Researching Minority Ethnic Young People in Edinburgh and the Greater Glasgow Area

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Contents

CHAPTER ONE   Introduction

1.1   This research was commissioned by Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police to look at a number of issues in relation to policing and minority ethnic youth in the context of the development of Community Planning. It was recognised that the police face a number of challenges in responding to the changing face of Scotland's minority ethnic populations, particularly to the growth of what has been described as the 'third generation', who differ in many respects, particularly in their economic aspirations and social identities, from the first generation, who constitute the 'elders' of the communities with whom the police have built up strong contacts.

1.2   In addition it was recognised that, in comparison to England, there has been very little research into minority ethnic youth in general and into specific groups about whom relatively little is known. It is widely recognised that English research cannot be read across to Scotland as Scotland has had a different history and experience of minority ethnic settlement, and in relation to policing has not had the same background of urban disturbances and issues surrounding stop and search tactics. Indeed there have been assumptions that Scotland has had a history of greater tolerance.

1.3   It was seen as important therefore to gather more information about contemporary minority ethnic youth in Scotland to assist the Police in Community Planning. The research accordingly aimed, in relation to minority ethnic youth in Scotland and in particular the central belt, to:

- Establish baseline demographic information on ethnic origin, economic profile, age, and gender.

- Establish how they perceive their social and cultural identity, relations within their own ethnic group and inter relations with other groups of different ethnic origin.

- Identify their experiences of education, employment and of engagement with the political process at all levels.

- Identify experiences and aspirations of these youths with public and private service providers including the police.

1.4   Chapter 2 will describe the main methods utilised in the research, and Chapter 3, in the form of a literature review, will identify the key characteristics of minority ethnic youth in Scotland and summarise the main findings of academic and other reports and research in relation to the key themes. Chapter four will outline the perceptions of the key stakeholders interviewed by the research team including Police Officers and those involved in community organisations. The findings of focus groups carried out across central Scotland will be reported in Chapters five and six respectively, the first focusing on family and community experiences of minority ethnic youth including issues of racism, identity and generational differences and an outline of gender, inter group and geographic differences. Chapter 6 focuses on how minority ethnic youth view the response of police and community organisations to these challenges focusing on media and public information, education and community engagement through organisations and policing. Chapter 7 will draw out the key issues and implications.

CHAPTER TWO   **Methodology**

Introduction

2.1   There were three stages to the research. Stage One involved a review of statistical data on the size and known characteristics of minority ethnic groups in Scotland and a review of existing literature; Stage Two involved interviews with senior officials who play a key part in Community Planning Partnership processes relating to minority ethnic groups, senior police involved in developing, implementing and evaluating strategies relevant to these groups and key individuals who have experience of working with and for minority ethnic young people. The interviews were to be an important source of information in themselves but they were also to act as a knowledge base for the development of the research tools at Stage Three. Stage Three comprised focus groups with a range of young people from minority ethnic groups and was designed to explore their experiences and concerns as well as proposals for change in Community Planning Partnership strategies.

Stage One: Statistical and Literature Review

2.2   The review of literature examined published research and documents from research institutes, academics and practitioners over the last ten years. It offers a summary of what is, and is not, known about minority ethnic groups, community responses and policing in Scotland and the UK where it has relevance for the current study. The literature review contributed to the study by mapping emerging themes in the literature relevant to the research issue. It informed the development of research tools at Stage Two and Three as well as providing the statistical and research context for the study.

Stage Two: Key Informant Interviews

2.3   Quantitative research often leaves many questions essential to the evaluation and development of social policy misconceived or inadequately understood[1]. Because of its facility to examine subjects in depth, qualitative research can provide a unique additional tool for studying what lies behind or underpins behaviour and attitudes, and for studying the dynamics that affect outcomes of policy. One significant missing area in our knowledge of second and third generation minority ethnic youth and how policing and community strategies address their concerns is their views on the issues and how they relate to the views of key policy makers and deliverers in Community Planning Partnerships. The aim of this research has been to make a contribution to this missing element through qualitative research. The report documents and analyses the experience and views of young people and key policy informants and gives prominence to their own words. The study is based on data obtained from interviews as well as focus groups of young women and of men, of

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[1] J Ritchie & J Lewis (eds) (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice.* London: Sage

different ages, of different religious backgrounds, in different geographic locations.

2.4 Fieldwork at Stage Two comprised strategic interviews with senior officers in the Strathclyde and Lothian police forces and key informants from the communities in which the young people live to define key characteristics of current and preferred responses to perceived concerns of second and third generation ethnic minorities and to inform the development of research instruments for the focus groups.

Interviewees

Glasgow	Edinburgh	TOTAL
12 4 from Strathclyde Police 2 from Community Planning Partnership 6 Key stakeholders from national, city and local organisations	5 4 from Lothian & Borders Police 1 from Community Organisation	17

2.5 Full details of the research participants and interview schedule are included in Appendices 1 and 2. A summary is provided above.

2.6 Interviewees were selected by the research team in consultation with the commissioners of the research – the Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police forces. Senior officers from Community Planning Partnerships were selected to illuminate how the experience and challenges of life as an minority ethnic youth in Edinburgh and the Greater Glasgow Area is understood and incorporated into policy; senior police personnel were selected to examine how they view challenges and experiences of minority ethnic youth and their views on current and potential policing strategies to address the above; key informants from organisations representing minority ethnic youth were selected for interview on the same topics and because they could offer insight into how current and future policy could address the issues facing these young people in Edinburgh and the Greater Glasgow Area.

Stage Three: Focus Groups

2.7 Fieldwork at Stage Three comprised twelve focus groups with 90 young people from ethnic minorities born in the UK. Participation was by no means taken for granted and a small incentive of a £10 voucher or free dinner was provided in recognition of the investment of time and energy made by the young adults involved. Participants in focus groups were encouraged to fill in a participant profile questionnaire. (See Appendix 8)

2.8   The focus group participants' average age was 20, most were educated to at least Highers level, occupations were varied but included student, administrative officer, engineer, retail worker and youth justice worker.

2.9   Full details of the research participants and focus group topic guide are included in Appendix 3 and 4. A summary of focus group characteristics is provided below.

Focus Groups: Summary

	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Lanarkshire	TOTAL
Gender	2 Mixed: 1 Male: 1 Female	1 Mixed: 5 Male	1 Male: 1 Female	12
Ethnicity	Chinese, Pakistani, Somali, South African	Pakistani, Indian	Pakistani	
Generation	Mostly 2nd and 3rd generation, some 1st	Mostly 2nd, a few 1st	Mostly 2nd, some 1st	

2.10   The research team used a number of existing community based contacts to recruit participants into the study. Considerable effort was invested in developing good working relationships with key contacts during the first stage of the research in order to ease access to service users. Typically this involved several telephone calls and a number of pre-focus groups visits. Youth groups and existing organisations such as the Pakistani Society in Edinburgh were a useful point of contact because they could assist in the recruitment of participants and negotiate informed consent of young people. Although clearly not all young people attend youth groups and increasing consultation of youth groups might have the effect that groups become even more self-selecting, with only the most confident and perhaps middle class youth willing to be regularly involved in this kind of self-exposure, every attempt was made to ensure that a wide range of backgrounds of participants was achieved.

2.11   Focus groups were comprised, on average, of between 6 and 7 people. Information leaflets were made available for onward distribution to participants. (See Appendix 5 & 6) The research team worked to the ethical guidelines of the British Sociological Association, with each participant giving informed consent. (See Appendix 7) All focus groups were tape-recorded (with consent) and were preceded by a brief summary of the scope of the research and the interview. Interviews took place in a location convenient to participants. Typically this was a regular meeting place for the group involved and included a mosque, youth group venue, restaurant and city centre

community venue. Two members of the research team were present at all the focus groups, one acting as facilitator, the other as scribe. Professional transcribing services were used for most of the sessions.

2.12 Focus group research provides an ideal tool to explore diversity of opinion and experience. In this study they provided an excellent forum for generating discussion about the experiences of the public safety and other concerns of second or third generation minority ethnic young people. A core topic guide was used as the basis for discussion (See Appendix 4). This covered two main areas of interest: experiences and concerns plus perceptions of existing and potential responses. *Experiences* covered neighbourhood and community, racism and identity and generational differences. *Responses* explored participants' views of existing responses of the media, police and community organisations as well as their suggestions for change. The core topic guide was supplemented with specific probes and techniques in order to ensure wide-ranging discussion of the issues that participants felt were significant. In this way the focus group method could avoid some of the skews, areas of neglect and regrettable assumptions that limit some existing research.

CHAPTER THREE   Literature Review: Needs and Aspirations of Minority Ethnic Youth in Edinburgh and the Greater Glasgow Area

Introduction

3.1   This review summarises existing statistical information relating to young minority ethnic people in Scotland with a particular focus on those who are Scottish–born in the central belt. Prior research about minority ethnic experiences of education, employment, intergenerational issues and identity is summarised. Finally, the review will outline research in relation to policing and public sector provision in Scotland. In line with the aims of this research, the focus is on Scotland although the main themes and issues have been more extensively researched for the UK as a whole.

Minority Ethnic Youth - Census Data[2]

3.2   Statistically, it is difficult to identify Scottish-born minority ethnic youth aged between 16 and 25. One census category identifies people from different ethnic groups who were born in Scotland, but includes people of all ages. Another category identifies minority ethnic people aged between 19 and 29, but includes first generation minority ethnic people (that is, migrants) as well as those who are Scottish-born. A further limitation of census figures is that the demographic profile of Scotland has changed significantly since the 2001 census, mainly due to new migrants.

3.3   In 2001, Pakistanis formed the largest minority ethnic group in Scotland, followed by Chinese, Indian, 'Mixed ethnic' and 'any other' background, as can be seen from the table below.

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[2] Office of the Chief Statistician (February 2005) *Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census. Summary Report*. Scottish Executive; Office of the Chief Statistician (February 2004) *Analysis of Ethnicity in the 2001 Census. Summary Report*. Scottish Executive.

