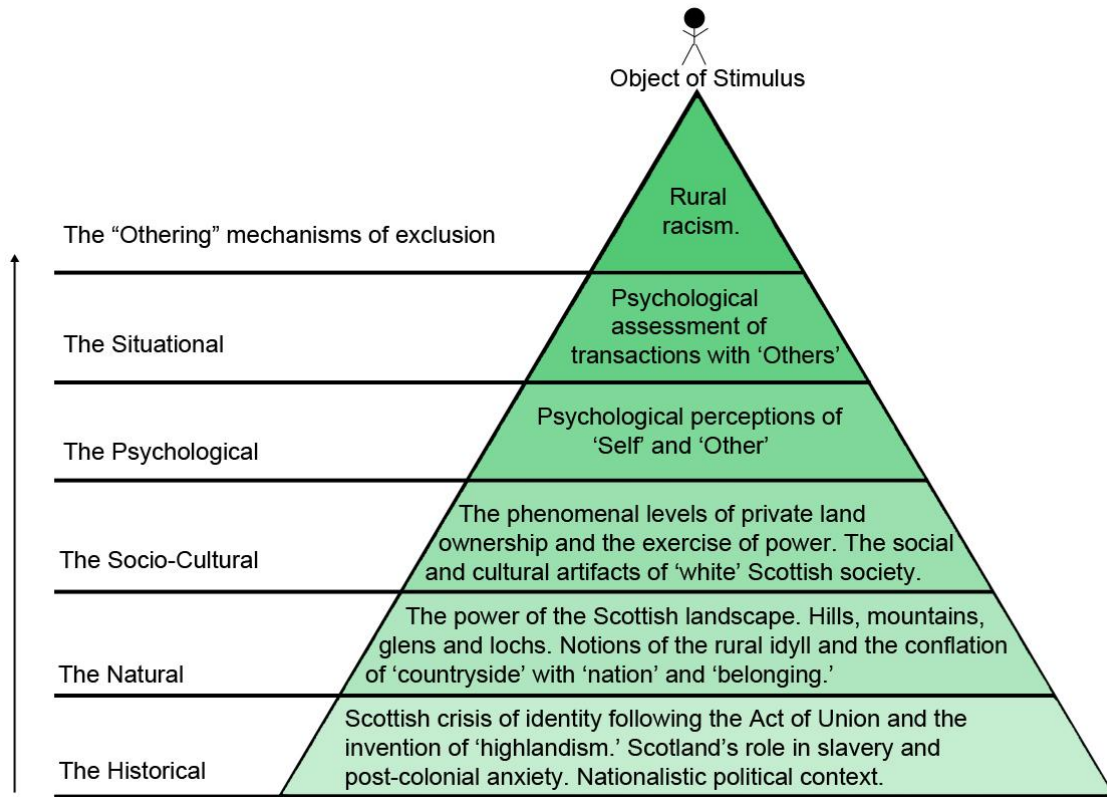
Figure 4   **'Pyramid of Power and Prejudice' - Key theoretical coordinates and contextual influences informing Rural Racism in southeast Scotland.**

7.7   Future Directions: The advocacy of Multiculturalism and a more Plural Rural

In drawing together the issues of the hegemonic rural attitudes in southeast Scotland and as compounded by the role of Agency a number of final concluding points can be made around the nature, extent and impact of the problem in southeast Scotland. Firstly, it is clear that the tiny visible ethnic minority population in rural areas of southeast Scotland makes them highly visible within predominantly white communities because of their skin colour but conversely invisible to policy makers who pursue 'numbers' rather than 'needs' based service delivery models. Secondly, there are very strong negative and

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discriminatory attitudes by a significant minority of white residents in southeast Scotland who do not view visible ethnic minority residents as 'belonging' to the rural community based largely on dominant white societal images and related notions of rural Scotland as a white landscape. Thirdly, there is clear evidence of the role of Agency in inadvertently perpetuating the institutional and structural dimensions of racism. Fourthly, it is clear that such institutional racism still prevails in the strategies of those rural agencies and that as a consequence equalities and diversity legislation is not yet fully integrated into their strategic objective setting or operating models. Fifthly, rural agencies do not have appropriate environmental scanning methodologies or research strategies in place by which to assess the nature, extent and impact of the problem. Sixthly, there is a general lack of a political voice or of support networks and agencies for visible ethnic minority residents in rural.