Scottish Population by Ethnic Group, 2001

2001	%of Total Population	% of Minority Ethnic Population
	Scottish Population by Ethnic Group, 200l	
Indian	**0.3**	**14.79**
Pakistani	**0.63**	**31.27**
Bangladeshi	**0.04**	**1.95**
Chinese	**0.32**	**16.04**
Other South Asian	**0.12**	**6.09**
Caribbean	**0.04**	**1.75**
African	**0.1**	**5.03**
Black Scottish or other Black	**0.02**	**1.11**
Any Mixed Background	**0.25**	**12.55**
Other Ethnic Group	**0.19**	**9.41**

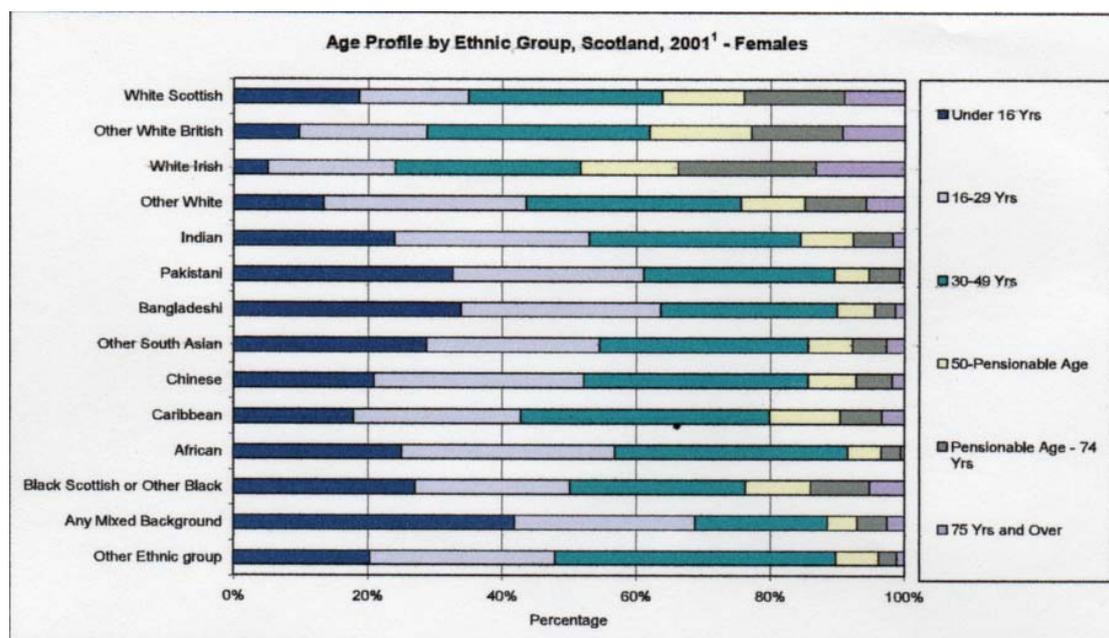Adapted from: General Register Office Scotland (GROS) – 2001 Census.

3.4   Minority Ethnic groups (except people of Caribbean origin) in Scotland have a younger age distribution than white groups and a younger age profile than those in the UK. The following two tables provide information for age and gender by ethnic group. Minority ethnic groups generally have a younger age distribution.

Age Profile by Ethnic Group, Scotland 2001 – Males
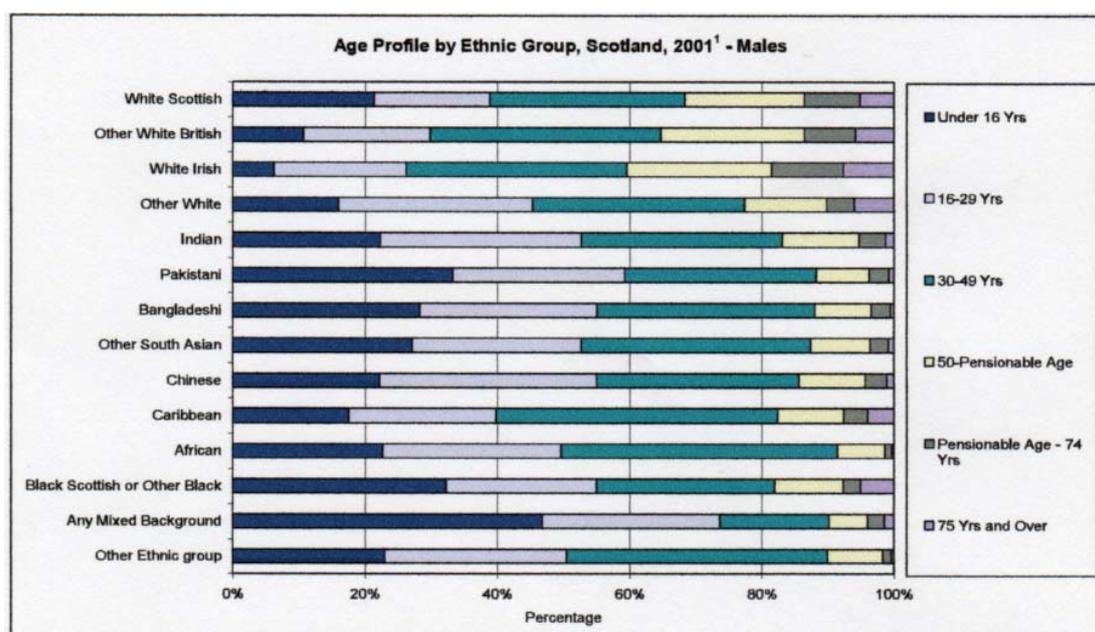
Adapted from: General Register Office Scotland (GROS) – 2001 Census.

Age Profile by Ethnic Group, Scotland, 2001 – Females

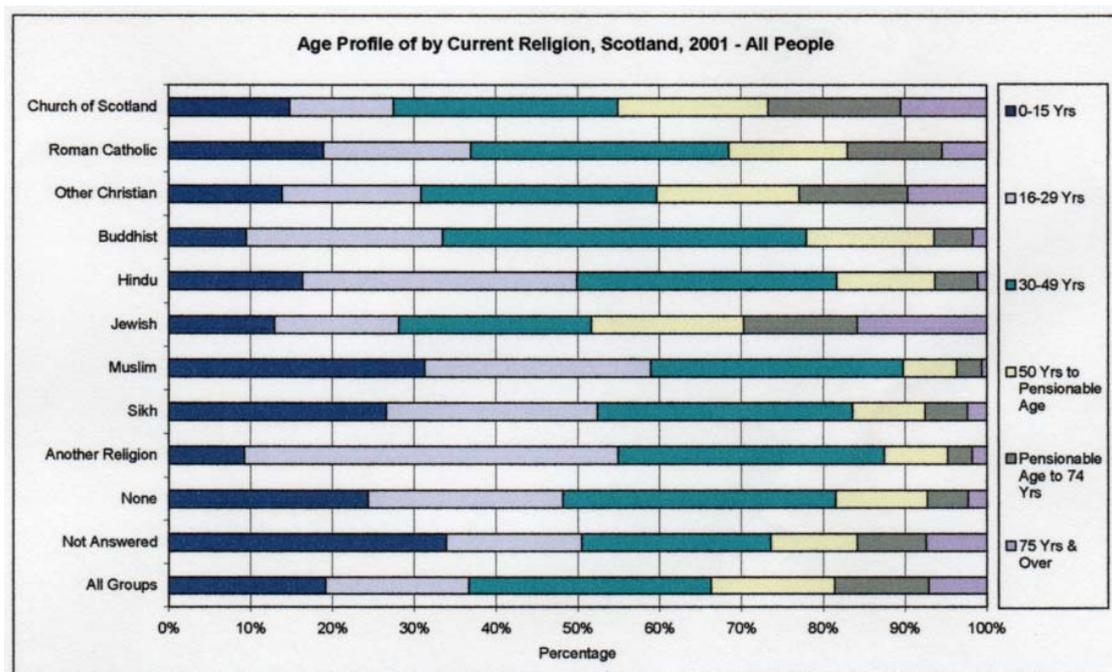Adapted from: General Register Office Scotland (GROS) – 2001 Census.

3.5   Ethnic groups have different proportions born in Scotland. Fifty eight per cent of 'Any Mixed Background', 55.4% of 'Black Scottish or Other Black' and 47.4% of Pakistanis were born in Scotland, whereas only 18% of Africans were born here, reflecting a more recent African migration.

3.6   The high percentage of people who described their ethnicity (or, for under 18s, had their ethnicity ascribed by their parents) as 'Any Mixed Background' and 'Black Scottish or Other Black' suggests that these categories may be more likely to be selected by second and third generation minority ethnic youth. 'Any Mixed Background' has the youngest age structure of all minority ethnic groups with 44% being under 16.

3.7   Some minority ethnic groups are more likely to marry outside their ethnic group than White people. For example, more than 50% of marriages with at least one African partner are African/White, 43.3% with one 'Other South Asian' partner are Other South Asian/White and 25.6% with one Indian partner are Indian/White (in each of these groups these are mostly partnerships of minority ethnic men and white women). A sizeable proportion of Scottish-born minority ethnic youth, especially children who have an African, Other South Asian or Indian parent, will have a parent of another ethnicity (most commonly White). On the other hand, Pakistanis are, after Whites, the least likely to marry outside their ethnic group.

Religious Groups

3.8   The largest religious grouping in Scotland is Christian (more than 60%) followed by 'no religion/not answered', Muslim (42,600 people), 'another religion' (27,000), Buddhist (6,800), Sikh (6,600), Jewish (6,400) and Hindu (5,600). These categories overlap with ethnicity. Two thirds of Muslims in Scotland are Pakistani, while 86% of Sikhs are Indian as are 82% of Hindus. Those who indicated they follow 'another religion' are overwhelmingly White. The most ethnically diverse religious group is Buddhist. Muslims have the youngest age profile of any religion, followed by Sikhs and then those with no religion, the age profile of Christian and Jewish groups being much older.[3] Hindus are least likely to have been born in the UK, with 70% born outside as were 50% of Muslims and 45% of Buddhists.

The table below shows that in the under 30 age group over half of those who assign their religion are either Muslims, Hindus, or opposed to less than 40% who are Roman Catholic and less than 30% who are Church of Scotland.

Age and Current Religion in Scotland, 2001

Adapted from: General Register Office Scotland (GROS) – 2001 Census.

3.9   Minority ethnic groups differ in relation to religion, with Chinese people most likely to report no current religion (as do 36 % of people who consider themselves 'Mixed') whilst Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are the most likely to respond that they are currently practising their religion. Specific religious

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[3] See also Cecelia Clegg and Michael Rosie (2005) 'Sex and age profiles' in *Faith Communities and Local Government in Glasgow*, Scottish Executive Social Research, p. 60.

patterns of labour market activity are also discernible. The Muslim unemployment rate, for example, is 13%, nearly double the rate for Scotland.