In considering these problematic variables, it becomes clear that such racisms in the rural are in essence a denial of humanity and such hegemonic perspectives can only be addressed through the advocacy and re-emphasis of multiculturalism and the delivery of a more plural rural where diversity, equality and human rights are respected by all. It also becomes clear that unless agencies can appreciate their own contributions to the problem and go beyond their existing simplistic analysis to understand the severity of the problem then visible ethnic minority residents will continue to be marginalised, excluded and derogated not only by individual racisms, but also paradoxically by those charged with a 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations in the rural.

In reflecting on the findings from this research into the problem of rural racism in southeast Scotland it is prudent to consider where this particular research leaves off and to signpost some viable directions in which future research into the specific phenomenon of rural racism might advance. As part of this reflection, it is also desirable to advance some data informed ideas on the specific areas that might benefit from required policy changes and also to articulate some thought on what those changes might be. A useful starting point in this regard is to consider the emergence of a new equalities landscape where from October 2010 the Scottish Government will introduce a new Single Equality Act (Scottish Government, 2010). This new law introduces, amongst other things, a new joint public sector equality duty (*ibid*: 1) to ensure equality 'when making decisions of a strategic nature about how to exercise its functions'. The new Equalities Act includes 'race' as a 'protected characteristic' and therefore the starting point for all future debates around policy in a Scottish setting must stem from this new universal public sector duty to promote diversity and protect human rights.

Against this context, and having discussed the failings of Agency, there are five key areas highlighted from the findings of this research in southeast Scotland that require to be considered from a policy perspective. Those areas of weakness commence firstly from the existing conceptual failings in approaches to understanding the problem in terms of the multidimensional nature of rural racism in Scotland. Secondly, to having clarity of understanding around the reasons why previous policy approaches may have failed. Thirdly, to approaching the problem from a more sophisticated multi-agency perspective and related to this the fourth issue of actually understanding what works, where, and in

what circumstances with the objective of implementing new systems of understanding and service delivery models based on the needs rather than numbers. Fifthly there is clearly an identified need to deliver policies that deliver real and meaningful support to victims.

7.7.1 Understanding the problem – improving the evidence base.

The first of those areas highlighted during this research are the existing weaknesses in approaches to understanding the problem. For as highlighted by this research, there is an identified need for rural agencies to move away from the design of top-down 'one size fits all' service delivery models based on simplistic geographic based notions of community to genuine 'needs based' engagement and bottom-up models of rural service delivery. By doing so, such agencies would gain a better general insight into issues *within* local communities and would also gain a better understanding of the needs of ethnic and other minority communities in the rural. Such capacity building approaches and research could enable rural policy makers to ethically discharge their fundamental legal, moral and civic obligation to the promotion of equality, diversity and human rights and might assist in curing the colour-blind approach to rural service delivery that currently prevails.

A key question in this regard is how to address the lack of data, which in turn leads to a lack of understanding through an inadequate evidence base upon which to apply an analytical framework to deliver a meaningful problem definition. In turn, the need for such an analytical framework raises further questions around what alternative environmental scanning methodologies might be best suited to enable rural agencies and policy makers to tap into the problems and needs of minority communities whilst also meeting the

complimentary needs of majority populations. Given the deficiencies of the existing quantitative data in this regard, it becomes apparent that further research is required in relation to alternative qualitative environmental scanning methodologies. In particular, there is a need to devise approaches that deliver meaningful nuanced and location specific outputs through individual neighbourhood level models of community engagement and consultation around both the needs of diverse communities and the corresponding design of rural service delivery models.

For the Police Service in the United Kingdom, this research has highlighted the limitations and deficiencies of the quantitative environmental scanning methodologies as advocated by the National Intelligence Model and therefore further policing research is required in order to consider additional local environmental scanning and intelligence gathering methodologies for the police to deploy when not simply scanning for volume hotspots, trends and patterns of offending. Such research is extremely important as otherwise the issue of rural racism will remain invisible to the volume focus of the police environmental scanning radar. Without such research solutions, it is also clear that the police service in the United Kingdom will also continue to fail in their 'General Duty' to promote effective race relations in the rural. Within a Scottish policing context, there is also a pressing need for ACPOS to review, research and equality impact assess the hierarchy of its existing strategic priorities as those discussed in this research clearly attach a higher value to the importance of intelligence gathering about certain visible ethnic minority communities than they do to tackling the issues of racism which blight their daily lives. Such conceptual inequalities in the thought processes of Chief Officers are clearly problematic

and unfortunately point to the continuing existence of institutional racism within the elite minds of Police leaders.

7.7.2   Understanding why previous policy approaches have failed.

In seeking to develop such new approaches to understanding the problem, this research has also demonstrated the need to do so from the perspective of understanding why previous and existing policy has failed and such approaches must also acknowledge the structural and institutional failings as discussed in the previous sub-chapter. In other words a key feature of any new policy approaches to the issues of rural racism should include recognition of the fact that such forms of social exclusion must be viewed not as a static process through the lens of individual reported incidents but rather as a complex set of relational processes:

> *'structural processes affect the whole of society in ways which create barriers which prevent particular groups from forming those kinds of social relationships with other groups which are essential to realising a full human potential. It is not that some groups 'exclude' other groups, but the processes affecting the whole of society mean that some groups experience social boundaries as barriers preventing their full participation in the economic, political and cultural life of the society within which they live'.*
> *(Madanipour et al. 1998: 17)*

As suggested by Madanipour (*ibid*), the issue of social inequalities needs to be understood in policy terms from the broadest possible context, for as this research has demonstrated

global, national and local phenomena combine in complicated ways to deliver the 'othering' mechanisms of exclusion. For these reasons of complexity it is also essential that policy makers avoid the pitfalls of simplicity, and that a broader focus is given not only to those who are marginalised and socially excluded but also to policy responses which seek to educate and change institutions and institutional practices rather than simplistically focusing on the problem from the perspective of victims and offenders.

7.7.3 Building Links – Improving Partnership Solutions

As revealed in this research, the issue of rural racism in southeast Scotland is complex and multidimensional and the problem has far reaching implications for society and for a range of agencies. The need to address the existing vacuum that exists in terms of holistic partnership solutions and policy is paramount, as is the need to involve visible ethnic minority communities and lay advisors in the design of local needs-based services. There is also a need for policy responses to be based on genuine multi-agency partnerships which can transcend the traditional silo mentality of local and central government so that holistic policy solutions can be designed in terms of prevention, intervention, enforcement and rehabilitation. Such partnerships also require introspective solutions which also consider the structural and institutional dimensions of individual agencies which may create unnecessary barriers to full participation.

In relation to addressing the most significant problem of the existing attitudes of many white residents then further partnership research is also required in order to establish how best to promote multiculturalism and the pursuit of a more plural rural through policy

solutions, and to how best to influence more positive and inclusive perspectives through education. As part of the focus on the education of individuals, there is also a need for more research which influences and permeates the institutional dimensions of agencies so as to illustrate and illuminate their structural role in perpetuating racism in the rural so that genuine equality, diversity and respect for human rights can replace the current construction of visible ethnic minority residents as a problem that requires some form of control. Such educational research should also reflect on how global political and media dimensions are increasingly played out in the Scottish rural landscape and based on an understanding of how national and international dimensions such as the twin trajectories of the war on asylum and war on terror have severe consequences for visible ethnic minority residents living in isolated and rural areas of the United Kingdom.

7.7.4   Developing Effective Policy – What works, where and in what circumstances

The need for effective policy approaches to the problem of rural racism has been a recurring theme expressed in the findings of this research and it is clear that this complex and multidimensional phenomenon cannot be understood through notions of a simple rural/urban distinction. Similarly, the findings of this research have also demonstrated that the targeting of broad geographic social policy solutions to general populations including visible ethnic minority groups have not worked in the past. Additionally, it becomes clear that there can be no single policy response to address the problems of *all* visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland for as this research has shown, to do so would be to erroneously assume a degree of homogeneity amongst all visible ethnic minority residents when this is clearly not the case. What is clear though is that rural racism in

Scotland affects people of Black, Asian, Chinese and other heritages and as shown by the findings of this research there are significant differences in the experiences of people from differing ethnic groups and of differing gender which raise important questions for policy makers in relation to the design of bespoke needs-based service delivery models.