Specific Locations

3.10   In 2001, most minority ethnic people in Glasgow lived in the wards of Pollokshields, Maxwell Park, Strathbungo, Govanhill, Kingston and Woodlands.[4] The largest concentrations of non-white ethnic groups in Edinburgh were in the city centre, particularly in areas with high student populations. The wards with the largest proportion of minority ethnic residents were Southside, Marchmont and Newington. Indian people tended to be concentrated to the north of the city and Pakistanis and other South Asians in Broughton, Lorne, Calton and Merchison. Chinese people tended to be concentrated from the centre to the south of Edinburgh.[5]

3.11   Muslims and Sikhs are most heavily concentrated in Glasgow City (42% and 36% respectively) and Buddhists and Hindus are most likely to live in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Forty nine per cent of Jewish people live in East Renfrewshire with the majority of the rest living in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Within Glasgow, the Kelvin area contains relatively large proportions of people from 'other Christian', Buddhist, Hindu and 'Another religion' communities, while Muslim, Jewish and Sikh people tend to live in the Southside.[6] It should also be noted that some minority ethnic groups, particularly those most recently arrived, are mostly White and Christian, for example, people from Eastern European countries. It has recently been reported that there have been 'significant numbers' of migrants arriving in Glasgow since 2004 from A8 countries including Slovakia and Poland, reflected in School admissions.[7]

Minority Ethnic Youth in Scotland

3.12   Research into minority ethnic communities in general and about 16-25 year olds in particular has been slow to develop in Scotland. In 2001 a Scottish Executive report noted the lack of accurate and up to date data about the experience of minority ethnic communities and also noted concerns within

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[4] Fairley, Archie (September 2004) *Digital inclusion and young people from Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in Glasgow. A Strategic Approach*, Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance and Scottish Enterprise (Digital Inclusion Team), p. iii.

[5] City of Edinburgh Council (undated) *Key Demographics of the Residents of the City of Edinburgh 2001. An analysis of the 2001 census results.* Available at http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/city_living/city_facts_and_figures/

[6] Clegg and Rosie, p. 57.
[7] BBC News: http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/scotland/glasgow_and_west/5029746.stm published 31/05/06

these communities about inadequate services and relations with the police.[8] Since then, there has been some research in central Scotland, with the Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance (GARA) having provided important information about minority ethnic youth experiences, employment and education.[9] Some recent academic research has also reflected media and public interest in young Muslim men.[10] Research has tended to focus on Glasgow, with limited research about other areas.

Issues for Minority Ethnic Youth

3.13   All young people face the challenges of the transition from childhood to adulthood, with minority ethnic youth facing additional challenges.[11] They display different profiles of employment and education. Some groups have distinctive patterns of family formation with young South Asian women being expected to marry in their twenties whilst African-Caribbean young women have children in their teens and early twenties before starting higher education or a career.[12] There are important differences within ethnic groups, in relation, for example, to class, as well as across them and generational issues have a different content for different groups. Identity issues involve the added element of negotiating ethnicity and in many cases, religious beliefs. Like all youth, many young minority ethnic people appear disengaged from politics, though arguably they are engaged but in a different way.[13]

The 'Third Generation'

3.14   The popularly used phrase the 'third generation', especially in relation to the Muslim community, has been little researched, particularly in Scotland, with

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[8] Reid Howie Associates Ltd (2001) *Researching Ethnic Minorities in Scotland*, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, p. 44.

[9] For example, Derek Heim, Christine Howe, Rory O'Connor, Clare Cassidy, David Warden and Lisa Cunningham (2004) *A longitudinal investigation of the experiences of racism and discrimination by young people in Glasgow*, Department of Psychology, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance; F. Rutherford, G. Netto and F. Wager (2004) *Employment Aspirations and Experiences of Black/Minority Ethnic Young People and their Parents in Glasgow*, Summary of research commissioned by Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance (GARA) in 2003; Alan Barr and Jan Beattie of the Scottish Community Development Centre (2003) *Towards effective policy and practice for black and minority ethnic young people*, Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance.

[10] See for example publications by Peter Hopkins; Saeed et al (below).

[11] Clare Cassidy, Rory O'Connor and Nike Dorrer (2006) Young people's experiences of transition to adulthood. A study of minority ethnic and white young people. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, p. 1/2.

[12] Enneli et al, p. 34.

[13] Peter E. Hopkins, (2007) Global events, national politics, local lives: young Muslim men in Scotland *Environment and Planning A* 39:3.

the exception of a chapter in a 2000 survey of family mediation services.[14] One anonymous author described their conception of the 'third generation' on an internet website in 2005, in a discussion of the recent rebellion by French born youth with African and Muslim parents:

> The immigrant generation doesn't burn things down, because they'll get deported, and at some level, they worship the empire. The second generation tends to be self-conscious and "goes along to get along" and escape poverty. The third generation finds doors to integration closed, and demand entry. They'll burn that door down.[15]

In Britain it has also been suggested that, in contrast to their elders, minority ethnic young people are increasingly articulating a home grown Asian-British identity, which amounts to a fundamental generational change[16], and this may also relate to a growing 'Scottish' identity.

Education and the Transition from School

3.15 Across the UK some minority ethnic youth have been found to be more successful than White in accessing Further and Higher Education but less successful in gaining employment although this is only just beginning to be monitored in Scottish schools.[17] In addition to work by GARA, one recent study compared the experiences of a group of young people growing up in Scotland before and after the transition from high school.[18] Minority ethnic groups have different educational profiles. For example, according to the 2001 census, 26% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils in Scotland aged 16-34 had no qualifications compared with 14% of Whites, but only 12% of Indians and Caribbeans. At graduate level, all minority ethnic people out-perform White Scottish, especially Indians at 41% compared to White Scottish at 16%. British research has found that some groups, such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, have a bipolar distribution with some having no qualifications and others having qualifications beyond GCSE – 'either they do not get there, or they go beyond it'.[19] In addition to having lower levels of educational attainment, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people with a degree have the same risk of poverty

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[14] Pankaj, Vibha (2000) Chapter 9 – Changing Attitudes of Second/Third Generation. In *Family Median Services for Minority Ethnic Families in Scotland*, Family Mediation Scotland for Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.

[15] http://la.indymedia.org/news/2005/11/138882_comment.php

[16] Brah, Avtar (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora. Contesting Identities*, Routledge, London and New York, p. 43.

[17] Arshad, R., et al (2005) *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland (MEPRESS)*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Education Department.

[18] Cassidy et al, 2006.

[19] Enneli et al, p. 14.

as a white person with no qualifications at all.[20]   However, research in Scotland has shown that the educational attainment of females at standard grade is higher than that of males and that the attainment of females from minority ethnic groups is markedly higher than that of females from white ethnic groups as can been seen in the table below.

Educational Achievement at Standard Grade by Combined Ethnic Groups and Gender.
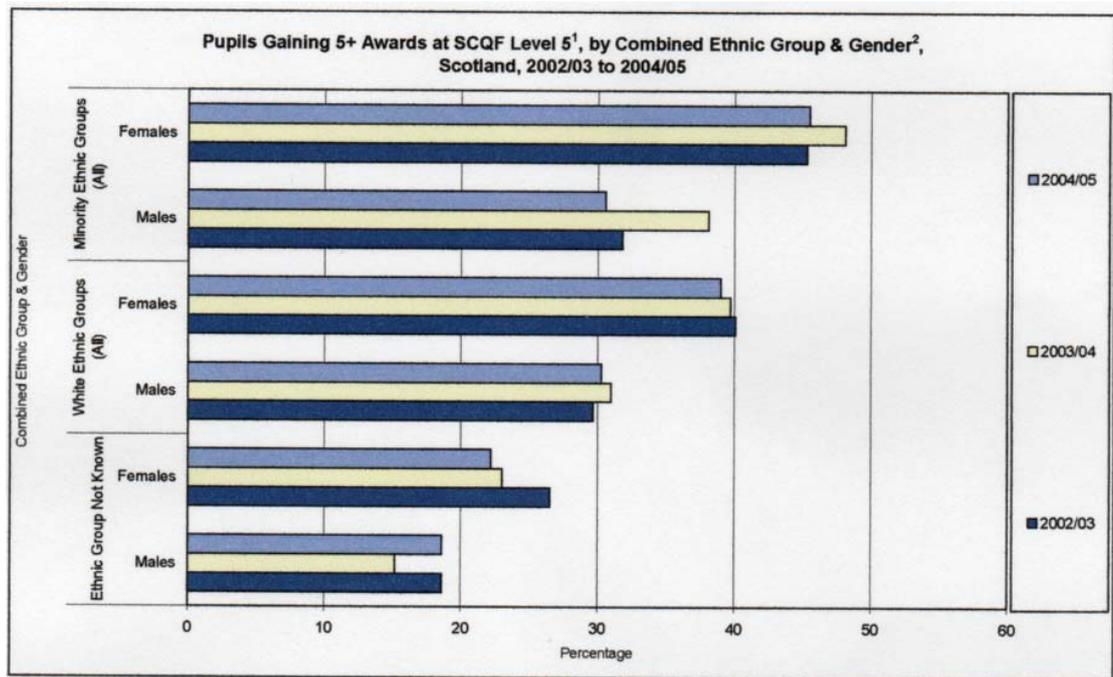
Adapted from: General Register Office Scotland (GROS) – 2001 Census.

3.16   The 2001 census suggests that minority ethnic students choose a narrower range of higher education courses than white students. Indian students are much more likely to study medicine and dentistry, Chinese and Caribbean students are more like to study Business Administration, and Pakistanis are more likely to study information technology than Whites.

3.17   Research in 2006 found that 'not doing well in exams' either at school or university was the most common fear for the near future among the minority ethnic youth they surveyed. For Pakistani participants moving away from home carried the risk of diverting attention from educational goals and/or religious commitments. Young Indian people were less likely to move away to

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[20] Chahal, Kusminder (2000) *Ethnic diversity, neighbourhoods and housing*, Foundations, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, p. 3.

study and Chinese participants expressed concern that they were not yet independent enough to leave home.[21]

Employment

3.18   There is an increasing polarisation between well-qualified young people from privileged backgrounds and other groups who are disadvantaged and socially excluded. Minority ethnic youth are more likely to find themselves in this latter group and they are disproportionately represented among the British Government's NEET category (not in education, employment or training).[22]

3.19   Whilst in England some minority ethnic groups are more successful than Whites in employment, in Scotland all minority ethnic groups perform less successfully in the labour market. Some groups such as Bangladeshis perform especially badly. In 1996 a CRE testing exercise in the north of England and Scotland to investigate the extent of racial discrimination in the youth employment market found Asians were three times less likely to obtain an interview and African Caribbeans five times less likely compared to white testers.[23]

3.20   In 2000, the Scottish Executive noted that minority ethnic reasons for choosing certain life routes had been largely under-researched.[24] In some communities (for example, Chinese and Pakistani), parents have high expectations for their children to do well at school and become professionals to avoid the hard working life they, as first generation migrants, experienced. Some minority youth are very dependent on their families, friends and communities for finding their first jobs.[25] Young minority ethnic Scots surveyed in 2003 were concerned more than any other issue with accessing the labour market and with discrimination, with anecdotal evidence suggesting subtle and indirect discrimination. Researchers also noted a significant difference between groups in Edinburgh and Glasgow with employment not being raised as an issue in Edinburgh (with a buoyant labour market and low unemployment) whilst in Glasgow it was a high priority.[26]

3.21   Employment and generational issues are interrelated, and recent Scottish research found that family and community expectations played a greater role

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[21] Cassidy et al.