In essence therefore it becomes clear that the development of successful policy is mutually dependent on the other variables discussed in this sub-chapter. Firstly, there is a need to understand the problem through the development of an appropriate information and evidence gathering system and to apply an eclectic analytical framework to the evidence-base to achieve a clear problem definition. From this, flows the need to develop capacity building around potential partnership solutions and to do so against the context of a clear understanding of where policy has failed in the past and for what reasons. This issue of 'understanding' local minority ethnic communities is highlighted by writers such as Pugh (2004) and in a Scottish context by de Lima (2006) who both highlight the need for the development of bespoke location specific policy to deliver local solutions based on actual needs rather than through traditional numbers based approaches. In this regard, the most fundamental failing revealed by this research is the lack of a corporate approach to racism in rural areas of southeast Scotland where despite their 'General Duty' agencies appear to have little or no understanding of what works, where, and in what circumstances and therefore appear to arbitrarily decide whether or not to participate in or contribute to the delivery of effective solutions. In doing so, they predominantly constrain any activity to the silo of their own agency. In this regard, the new Equalities Act 2010 and the new joint public sector duty to ensure equality when making decisions of a strategic nature about

how to exercise its functions will be a welcome addition to the Community Planning framework in Scotland[11] as this *joint* duty offers the potential of compelling the police and local authorities in particular to address their current partnership failings. It should also compel managers of local public services to consider how their policies, practices and procedures contribute to or negatively impact on local communities.

7.7.5   Supporting Victims

The disturbing findings of this research have revealed the need for new approaches to policy which address the true nature, extent and impact of the problem of rural racism in southeast Scotland and the profound impact that this has on the perceptions of community and safety amongst victims. In this regard, it is clear from the findings of this research, and as similarly observed by writers such as Bowling (1998), that the experiences of racism are not isolated one-off events but are actually part of a systemic and continual process of racism, harassment and social exclusion based on the exercise of power within (white) society.

Clearly then there is a need for new location specific policy responses which call for the provision of a range of coordinated local multi-agency services to support victims of rural racism within the context of local nuances. However, given the paradoxical challenge of addressing the structural and institutional dimensions of racism highlighted within agencies state, there is of course the corresponding question of how and on what terms such policy interventions can reach those groups already most excluded from and by those

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[11] The local Government in Scotland Act places a duty on public authorities to participate in joint community planning.

whom comprise mainstream society in the Scottish rural. This question is critical to the development of effective policy solutions to support victims for if those structural and institutional questions are not answered, there is a danger that visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland will become constituted as a permanently excluded group.

Finally, and considering the need for sustained programmes of education to dispel the myths and stereotypes about visible ethnic minority people, there is a pressing need for academics and others to consider how best to cascade existing and new understandings of rural racism beyond the confines of academia and into the realms of those rural policy makers and others charged with the 'General Duty' of promoting effective race relations in the rural. This is an important issue as despite the proliferation of equalities legislation in the United Kingdom in recent years and some significant advances, it is equally the case that many of these strategic advances have not yet achieved the operational objectives or outcomes for which they were intended.

Under final analysis, it becomes clear that issues such as rural racism have a profound and far reaching impact on the lives of visible ethnic minority residents living in remote and rural areas of southeast Scotland that lead to the active suppression of the diversity of those viewed as 'other'. As demonstrated by the data from this research, this complex process of 'othering' is neither simple in structure nor completely polarised in terms of outcome as it varies significantly in construction and impacts on different victims in very different ways and often as mediated through the distinctive and explicit role of place. Indeed it is clear from this research that such processes manifest along an entire

continuum of prejudice and experience that includes individual, structural and institutional dimensions. Within the context of rural southeast Scotland, the findings of this research have also demonstrated the real depth of that distinctive complexity where such racisms in a Scottish context are often mediated by Anglophobic, sectarian or xenophobic sentiment and how this also often results in very differing experiences for victims because of the multiple-bind of accentuating personal markers of identity such as 'race', class, gender or housing status. Yet despite some harrowing personal experiences, this research has also demonstrated that the majority of visible ethnic minority residents in southeast Scotland do have a largely positive view of rural life and such positive and integrative attitudes are extremely encouraging for the future. The research has also demonstrated that whilst there are clearly 'insiders' and 'outsiders' within rural space in terms of their lived experience, it is equally the case that many minority ethnic residents fall somewhere in between these two polar positions on the continuum of rural acceptance and have very different experiences. Therefore, it becomes clear that that ethnicity intersects with various other markers of identity and that these points of intersection place some minority ethnic residents especially vulnerable to the 'othering' process in the rural due to the multiple-bind impact of issues such as class, gender or housing status as discussed above.