[22] Enneli et al, p. vii, 19.
[23] Reported in Reid Howie, 2001, p 45.

[24] Scottish Executive (2000) *Excluded Young People Strategy Action: Companion Document to Full Report*, Edinburgh, The Stationery Office.

[25] Enneli et al, p. 49.

[26] Blake Stevenson Ltd (2003) *Focus Groups with Minority Ethnic Communities*, Scottish Executive Social Research, p. 59/60.

for minority ethnic than for white participants.[27] Parents in minority ethnic communities show a clear preference for particular jobs.[28] Recent research by GARA indicated some tension between parents and children in respect of whether to continue to further or higher education, over particular careers favoured by parents and whether to leave Glasgow or not (this issue particularly relevant to young women). There was a consensus that minority ethnic parents want 'what's best' for their children. [29]

3.22   While it has been suggested that 'ethnic enclaves' can operate as a parallel economy, as a resource not available to all disadvantaged groups but also contributing to young people's relative disengagement with the broader labour market[30], GARA research suggests that working in the family business can be an opportunity rather than a trap. This research also stressed the importance of older sibling support in the transition to employment. It was also found that young people may not share their parent's belief that qualifications lead to secure jobs, stressing the importance of networking outside the community.[31] Like the young Turks researched in Bradford, young Scots may have different goals and benchmarks to their parents, feeling that their parents' view of success is less relevant in Britain today.[32]

Inter-generational Issues

3.23   It has been suggested that some differences between Eastern and African and Western European cultures in relation to, for example, respect for elders gradually wane in the second and third generations.[33] Fathers and mothers may play different roles in the family, with some fathers being less accessible due to long working hours and mothers becoming a 'go-between' between 'relatively intransigent fathers and independent-minded children'. Some research cautions against an over-emphasis on 'cultural conflict' between young people and their parents, suggesting that 'discourses of gang-culture, forced marriages, drug abuse, inter-generational conflict, resistance to integrating and speaking English and being Muslim are all routinely mobilised

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[27] Cassidy, Clare, Rory O'Connor and Nike Dorrer (2006) *Young people's experiences of transition to adulthood. A study of minority ethnic and white young people*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

[28] Barr and Beattie.

[29] Rutherford, Netto and Wager (2004).

[30] Enneli et al, summary.

[31] Rutherford, Netto and Wager.

[32] Enneli et al, p. 46.
[33] Pankaj, 2000.

to explain away racism and justify dubious policies.'[34] minority ethnic parents actively engage in their children's lives and have different views - interviews with parents for NHS Greater Glasgow about minority ethnic youth drug and alcohol use found views ranging from 'traditional' to those who were keen to challenge stereotypes.[35] Some parents have expressed concern about their children's identity in the face of ethnocentricity in schools,[36] and others have asked for more support in relation to, for example, information about job opportunities.[37]

Identity – National and Ethnic

3.24   In 1999 Saeed et al noted that minority ethnic perceptions of national and ethnic identity had not been researched in Scotland but highlighted the rise of a 'post-British' identity amongst Glasgow Pakistani teenagers.[38] More recent research found that an important feature of minority ethnic youth's identity was their Scottishness, to some indeed this was more so than with their white peers,[39] and a recent series of articles has explored the relationship of Scottishness to other aspects of identity, particularly religion and masculinity.[40] There have also been recent attempts to explore the ambivalences, amongst all groups living in Scotland, of belonging in post-devolution Scotland, along with an increasing interest in the nature of, for

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[34] Paul Bagguley and Yasmin Hussain (April 2003) 'The Bradford "Riot" of 2001: A Preliminary Analysis', paper presented to the Ninth Alternative Futures and Popular Protest Conference, Manchester Metropolitan University.

[35] Bakshi et al, p 86.

[36] Arshad, R., et al (2005) *Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland (MEPRESS)*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Education Department.

[37] Rutherford et al, 2003. BBC Children in Need, BBC Scotland and BEMIS, supported by Youth Counselling Services and Careers Scotland and the Active Life Club (12 October 2004) *Summary Report: 'Making it happen for Children and Young People from Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in Scotland*, Grosvenor Hotel, Edinburgh, p. 2, also noted the need for a good ongoing communication channel with students and parents to overcome language barriers to provide support in relation to careers issues.

[38] Amir Saeed, Neil Blain and Douglas Forbes (September 1999) 'New ethnic and national questions in Scotland: post-British identities among Glasgow Pakistani teenagers' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22:5, pp 821-844.

[39] Cassidy et al.

[40] Peter E. Hopkins, (2007) Global events, national politics, local lives: young Muslim men in Scotland *Environment and Planning A* 39:3; (2007) Young people, masculinities, religion and race: new social geographies *Progress in Human Geography* 31:2; (2007) 'Blue squares', 'proper' Muslims and transnational networks: narratives of national and religious identities amongst young Muslim men living in Scotland *Ethnicities* 7:1, pp 61-81; (2006) *Youthful Muslim masculinities: gender and generational relations.* Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 31:2, pp 337-352; (August 2004) Young Muslim Men in Scotland: Inclusions and Exclusions *Children's Geographies* 2:2, pp 257-272.

example, 'British' identities.[41] minority ethnic youth in Scotland, as do other youth, therefore choose and negotiate their identity and 'community'.

Religious Identity

3.25   Following the events of September 11 2001 in New York and the London bombings in July 2005, religious identity has become of increasing importance for minority ethnic youth. Participants in one study spoke of racial and religious incidents interchangeably and this study also suggests that public perceptions have increasingly linked ethnicity and religion and that the balance has shifted from racial towards religious discrimination. Muslims were considered to be under most pressure, followed by Jewish, Sikh and Hindu communities.[42]

3.26   Islam is central to Pakistani and Bangladeshi identities, again said to be more significant since 2001 and 2005. For some, religious identity has become more significant than ethnic identity and younger Muslims have a stronger knowledge of Islam than their parents, more pride and a positive orientation towards their ethnic group. Many young Muslim men in Scotland believe that markers of their religion are associated with a lack of job opportunities.[43] Peter Hopkins suggests that minority ethnic youth are not simply 'torn between two cultures', but that their ethnic identities are negotiated and may be a source of strength. Ethnic identity issues are also not unique to young Muslim men, and support has been expressed for 'hypenation' in the reconfiguration of plural identities in Britain though Hopkins notes that notions such as hybridity and identity can, despite the intention, feed essentialism.[44]

Muslim Youth

3.27   Despite the high profile of Muslim identity and fears of Muslim political activism, there has been little research in Britain on Muslim communities.[45]

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[41] Tristan Clayton (February 2005) '"Diasporic Otherness": racism, sectarianism and "national exteriority" in modern Scotland' *Social and Cultural Geography* 6:1, pp 99-116.

2005; *Citizenship and Belonging: What is Britishness?*

[42] Clegg and Rosie, 2005, p. 42/35. Jon Garland, Basia Spalek and Neil Chakraborti (2006) Hearing Lost Voices. Issues in Researching 'Hidden' Minority Ethnic Communities *British Journal of Criminology* 46, make a similar point.

[43] Hopkins, 2004, p 262.

[44] Saeed et al; Cassidy et al; Hopkins (2007), 'Blue Squares…'. See also Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (2001) 'Hybridity, So What? The Anti-hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition' *Theory, Culture and Society*, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 18: 2-3, pp 219-245.

[45] Jon Garland et al, p. 427.

Amir Saeed has noted that as a Scottish-Pakistani recent levels of hostility towards Muslims have made him question his notion of hybridity:

> *Increasingly I experience and see Muslims having to emphasise their Britishness. It seems they are given a stark choice: either be British or be Muslim. In short, there is a demand that we assimilate, not just integrate.*[46]

After 9/11 young Muslim men in Scotland were forced to negotiate their religious, ethnic and national identities.[47] Scottish Muslim identity both claims Scottishness and also excludes it in relation, for example, to drinking or modesty in dress and Scottish Muslims are bound up in a complex web of in/exclusions imposed by the young men, their families and other people.[48]

Muslim Youth and Generational Issues

3.28   It has been suggested that contemporary Muslim youth have different political views to the older generation particularly about the degree to which they should be quiet about some issues to avoid criticism. In a Glasgow meeting, soon after the London bombings of 2005, some young people wished to condemn the bombing but also condemn what was happening in Iraq and Palestine. Older participants argued this wasn't the time to raise these issues.[49]

3.29   Negotiation with parents about cultural identity may also involve religious issues, in, for example, disagreements about how to live a moral Islamic life. In Glasgow, dars, weekly religious lessons held by women to read and understand the Koran have emerged, part of a rediscovery of religion by Muslim women of all ages.[50] Others have noticed similar trends,[51] in which Islam and its role in individual life is differentially interpreted by foreign-born parents and host-country-born youth, with concerns about justice focussed on 'home' (for parents) or 'host' (for youth). For youth, lesser ties to the 'home' country may result in a more pan-ethnic Islamic identity.[52] For example,

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[46]   Amir Saeed, *My Jihad: A personal reflection*, Soundings 2004. http://www.lwbooks.co.uk/journals/articles/saeed.html

[47] Hopkins (2004), p. 257. See also Karen Qureshi and Shaun Moores (1999) 'Identity remix. Tradition and translation in the lives of young Pakistani Scots' *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2:3, pp 311-330.

[48] Hopkins (2007) 'Blue Squares…', p. 71.

[49] Murdo Macleod, 'Anger and suspicion provide barriers to bride-building', *Scotland on Sunday*, 2 July 2006.

[50]Siraj, Asifa (2006) *The Islamic Concept of Masculinity and Femininity*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, Scotland

[51] Hopkins (2007), 'Blue Squares…'.

[52] P. Mandaville (2002), 'Muslim Youth in Europe' in S. T. Hunter (ed.) *Islam, Europe's second religion: the new social, cultural and political landscape*, Westport, CT: Centre for Strategic and

young Muslim women in many countries are adopting the veil more readily due to the attacks on Islam:

> *By means of fashion, language and discursive practices, Muslim youth, women, intellectuals and professionals mix two cultural codes and accustom it to their needs and the public they inhabit.*[53]

Hopkins' study reports that young Muslim men in Scotland connect to a global network of identifications which includes family linkages in Asia and Africa.[54] Enneli et al found that young Turks in London would not consider moving to another city in Britain whereas they would move to cities outside Britain, suggesting that their mental map reflected the extensive Turkish diaspora and that they had more knowledge about some cities outside Britain than about cities within Britain.[55]

Policing

3.30   In England, concerns about relationships between the police and minority ethnic communities date back to the 1960s since when there has been a considerable volume of research detailing what Bowling and Phillips describe as 'oppressive' policing of minority communities.[56] The situation in Scotland has been very different with its different profile of minority ethnic groups and a different history of police relationships with minority ethnic communities. Furthermore, there has been considerably less research in Scotland about policing in general, and policing minority ethnic communities in particular, with one commentator noting that there is a lack of 'meaningful' research into operational policing at the community level.[57] Nonetheless, such research as there is raises similar concerns to those in England and Wales about differential responses to white and minority ethnic youth, the use of stop and search powers, widely regarded as one of the most contentious issues[58], and about police responses to racial victimisation, particularly in the wake of the McPherson report into the investigation of the death of Stephen Lawrence in London, which has impacted on policing throughout the UK.

International Studies and Praeger, pp. 219-230. Cited in Maj. Tara Leweling (May 2005) Exploring Muslim Diaspora Communities in Europe Through a Social Movement Lens: Some Initial Thoughts *Strategic Insights* 9:5, p. 5.

[53] Nilüfer Göle (Fall 2003) 'The Voluntary Adoption of Islamic Stigma Symbols' *Social Research* 70:3, p. 822.

[54] Hopkins (2007), 'Blue Squares…'.
[55] Enneli et al, p. 46/7.
[56] Bowling B and Phillips C (2003) Policing Minority Ethnic Communities in Newburn T (ed) *Handbook of Policing* Cullompton: Willan Publishing

[57] Donnelly, D (2005) 'Policing the Scottish Community' in D.Donnelly and K.Scott (eds) *Policing Scotland* Cullompton: Willan Publishing
[58] Bowling and Phillips see note 57

3.31   Some of these issues are reflected in the findings of an independent Scottish review[59] which found that many minority ethnic people accept verbal racist harassment as part of everyday life – so much so that they would not normally consider reporting it to the police. They also noted a perception on the part of some police that racial crime is prioritised over other crime along with some doubt and uncertainty about race issues and an unwillingness to do anything involving minority ethnic communities.[60] It further suggested that while the police engage with minority ethnic leaders they may be less likely to engage with the wider community.[61] Community liaison officers, it found, were a step in the right direction and their contacts should be built upon.

3.32   Research published in 2002, arising from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, confirmed that 'stop and search', does not have the same salience in Scotland.[62] Nonetheless, it has become a part of everyday life for youth in urban areas. There was no evidence that minority ethnic people were specific targets but anecdotal evidence indicated that youth from all ethnic communities, 'appear alienated from the police, do not trust them, and feel that they are harassed'. Stop and search was found to have a negative impact on young people who found interactions with the police threatening and a cause of fear and anxiety, with children as young as six being reported to have been searched. The report found good examples of professional practice, but also found evidence that some officers may avoid contact with people from minority ethnic communities for fear that they may be labelled 'racist'. Some youth were very positive about the approach of community officers working with them in their schools, for example in Pollok. Some white youths complained that police are afraid to search minority ethnic youth for fear of being labelled racist and therefore argued that it is white youth who are unfairly treated.[63]

3.33   The policing of racist incidents has been reported to be particularly problematic in England, with problems arising from police reluctance to define incidents as racist, which in turn produced a reluctance to report such incidents[64] Research in 2003 about the policing of racist incidents in Strathclyde, carried out by Goodall et al, looked at this issue. There had been

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[59] Review team of Law at Work (chair Doris Littlejohn) (July 2005) *An Independent Review into Policing and Race Relations in Scotland*, report for the Commission for Racial Equality in Scotland.

[60] Review team of Law at Work, p. 56, 49.

[61] Garland et al (p 428) note that the 1999 Macpherson Report underscored the importance of police consultation and dialogue with local BME communities yet in practice community leaders are often out of touch with, or ignorant of the concerns of those on whose behalf they are speaking, e.g. youth and women.

[62] Reid Howie Associates Ltd (2002) *Police Stop and Search among White and Minority Ethnic Young People in Scotland*, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.

[63] Reid Howie Associates Ltd.

[64] Phillips, C and Bowling, B (2002) 'Racism, Ethnicity, Crime and Criminal Justice' in M.Maguire, R.Morgan and R.Reiner (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Criminology 3rd edn.

an increase in reported racist incidents, explained by some officers as a result of the inclusion of incidents involving the use of words like 'chinky' and 'Paki', which to them falsely inflated the figures as they are not intentionally racist. Yet, minority ethnic people felt that officers who felt qualified to decide what is 'really' racist could be unsympathetic. While most police felt that the increase in reported incidents reflected increased reporting representatives of community agencies and specialist police officers felt that they did reflect an increased incidence of events. Some police believed giving greater attention to racism over sectarianism amounts to 'special treatment'. Subsequent to this report, Strathclyde Police issued Standard Operating Procedures on Incident Attendance[65]. This grades incidents requiring attendance from 1, which requires immediate attendance and involves an immediate threat to life, to 5, which can be dealt with by telephone. While the need for flexibility is recognised, incidents violence and those involving racism are to receive a high priority.

3.34   The report also noted differences between young people and their elders. While there was a general reluctance to report racist incidents, younger people claimed that they were more willing to name racism and to speak about their experiences than their elders.[66] Both middle-aged and young interviewees felt that some elders believed they did not have 'the right' to complain or that there was no point causing trouble in someone else's society. One officer stated that in large established Asian communities older members were supportive of the police while the second and third generation assumed officers would be racist. Along with being less afraid to label incidents as 'racist' and to challenge perpetrators directly, young people were however afraid of being made conspicuous and labelled a 'victim', leading to under-reporting especially in schools. Younger people also emphasised the role that they themselves could play in successfully managing or exacerbating incidents.

3.35   The Goodall report also found that young Asians in Glasgow and in large towns felt that police officers could be culturally insensitive that young Asian boys and men were harshly and over-policed. As young Muslims do not drink and many have few alternative leisure options they tend to gather in streets and parks. They are interested in cars and 'cruising around' and a common complaint was that the police misinterpret these gatherings and pick on minor violations of motor regulations.[67] Some felt that minor alcohol-fuelled behaviour by White youth was policed with a degree of indulgence, while high-spirited behaviour by young Asian men was taken more seriously, illustrated in complaints about the policing of Eid compared with Christmas.

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[65] Strathclyde Police 'Incident Attendance: Standard Operating Procedures' Version 1 June 2005

[66] Goodall, Kay with Rabia Choudri, Rose Barbour and Shona Hilton (2003) *The Policing of Racist Incidents in Strathclyde*, University of Glasgow, p. 14/15.

[67] This focus on minority ethnic youth in cars has also been reported in England and Wales as a factor in stop and search (Bowling and Phillips op cit)

There was also a fear, amongst Asian people in Glasgow, of being seen to be 'playing the race card' and of a backlash. Many young Asians in Glasgow felt they were singled out by police officers – moved on, searched and questioned more often than Whites. In this, they echoed the view of young white people in deprived areas who also expressed a lack of confidence in the police. minority ethnic youth themselves feel threatened by youths (more often White) who binge drink in the streets.[68] In general, community officers were preferred by young minority ethnic people over other police.[69]

3.36   Critical attitudes towards the police have been found in other reports. In one 2003 report, a number of participants believed that the police felt that 'the Asian community is a hassle to police'.[70] In January 2004 the charity Youthlink Scotland expressed concern that the Anti-Social Behaviour Act would further the negative image and criminalisation of young people, suggesting that young minority ethnic groups already 'feel victimised and targeted by the police'.[71] A 2004 Glasgow study found that while Pakistani and White youth had similar levels of confidence in the police, concern about crime was consistently higher for minority ethnic than white youth and Pakistani young people were particularly concerned about racism in their local areas.[72] Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders police reported that racist attacks increased sharply after 9/11.[73]

3.37   A long standing theme in research on young people and policing, also found in the Edinburgh crime survey in the early 1990's,[74] is that the tendency of all young people in urban areas to 'hang about with friends' brings them into contact with both local residents and police. This is echoed in recent reports [75], with the loss of long-standing community centres resulting from regeneration also being identified as a problem. Issues also surround the availability of facilities appropriate for minority ethnic communities and the

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[68] BBC Children in Need, BBC Scotland and BEMIS, supported by Youth Counselling Services and Careers Scotland and the Active Life Club (12 October 2004) *Summary Report: 'Making it happen for Children and Young People from Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in Scotland*, Grosvenor Hotel, Edinburgh.

[69] Goodall et al.

[70] Blake Stevenson Ltd (2003) *Focus Groups with Minority Ethnic Communities*, Scottish Executive Social Research.

[71] Youthlink Scotland (January 2004) Antisocial Behaviour (Scotland) Bill Stage 1, Evidence to the Communities Committee, Edinburgh.

[72] Heim et al.
[73] Noted in Hopkins (2004).
[74] Anderson S, Kinsey, R, Loader, I and Smith, C (1994) *Cautionary Tales: Young People, Crime and Policing in Edinburgh* Aldershot, Avebury
[75] Reid Howie Associates Ltd (2002); Goodall et al

extent to which white and minority ethnic communities need different things from their community facilities.

Service Provision

3.38   In 2002 it was reported that contacts between police and community-based organisations were now at their highest level and appeared to be mutually beneficial, though participants felt levels of police and other services were inadequate and better in more affluent, less troubled areas.[76] Also, although some organisations have a Scotland-wide remit, in practice services often tend to focus on the Central Belt. Short term funding has caused problems for service provision.[77]

3.39   The need for documentation and understanding about the experiences of different ethnic groups has been raised, together with cautions about the danger of relativism. It is suggested, for example, that it may be in the interest of different groups to offer services which are not specifically targeted.[78] A recent NHS study on minority ethnic youth use of drugs and alcohol, for example, stressed the importance of flexibility. Minority ethnic youth in their study said mainstream services can be better as smaller groups may feel better looked after than in an inappropriately targeted service which may also make anonymity impossible.[79]

3.40   Community Scotland has recently issued an important warning for service providers. They note a growing group within minority ethnic communities suffering from 'consultation fatigue' who wish to see more sweeping changes to the services they are offered in light of the views gathered:

> *This group is beginning to question the sincerity of service providers in seeking their input into service provision as they continue to see few changes being made. Especially when consulting on sensitive or personal topics such as employment or health, service providers must feed back the action they have taken measured directly against points raised at the*

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[76] Reid Howie Associates Ltd (2002) *Police Stop and Search among White and Minority Ethnic Young People in Scotland*, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, p. 75.