Equally, it becomes clear that minority ethnic residents do not see themselves in the position of victims *per se*, and equally that there are a number of perceived positive connotations of being a rural 'outsider'. For as this research has demonstrated the tendency of powerful rural groups to dominate and control 'white' rural space is inevitably premised on perspectives surrounding a process of 'acceptance' and assimilation rather

than integration, and as this research has demonstrated the ephemeral nature of such acceptance or assimilation relies heavily on the idealised cultural, social and religious norms of 'white' Scottish society and can also be easily withdrawn. Therefore, the key advantages of maintaining this 'outsider' status clearly include issues such as the protection of the personal integrities of faith, culture and personal identity. For these reasons, it becomes clear that the perennial battle for equality, diversity and human rights and for a more plural rural is not only a struggle against racism, hegemony, power and inequality, but should be more adequately conceptualised as the universal fight against the suppression of diversity and the denial of the most basic of human rights.

LIST OF APPENDICES

1. **Public Attitudes Survey Questionnaire**

2. **Example of Quality of Life Survey**

Research Survey

Attitudes to Discrimination in southeast Scotland 2008

CIRCLE ONE ANSWER ONLY FOR EACH QUESTION:

1.   Generally speaking, do you think that there is a great deal of prejudice in Scotland against people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds, such as Black and Asian people, quite a lot, a little or none at all?

A great deal	1
Quite a lot	2
A little	3
None at all	4
Don't know	5

2.   And have attempts to give equal opportunities to people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds in Scotland, such as Black people and Asian people, gone too far or not gone far enough?

Gone much too far	1
Gone too far	2
About right	3
Not gone far enough	4
Not gone nearly far enough	5
Don't know	6

3.   I'm now going to ask you about some things, which some people say local councils in Scotland should be providing for their residents, but others believe, are a waste of taxpayers' money. Using this card, please tell me whether **you** think local councils should publish information about their services in other languages for people who don't speak English very well, or do you think this is a waste of money?

Councils **should** publish information about services in other languages	1
Publishing information about services in other languages is a waste of money	2
Depends	3
Don't know	4

4.   Do you think that people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds in Scotland, such as Black people and Asian people should have **more** say in decisions about how Scotland is run, or are things fine as they are?

They should have more say	1
Things are fine as they are	2
They should have less say	3
Don't know	4

5.   I would now like you to think about the kind of person you would like to have as your local MSP, that is your Member of the Scottish Parliament. Leaving aside what party they were in, would you prefer to have a Black or Asian MSP, a White MSP or would you not mind either way?

A Black or Asian MSP	1
A White MSP	2
Do not mind either way	3
Don't know	4

6.   Do you think that most people in Scotland would mind or **not** mind if one of their closest relatives were to marry someone from a different racial or ethnic background?

Would mind a lot	1
Would mind a little	2
Would not mind	3
Depends	4
Don't know	5

7.	And you personally? Would you mind or **not** mind?

Would mind a lot	1
Would mind a little	2
Would not mind	3
Depends	4
Don't know	5

8.	Taking all things into account, how much do you think that people from Black and Asian backgrounds in Scotland have in common with people from White backgrounds? (Please choose a phrase from this card).

A great deal	1
Quite a lot	2
Some	3
Not very much	4
Nothing at all	5
Don't know	6

9.	Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your own view … Scotland should do everything that it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice, or, sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups?

Scotland should do everything it can to get rid of all kinds of prejudice	1
Sometimes there is good reason for people to be prejudiced against certain groups	2
Depends	3
Don't know	4

10. Would you rather live in an area…

(Please choose a phrase from this card).