[77] McKenna, Celia (2004) *Local Race Equality Work in Scotland: Mapping Exercise of Work Conducted by BME Voluntary Organisations*, BEMIS, p. 7, 16.

[78] Garland et al, p 430.

[79] Neelam Bakshi et al (August 2002) *Drug and Alcohol Issues Affecting Pakistani, Indian and Chinese Young People and their Communities: A Study in Greater Glasgow*, NHS Greater Glasgow, p. 77/8.

> *consultation in order to maintain their credibility among minority ethnic communities.*[80]

Conclusions

3.41   This exploration of existing information and research confirms the need for this research, by confirming the paucity of up to date research, in Scotland, on the demographic characteristics of the wide range of minority ethnic groups in contemporary Scotland and in particular, on smaller and recently arrived groups. There is also relatively little qualitative information about the different experiences of these groups in relation to education, employment and the transition to adulthood, about intergenerational issues and differences and between groups. Moreover, in comparison to England and Wales, there has been very little research on issues involving policing such as policing in communities, stop and search and the policing of racist incidents. The funding of this current research by the Police in itself indicates their recognition of the need for further research.

3.42   Research does however confirm the distinctiveness of Scotland and the significance of generational change. Minority ethnic youth in Scotland may adopt hybrid identities and 'Scottishness' is an important part of this, as also, for some, is religion. The so called 'third generation' may be developing different educational and employment aspirations and may be more prepared to recognise and combat what is perceived as 'racism' and to develop complex relationships with their 'parent' communities, the wider Scottish community as well as, for some, a wider religious 'community'. More research is therefore needed to unravel these complexities and to explore variations between groups and variations of gender and class.

3.43   Research also confirms that, in comparison to England and Wales, Scotland has experienced fewer high profile problems in relation to policing, however the experience of racist or religiously motivated incidents can be an everyday one, albeit not always reported to the police. Research also supports concerns about the designation of and police responses to 'racially motivated' incidents. Groups of young people irrespective of ethnicity come into contact with the police 'on the street' and have negative experiences of stop and search, with some minority ethnic youth and indeed some white youth, complaining of 'over policing'. This in turn raises important issues about facilities and support in relation to all youth, minority ethnic youth and the extent to which such provision should be general or specific.

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[80] Communities Scotland (2006) 'Feedback' in *Community Engagement with Minority Ethnic Communities How to Guide*, Communities Scotland.

CHAPTER FOUR   Key Stakeholders' Perceptions

This chapter summarises the views of key stakeholders regarding the challenges faced by minority ethnic youth born in Scotland and the appropriateness of current responses to those challenges. It provides considerable insight into the ideas and institutions of Community Planning Partners and their desire for change in the way they support and respond to the issues facing minority ethnic youth.

Characteristics of Key Interviewees:

4.1   Six senior police officers with a remit for equality and diversity in Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police Forces were formally interviewed. Three stakeholders in Glasgow's Community Planning Strategy and personnel from ELREC, who were all involved in working for/with minority ethnic communities generally, including minority ethnic youth work, were also formally interviewed. A further four formal interviews were carried out with prominent community stakeholders who were actively involved in working with minority ethnic youths.

Informal interviews were also carried out with the Assistant Chief Constable Community Planning in Strathclyde and ad hoc opportunities to talk with local community figures were seized when the opportunity arose.

These interviews were very informative on the issues faced by the police and their community partners in maintaining safer communities in a multi-cultural Scotland and served to highlight issues for consideration in the research process. The rest of the chapter draws from the perceptions and actual words of the interviewees to highlight the challenges they face in responding to the needs of 2nd and 3rd generation minority ethnic young people.

Stakeholders' Views of Challenges Faced:

4.2   These interviews with representatives from the police forces revealed that the need for research was driven by two main issues. Firstly, Community Planning, which is based on the principle of social inclusion as:

> *Improving public services and making a difference to the lives of people who use them are the most important challenges for the Scottish Executive, local government, voluntary and community groups and other public bodies in Scotland. The Community Planning process in acting as a framework for making public services responsive to, and organised around, the needs of communities, has a key role in ensuring these challenges are met.*
>
> *The two main aims of Community Planning can be described as:*

- *Making sure people and communities are genuinely engaged in the decisions made on public services which affect them; allied to*
- *A commitment for organisations to work together, not apart, in providing better public services.*

These aims reflect both reality – problems that require action rarely come in neat packages – and expectations – people rightly expect quality services which are flexible and responsive to their needs.

Community Planning partnerships bring together key participants, and so can act as a 'bridge' to link national and local priorities better. This should be a three-way process whereby local Community Planning partnerships can influence national direction, but also can help to coordinate the delivery of national priorities in a way that is sensitive to local needs and circumstances. Local or neighbourhood priorities should also be able to influence the priorities at the Community Planning partnership level.[81]

Respondents identified a need for the police to know and understand the community they serve is essential for policy development. It is argued by community partners that what is needed if Community Planning is going to work is;

'a sustained strategy to engage BME youths over the long term…a new structure [for] understanding all minority ethnic groups…[including] Urban and Rural communities as their needs are different….. [and while the] Police are trying and there is a willingness to make Community Planning work … the commitment at the top level is not materialising at the lower end.'

This was seen to be very frustrating as it was also stated that

'there is lots and lots of very good police officers that you come across, that do really good work but there is far too many that don't….[and] …all the good work you're trying to do is straight out the window through the actions of one person.'

The Police respondents reported an awareness of institutional racism and identified their pro-active response in addressing this through training programmes but acknowledge that there is still some way to go in addressing the perceptions and actions of some police officers.

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[81] THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND ACT 2003 Community Planning: Statutory Guidance, Scottish Executive, Edinburgh 2004.

4.3   Secondly, respondents reported an awareness amongst the Police that established networks within the minority ethnic communities were not necessarily representative of the needs of young minority ethnic men and women. The police officers interviewed recognised that they were:

> *'engaging with the wrong people because we are actually engaging with the middle-aged almost self-professed leaders ….. whom I am convinced really don't know what really is happening in the community amongst the young people.*

Community partners also pointed out that many of the

> *established networks only engage with those at the centre and not with those who are really isolated in these communities.'*

Established police networks with 1st and sometimes 2nd Generation minority ethnic elders are likely to raise issues which are very different from those which concern the young people who were the focus of this study. They were often referred to as 3rd generation who were born in Scotland, have lived all their lives and been educated in Scotland and therefore not only have different needs, but also different aspirations and understandings of equality from those of their parents and grandparents and are less accepting of some aspects of their lives.

One of the main challenges, identified by both community partners and police alike is how to:

> *'reach out and engage and communicate with members of the public, the community, whether they are members of the diversity community, the BME, the elderly or just the community.'*

Our respondents argued that if the demands of community planning are to be met it is important to reach these youths to explore their lives, aspirations and needs in a multi-cultural Scotland. While it was welcomed that the Police were seen to be becoming more actively involved with young people at the community level, the difficulties for policing and support workers were reported as two-fold:

Community partners reported that some youths perceive the police as **'always dictating what they do'** but that this culture amongst youths needs to be refined. It is necessary for the youths to understand the role of the police as being **'for common cause for all of the community'** and it is not simply a case of **'them and us'.** Also

> *'youngsters tend to be invisible'… 'they are disengaged from their communities, politically and socially'… 'trying to tap into young BME people is very difficult'……. 'they sit silent'*

especially when they are included in the same discussions and meetings as their elders.

4.4   It was recognised that much good work is being done by the police at community level - for example, through their work with all youths in a variety of educational and community settings: Choices for Life Programmes and Campus Officers Initiatives and with minority ethnic groups in particular in community consultations and sports activities; one community partner commented that the relationship between the police and minority ethnic groups is **'exceptional'** and **positive'.**   However, the police officers interviewed acknowledged that engaging with minority ethnic young people is a difficult role for them to negotiate as policing by consent relies on officers who are:

> ***'ordinary citizens working with the cooperation of the communities to deliver policing ……..[and while] the act of engagement is very good in Scotland … you can't take it for granted, it won't necessarily always be there and it also varies when you look across communities……Diversity is about retaining the footing of consent to police……..it is not about political correctness, it is not about trying to be everybody's friend, we are still involved in trying to catch the bad people and protect our communities.'***

The Police respondents also recognised that they are less good at delivering results which impact on quality of life indicators and inter-generational issues which can erode trust and confidence. For example they reported that they:

> ***'don't do so well on the lower level, high volume crimes that actually impact on communities….. quality of life, anti-social type, your vandalism, theft, shoplifting, bike thefts, etc.'***

Crimes amongst young minority ethnic men in particular were seen to not get reported and that is something that the police identify as ***'really serious'*** and that they must ***'try to resolve'*** quickly to find a way to restore confidence and trust in the police. It was reported that in ethnic minority communities in general crime is under-reported or hidden. This included racist and gendered crimes, which all informants recognise may be to do with lack of faith in the police to deal with these effectively but was also understood as possibly originating from cultural issues.

4.5   The relative invisibility of minority ethnic women within society as a whole and their own ethnic communities in particular was commented on by female support workers. They report that there is no ***equality between boys and girls,*** and that women are traditionally subordinated in minority ethnic family relations, even more so where arranged marriages are the cultural norm. This is thought to be increasingly difficult for young Scottish born minority ethnic

girls to accept. However, exploring these issues with them is often difficult. The need for

> *'youth work to target both boys and girls… as they tend to engage in different types of activities - ...boys engage more in activity based resources like sports whereas girls engage more in discussion based activities based around relationships and fashion.. -'*

was supported by community partners although some informants have questioned whether it was a lack of willingness to be involved, or a lack of facilities for women to be involved with, that has led to their invisibility.

4.6   Similarly, issues of sexuality – lesbian or gay – were perceived as being

> *'phenomenally difficult'*

for minority ethnic young men and women to deal with.

4.7   Furthermore there was a perception amongst all informants that the nature of racism is changing institutionally and socially from the overt racism of name calling to the more covert racism manifested in the way that people look and deal with young minority ethnic men and women. This was identified by the police in particular as being much more difficult to deal with

> *'because it is sly and sleekit.*

It was also remarked, particularly by the community partners, that children are better at integration than youths and adults and there tends to be more integration in Primary than in Secondary Schools and beyond. They suggest this should be built upon in Primary Schools and that cultural issues should be introduced into education at an early age. This it was felt should be fully explored. In the central belt of Scotland the education system was perceived as

> *'still very poor at encouraging BME youths to pursue higher education, degrees or career paths'.*

4.8   A realisation within policing was reported of a growing feeling of isolation and disenfranchisement amongst minority ethnic youth groups and of a need for them to:

> *'understand the anger, resentment and frustrations ….. of youth dissatisfaction'*

and that these feelings have been heightened post 9/11 and 7/7 as these youths have perceived an increase in racism and increased surveillance.

4.9   Meeting the requirements of Community Planning and the changing dynamics of minority ethnic communities was seen to have encouraged the police to adopt a diverse approach in engaging with the minority ethnic young community, through joint working with providers of other service such as Health and Social Work, Schools and recreational activities.   However, there is a growing awareness amongst community partners that there is a gap between intentions, policies and the reality of policing at street level.

Current Views and Potential Policing Strategies

4.10   Cultural identity was felt by a number of respondents to be an issue for young minority ethnic men and women. The reasons for this were seen to be that they may neither be accepted here, in Scotland - their homeland - as being Scottish nor in their cultural homeland of Pakistan or India for example. Some young people were considered to have:

> *'no clear sense of identity: it is very, very difficult to live in that kind of no man's land'.*

Issues were also raised by the informants of assimilating Scottish culture with religious beliefs – for example, the wearing of the veil for women and the sporting of the beard or turban for men; and engaging in sporting activities which are not always culturally sensitive in their service delivery. There is a dearth of facilities which young men and women from minority ethnic backgrounds can engage in. A number of police respondents felt that whilst typically Scotland is reputed to be friendlier than other parts of the UK the comfort felt within their own communities acts as a barrier to wider integration as engagement is a two-way process:

> *'the police can encourage engagement but the community needs to respond to that and say what they feel and what they need'.*

For example, as discussed later in the report, there are perceived tensions between the youths and the police in relation to the celebrating of Eid. However, both the police and some community workers and groups have recognised this and are involved in engaging with the youths in discussing and organising future celebrations.   The issue for the police is that the perceived spontaneous nature of past celebrations makes policing for the whole community difficult and creates tensions for them in meeting the demands then placed on their services.

4.11   Anecdotal evidence from one of the community workers suggests that the level of racism tolerated in schools for example is

> *'outrageous; you know things are smoothed over in the way that we would never do within this service'.*

4.12   Geographical differences between the East coast and West coast of Scotland and within each of these regions were commented on by all respondents. For example, police and community partners in the South of Glasgow, particularly Govanhill, identify it as an area with a high concentration and mix of minority ethnic families. It was also the opinion of some informants that youth gang culture is more of an issue in Glasgow than in Edinburgh.

4.13   Our respondents felt that Scottish born minority ethnic youths not only have different experiences socially and educationally from their parents but are also experiencing differences on entering work.   They are reported to have different employment aspirations but it was noted by the police that some

> *'kids who have not succeeded educationally but have not bought into the idea of following in the family trade………'*

are difficult to deal with. It was hoped that they could be accommodated in the education system and encouraged to prosper on their own ability, but currently the system is seen as failing some of them.

4.14   All informants were in agreement that relations within and between communities are not helped by the media attention given to racial and minority ethnic group issues. They were seen to present very negative images, which may sell papers, but do not help in developing good community relations or in fostering trust with these communities.

4.15   Most of our respondents felt strongly that each community has its own culture, identity, religion, and that issues such as education and unemployment vary across communities, and they should not be thought of as a homogenous group.

4.16   The police officers interviewed commented that they have found that access to minority ethnic communities varies and that some are more open than others. For example:

> *'the Chinese community…seem to be a very autonomous community in many ways but [they are] also very integrated and do their own thing.'*

A representative from the Chinese community remarked that while they held the police in high regard, they didn't involve them in low level crime, as they felt the police had more important matters to attend to, and dealt with many issues themselves. The Chinese community is reputedly a tightly-knit community with strong parent controls and an emphasis on education. However, there was some suggestion that the young Chinese were less accepting of racism than their parents had been and had a stronger identity with Britishness than their parents.

4.17   Community workers stressed the need to empower minority ethnic young people and also the need to realise that the issues they face are cross-cultural issues of

> *'poverty, deprivation, drugs, alcohol, families, gender, disability, unemployment, boredom, crime which are exacerbated for BME youths by racism, cultural and religious issues;'*

and that in order to address these issues we have to

> *'empower them to engage, politically, socially and educationally.'*

Conclusions

4.18   There was agreement amongst the police and their community partners in both the statutory and voluntary sector that a lot of good work has been done in relation to policing but also that there is still considerable work to be done. Many of the hard-to reach-groups in the minority ethnic communities are still to be engaged and there is considerable need to build relationships of trust before substantive efforts can be made to re-engage them in the development of their communities.

4.19   Key informants acknowledged that cultural differences need to be understood and recognised within the minority ethnic communities as well as by the wider society. Gender, cultural, and religious differences were seen as needing to be examined more fully. There was also a perception that a one-size-fits-all policy is unlikely to address the diverse issues faced and that there is a distinct lack of role models for the young men and women in these communities to aspire to. A commonly shared view was that what is needed is a complex mix of culturally sensitive services and social education programmes.

4.20   In summary key stakeholders involved in the Community Planning process appeared to acknowledge and understand some of the problems for minority ethnic youth and for service providers including the police, in the delivery of culturally sensitive services, and felt a need for specific issues to be examined in order to support and aid future policy development. These included: Cultural identity - racism, religion, Scottishness and aspirations; Communities

- neighbourhoods, facilities, social attitudes and experiences; Inter-generational issues – 3rd generation, perceived differences in beliefs and experiences from those of their parents and grandparents; and Policing - experiences, attitudes, expectations and needs for the future.

CHAPTER FIVE   Family and Community Experiences of Minority Ethnic Youth

5.1   While the young people in this study share some characteristics – their youth and minority ethnic background – they experience many differences in their lifestyle: identity, religion, neighbourhood, racism and inter-generational relationships.

Neighbourhood, Community and Facilities

5.2   A diverse range of views were expressed by our respondents in relation to their neighbourhoods and the facilities they use and would like to use. For some 'neighbourhood' meant the areas around their home but this did not necessarily mean that they saw themselves as belonging to a community based upon locality. Some understood the notion of community as being based upon ethnicity or religious belief. For them the notion of neighbourhood, of 'our locality', was determined on the basis of their regular attendance, for example at their Mosque, and the friendships and alliances developed through the activities and support associated with a shared religious belief.

> *'… the Mosque … give[s] the young generation activities to do, to avoid going down other routes;'* and

> *'… they are making a bit more of an effort to try and get the youth into the Mosque, not just for praying, not just for learning Islam but more to do with, just like getting the community together to enjoy yourself with activities.'*

This did not always mean that they identified with the views of traditional community leaders. In fact some stated that their youth meant that older people in the community did not value their views.

> *'It's probably because we are young we are not taken seriously, probably the lack of maturity as well.'*

Young people have their own views and lifestyles and make choices about when authority figures are speaking 'for' them and when they are not.

5.3   Others regarded their neighbourhood as quite extensive because they travel over quite large distances to university or work or for leisure activities:

> *'City centre and south side….'*
> *'…it is not just concentrated in Bellshill, its kind of more Lanarkshire based…'*

Other groups, for example, Pollokshields, were quite specific about their neighbourhood and the facilities they would like to have:

> *'…a big all sports kind of complex, and do everything really, so there is stuff for everybody to do…' …   'like the Holyrood complex, is good for that area, because it has got everything there.*

This desire for community-based sporting facilities is something that was repeated over and over again by all youths – boys and girls, in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Their main concern was in having access to sporting facilities that were culturally sensitive, but available for all ethnicities in their communities to use. This was understood by them as a way of integrating and developing avenues to reduce cultural barriers that can lead to racism.

Neighbourhood and Safety

5.4   Respondents have revealed different levels of experience in relation to neighbourhood and safety. Experience of visiting friends and relatives in England has led many to describe Scotland as more tolerant and friendly. They also differentiate their feelings of safety and relations with white neighbours whom they were familiar with in their immediate vicinity, school or college, from their everyday experiences amongst strangers.

> *'Yes, it's a nice community'*
>
> *'See, this area is really, really good, we are lucky we are in this area'*
>
> *'the people know you for you, they know what you like and they treat you nice as well, like our neighbours are great, like got both sides neighbours British and they are great, they are like a family, like our street, never, no problems at all, because they know us and they don't judge just because we are like dark skinned, or we are Muslim or something like that …'.*

These views contrast the sense of security the respondents felt in relation to those they knew and had grown up with in the immediate neighbourhood, with the sense of fear, of being watched and mistrusted they recently (post 9/11) had begun to experience amongst strangers when out and about in the course of their daily lives.

> *'when you are out in the streets people don't know you and you might get a few looks like that sometimes.….'*
>
> *'… I've got fear and I jump like if somebody turned up on the door, like I'm not expected, somebody coming in, I feel more unsafe now …'*

> *'…being watched all the time – rucksacks became a big issue*
> *– stared at going to and from college if wearing a rucksack'.*

For other respondents a sense of security and safety is related to a sense of belonging and can only be achieved with others who share a similar background because neighbourhood tensions are understood as a product of cultural difference rather than a response to specific events

> *'…, we're brought up different from others, cultural*
> *differences, so people might not understand…''*

> *'I think feeling safe in an area is different from having a*
> *sense of security. I don't really feel secure with high school*
> *friends but when I'm with Chinese people it's like you can be*
> *yourself…'*

Neighbourhoods and Belonging

5.5   *'It is the people that know you that stick up for you'.*

> *'I'm proud to be Scottish and a Muslim'*

> *'The older generation …they tend, they go to work they go to*
> *the Mosque, they come home and that's pretty much it, they*
> *never really integrate.'*

5.6   Many focus group participants stressed the tolerance of the communities in which they lived and noted that while the media had a wholly negative influence on their representation, in their local communities they were known for who they were and what they did and so mostly *'they still got respect'*. One young Muslim woman remarked:

> *'the people who do know us they won't judge us because we*
> *have got our scarf on, they won't say we don't want to know*
> *you because you wear it, even if we didn't wear it, or if we did*
> *wear it, they will talk to you, they won't change'.*

5.7   Minority ethnic youth in Scotland are negotiating with a plethora of distinct 'communities' in order to find a place of comfort and belonging. These include communities of youth and other generations as well as communities of gender, ethnicity, class and nation. Pakistani and Muslim youth are keen to integrate and stress their similarity with their white peers but our young Chinese participants emphasised difference:

> *'we are slightly different and because of that difference these*
> *people might not see us as fully among them, so we feel a bit*
> *outcast and there is a bit of tension sometimes once in a*
> *while.'*

Our Chinese participants tended to affiliate not with Scotland but with Hong Kong, with a community on the other side of the world, where they felt that they would not be *'out of place'*. Generally, participants felt safe in their communities and articulated a sense of belonging that was most manifest in their vociferous claims to Scottish identity. Young men and women from a Chinese background felt safe enough in Glasgow but it was Hong Kong that symbolised a real *'sense of security'*, a place that they could blend in. In this view, peace of mind is most easily achieved in a context of ethnic homogeneity and difference embodies a potential threat.