With lots of different kinds of people	1
Where most people are similar to you	2
Depends	3
Don't know	4

11. Do you think that people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black or Asian people provide Scotland with much needed job skills?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
Don't know	6

12. And, do you think that people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black or Asian people take jobs away from other people in Scotland?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
Don't know	6

13. Do you **personally** know anyone who is from a different racial or ethnic background to you such as Black or Asian people?

(Please **circle as many** boxes as apply to you)

No, I don't know anyone from a different racial or ethnic background to me	1
Yes - a member of my family	2
Yes – a friend I know fairly well	3
Yes – someone I do not know very well	4
Yes – someone at my work	5
Not sure	6

14.   And, do you think that people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black or Asian people fit in well to communities in rural areas of Scotland?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
Don't know	6

15.   And, do you think that local agencies such as the Council or Police should do more to deliver specific services for people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds such as Black or Asian people living in rural areas?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
Don't know	6

FINALLY – ABOUT YOU

CIRCLE ONE ANSWER ONLY FOR EACH QUESTION:

16.   Are You Male or Female?

Male	1
Female	2

17.   To which of the following age groups do you belong?

18 - 24	1
25 - 34	2
35 - 44	3
45 - 54	4
55 - 64	5
65 and over	6

18.   In which local authority area do you live?

Scottish Borders	1
West Lothian	2
Midlothian	3
East Lothian	4
Fife	5

19.   What is your highest level of educational attainment?

Degree	1
Professional Qualification	2
Higher	3
Standard Grade	4
Below Standard Grade	5
Foreign Qualification	6
None	7

20.   What is your current **personal** annual income?

£15 000 or less	1
£16 000 to £25 000	2
£26 000 to £39 000	3
£40 000 or more	4

21.   And, how would you say that you were coping financially?

Living Comfortably	1
Coping	2
Having Difficulty	3

22.   Which of the following best describes your economic position?

Professional	1
Working Class	2
Other	3

23.   Which of the following political parties are you most likely to identify with?

Scottish Nationalist Party	1
Labour	2
Conservative	3
Liberal Democrat	4
Other	5

24.   Which of the following best describes your religious beliefs?

Church of Scotland	1
Presbyterian church	2
Roman Catholic	3
Other	4
No religion	5

25.   How often do you attend a church or religious service?

Regularly	1
Rarely	2
Never	3

26.   How would you describe your nationality?

British	1
Scottish	2
Other	3

Research Questionnaire

Life in Fife – Have Your Say

Black and Minority Ethnic Quality of Life Survey 2008

Introduction

Thank you for taking time to fill in this questionnaire. The information you provide will help to find out what's important to the quality of life of Black and ethnic minority people living in Fife. Most questions can be answered simply by putting a circle round the number beside your reply.

Male 1   Female ⊙2

The questionnaire will ask questions about the following:

- Your views on the place where you live in Fife

- Things which may have affected the quality of life for you personally during the last year.

- The quality of life in Fife in general, and how safe you feel in the community.

Some questions ask you to write your comments in boxes. Please feel free to skip any of these where you have nothing much to say.

Your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence. The data will be held electronically and will be used only for statistical and research purposes by me as part of my work towards a PhD in Criminology with the University of Leicester. No information about you as an individual will be passed on to anyone else.

If you have any questions about how to fill in the survey, please contact me on the following telephone number:

Office hours: xxxx xxx xxxx

Other times: xxxx xxx xxxx

Where you live within Fife – Your Area

First, I would like to ask you about the **town or area** where you live.

Q1   Which of the following towns or areas do you live in?

Circle one answer only

Kirkcaldy, Burntisland, Kinghorn, Auchtertool, Cluny	1
Glenrothes, Markinch, Kinglassie, Thornton	2
Leven, Methill, Kennoway, Lower Largo, Upper Largo	3
St Andrews, Cupar, or other East Fife Villages	4
Dunfermline, Rosyth or Kincardine	5
Cowdenbeath, Lochgelly, Cardenden, Keltie or Benarty	6
Dalgety Bay, Inverkeithing, North Queensferry or West Fife Villages	7

Q2   How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with this **town or area** as a place to live?

Circle one answer only

Very satisfied	1
Fairly satisfied	2
Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	3
Fairly dissatisfied	4
Very dissatisfied	5
Don't know	6

Q3   If you are **not entirely satisfied with this town or area**, please say why:

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Q4   How long have you lived in your **present house** – and in **Fife**?

Circle one answer only in each column

	A - Years in present house	B - Years in Fife
Under two years	1	1
2 to 5 years	2	2
6 to 10 years	3	3
11 to 15 years	4	4
16 to 20 years	5	5
Over 20 years	6	6

Q5   Please tell me the best things about living in **your town or area**. Please say what the **very best thing** is, and then tell me about **two other good things**.

	The best thing (circle one)	Two other good things (circle two)
Family and friends	1	1
Community spirit and activities	2	2
Work, jobs, employment prospects	3	3
Housing	4	4
Attractive town or village	5	5
Easy to get around town or village	6	6
Safe place to live with little crime	7	7
Attractive surrounding countryside	8	8
Easy to get to other towns	9	9
Quality of education	10	10
Quality of health services	11	11
Quality of shopping	12	12
Sports and leisure facilities	13	13
Social facilities (for example, pubs, clubs and restaurants)	14	14
Arts and cultural facilities (for example museums, cinemas, theatres)	15	15
Time taken to travel to work	16	16
Cost of living	17	17
Attractive well maintained open spaces	18	18
No good things	19	19

Q6   Please tell me now about any **problems** with living in **your town or area.** Please say what the **main problem** is and then tell us about **two other important problems.**

	The main problem (circle one)	Two other important problems (circle two)
Unemployment	1	1
Lack of community spirit	2	2
Housing	3	3
Quality of education	4	4
Quality of health services	5	5
Lack of transport	6	6
Quality of local shopping	7	7
Quality or lack of sports and leisure facilities locally	8	8
Lack of prospects for young people	9	9
Low pay	10	10
Pollution, litter and dog fouling	11	11
Derelict land	12	12
Violent crime	13	13
Racism	14	14
Non violent crime or harassment	15	15
No problems	16	16

Q7   Please indicate if you know and mix with local white people in your area?

Circle one answer only

Don't know many people, don't mix	1
Know many people, prefer not to mix	2
Local people do not mix with us	3
Know and mix fully with local people	4

Q8   Do you have any other general comments regarding socialising with the local white people in your area?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

Q9   Do you feel that local white people or local groups are welcoming to you?

Circle one answer only

Yes	1
No	2
Some	3
Don't know	4

Q10   What makes them welcoming or not welcoming?

> ……………………………………………………………………………………………………
> ……………………………………………………………………………………………………
> ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Q11   Have you, or anyone in your household experienced any violence, threats or harassment in your local area?

Circle one answer only

Yes, frequently	1
Yes, occasionally	2
No	3
Don't know	4

Q12   Have you, or anyone in your household experienced any of the following in your local area?

Circle as necessary

Unnecessary staring	1
Being avoided	2
Verbal abuse or harassment	3
Damage to property	4
Violence	5

Q13   Overall, how would you rate **your own quality of life** over the past year?

Circle one answer only

Very good	1
Fairly good	2
Neither good nor poor	3
Fairly poor	4
Very poor	5

Q14   How safe or unsafe do you feel about each of the following?

	Very safe	**Fairly safe**	**Somewhat unsafe**	**Very unsafe**	**Not applicable**
Leaving your home unoccupied	1	2	3	4	5
Being alone in your home	1	2	3	4	5
Walking alone in your neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5
Travelling on public transport	1	2	3	4	5
Letting your children out alone	1	2	3	4	5

Finally, about you.

Q15   To which of the following groups would you say you belong?

Circle one answer only

Black Caribbean	1
Black African	2
Black Other	3
Pakistani	4
Indian	5
Bangladeshi	6
Chinese	7
Mixed Origin	8
Other (write in)	9

Q16   Are you Male or Female?

Circle one answer only

Male	1
Female	2

Q17   To which of the following age groups do you belong?

Circle one answer only

16 - 25	1
26 - 35	2
36 - 45	3
46 - 55	4
56 - 65	5
66 - 75	6
Over 75	7

Thank you very much for taking the time to give your answers. Please return the filled in questionnaire in the reply-paid envelope.

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