5.8   One young man noted that his father felt compelled to work for the family business. He himself also worked for the family business but *'he had chosen to'*. He had a degree but his parents and grandparents had worked under difficult circumstances to give him opportunities that they had never had. However, the vast majority of respondents took the view that there was no way that they were going work in 'the family shop' and Chinese, Pakistani and Indian youth clearly articulated the view that their parents didn't want them to endure the long hours and mundane labour that had been their fate.

Racism

5.9   Responses from all our focus groups indicate that racism, direct and indirect, is a significant part of the daily lives of these young people but that they deal with it in different ways. For example,

> *'It is tough at times being a Muslim, going about Glasgow, because there is a lot of racism and that, but apart from that, you feel safe …'*

> *'Racism is bad…. you get it all the time'.*

> *'I think media, personally I think the media is mostly to blame for everything. The racism that is there is because of the way we have been portrayed…'*

5.10   Racism is often linked with feelings of security/insecurity in their local neighbourhoods and cities in a variety of everyday settings. They identify the basis of this racism as coming from ignorance, a lack of understanding or media mis-representations about them. For example,

> *'You mentioned about being Muslim, it's not that, it's colour, because I'm working next to one of my mates who is a Sikh, people just start swearing, aye you Paki this and that, but he'll just turn round and say, what are you talking about mate, I am from India I'm a Sikh…and they don't know what to say…'*

> *'That's true because my cousin is Libyan and they call her a Paki …'*

> *'…anybody with colour they call them a Paki..'*

Which is understood by the young people as being due to a

> *'Lack of education, any brown person they see they just say Paki, they probably don't even know what it is short for…'*

5.11   Young people are very much aware of the wider context of racism and the way in which this shapes their experience of everyday life. For many it has encouraged them to reflect upon their identity.

> *'… in my heart I know I am Chinese, but some part of me is British Scottish, it confuses me as well sometimes, but, from the way I've been brought up, it's basically all Chinese, I speak to my parents in Cantonese but usually I speak to my sisters in English, but sometimes I mix as well, it's just a way of life, being brought up, just adapt to it, so you really, it comes naturally, just mix the language up…;*

5.12   There is agreement that racist incidents are experienced by any non-white in Scotland and that colour and other visible markers of difference are the key rather than length of residence.   For example, young Sikhs reported that they don't wear their turbans outside the Temple as it would only attract attention. Similarly, wearing the beard was another cultural practice rejected by some young men for the same reason. However, young women don't report having given up wearing their headscarves or veils.

5.13   Verbal abuse is an aspect of everyday racism but our respondents did not consider it worth reporting to the police because they felt that the police either cannot or will not deal with it. It is also acknowledged by these young people that policing racism is a difficult task. Most report feeling frustrated with the lack of police success in stopping racism from occurring but are only too aware that if they do report an incident, by the time the police can and do respond to it the perpetrators are usually long gone. However, it was noted here that while many young minority ethnic people reported being racially abused at school or work, some also commented on the supportive nature of white friends in the communities they lived in.

> *'… people do shout abuse at you and it does happen, but there is also the thing where like, if something does something to you in school, I didn't even catch it, it was one of my friends and she went mental at them, everyone else sticks up for you ….'*

Moreover while the extent of racism experienced by some is high it is also reported that it is a relatively small proportion of the Scottish population who are racist. It was also felt by some that experiences of racism were linked to social class:

> *'you don't experience racism in the good areas'.*

There was also some discussion on the issue of reporting and of ways of informally recording racist incidents, perhaps to a community organisation, to help establish a more accurate measurement of the extent of the problem.

Racism and Islamaphobia

5.14   Young Muslim people in particular are conscious of the impact of media constructions of Islam on their lives.

> *'Islamaphobia, it's the media that is bring it up, because it's not all Muslims, okay, just one person, maybe like use a name, but why say a Muslim extremist, and that is really annoying ….'*

The majority commented upon the impact Islamaphobia has on their daily lives.

> *'…since I've been keeping my beard and that I find it hard, sometimes I've been labelled Bin Laden go back to Afghanistan, tormenting me..'*

> *'…it's not like that before couple of years back, the people wore headscarves and Asian clothes and everything and it never bothered anybody, it just started a couple of years ago ….. you know, they say about extremist, about this, Muslims doing this and you must be one of them as well…'*

5.15   Comments from some of our respondents support other research that suggests that since the rise of Islamaphobia following 9/11 young Muslims in Scotland have tended to identify more strongly with their Muslim religious background. For example, women are more likely to wear the headscarf and one commented that:

> *'When you find out people are talking about you, or you find out, you see things on the news, that makes you feel really strong, because that's when you find out that your faith is the only thing that is going to help you, there is nothing else …'*

5.16 Irrespective of the tensions that have arisen in relation to Islamaphobia in terms of nationality our respondents were more likely to consider themselves Scottish.

> *'I love Scottish and I'm proud to be Scottish and being a Muslim'.*

> *'…I have to say that I find [the] Scottish….more tolerant of other religion[s] than the English..'*

Generational differences

5.17 Our results suggest that young minority ethnic people have differing expectations from their parents in terms of their education, employment and notions of citizenship and rights. Quite often this sense of difference is because their parents are anxious for them to experience a different quality of life from their own.

> *'Like my parents, they are not educated, my dad started working at a very young age, he's giving us what he missed out on basically, so he pushes us, like go and study, do this and do that, he's missed out on everything because he has just been working all his life…*
>
> *They want us to have a better life than they had so they would push us slightly more, like they did have the motivation but they didn't have the resource, we have both…'*
>
> *'…because my dad owns a shop and so, he never allows me to work with them, they've always said to me we've never had the opportunity to education to better jobs, more experience, more opportunities, so they go, we don't want you to end up like we did … and that's why I was like pushed towards education but I totally see their point of view so I'm not complaining at all.'*

5.18 Gender differences were most noticeable here; young women who commented on the differences between their own and their mothers' lives were also keen to point out that these differences were fully supported and expected by their fathers.

> *'See like my mum, she wasn't educated and she doesn't go out or nothing, whereas, we are all sisters, we are seven sisters, so we've all got our own jobs, studying and everything…Our life is like so different from our mum's, she's not allowed to go out, my granddad was quite strict, she never had that independent thing to go out and study, to get a job, whereas we have everything now …'*

Generation, Rights and Citizenship

5.19   The most significant aspect of the differences noted by the young people in terms of their own and their parents' experience of life can best be described as the right 'to be'.

> *'Because it is our country as well, like our grandparent*
> *thought just stay quiet in case anything happens, but at the*
> *end of the day if someone says go back to your own country,*
> *it is a bit daft because this is our country.'*

5.20   The media led demonisation of Islam prompted some participants to make a distinctive claim about third generation identity. As one young man put it, the difference between his generation and its predecessors is that young Muslims today *'don't take any shit'*. Another remarked that the *'first generation had more tolerance for bullshit'*. Their forefathers would walk away from racist aggravation while they will *'face it down'*. A young woman gave a less macho account of the 3rd generation *'attitude'*. She suggests that it is based on an experience of community engagement that is much wider than preceding generations of ethnic minorities in Scotland:

> *'Our parents keep themselves to themselves, but we are more*
> *involved. We go to school. We go to work with other people*
> *out there, so we see more than our parents do'.*

'Being Scottish' and, therefore, having a stake in the community according to the *'third generation'* differentiates them from their parents and grandparents.

5.21   Our research suggests that since the rise of perceived Islamaphobia following 9/11 young Muslims in Scotland have tended to identify more strongly with Islam, some outwardly embracing proudly the iconic outward signs of their religion, particularly the beard and the headscarf. However, at the same time, they are passionate about being Scottish. If the first of these responses suggests retrenchment and ethnic introspection, the latter most certainly does not and, in fact, seems to countervail the tendency towards the disengagement of Muslim youth which is such a prominent feature of the debate in England. The emotional sense of being part of a community that goes beyond their ethnicity, class, religion and generation provides both a geographical anchor and sound sense of belonging. Indeed, the strong sense of national affiliation amongst young people who feel under siege from negative media representations is a sharp contrast to our young Chinese respondents who felt that Hong Kong was their emotional home.

Conclusions

5.22   Racism is a significant issue in the daily lives of these young people even although they perceive that it is only perpetrated by a small percentage of the Scottish population. They also report that those whom they know and have

forged friendships with are quick to defend or support them against racial attacks. They believe that racism is built on a lack of understanding of their faith and cultural differences. However, experiences of racism can and do affect their sense of security. Within their own locality they report feelings of safety but feel less secure in unfamiliar locations post 9/11, 7/7 and the subsequent rise of Islamaphobia. Since then they report feeling more scrutinised by the population in general.

5.23   Within their own neighbourhoods they comment on the lack of culturally sensitive facilities, especially sporting. However, they would like these facilities to be open for all to use as one way to enhance integration with the wider community: learning about cultural difference through engagement in sporting activities.

5.24   The majority of respondents have a strong sense of Scottishness which is stronger for some groups than others: the Chinese and Sikhs are less inclined to identify themselves as 'Scottish' and more likely to identify themselves as 'British' and while young people from a Chinese background regard Hong Kong as their 'emotional home' young Muslims embrace Scottish identity with passion. Although young Scottish Muslims – more so perhaps, women than men – are more assertive and express more commitment to their religion in the wake of 9/11 and 7/7, they speak less of disengagement and more of their capacity to integrate and contribute to the development and prosperity of Scotland. Our participants emphasised that they have been born and brought up in *'this country'* and that they are *'here to stay'*. However, some young people do find difficulties reconciling cultural/faith practices and Scottishness even though they are products of the education system. Inter-generational differences are evident in that young people are being encouraged by their parents and grandparents not to reduce their labour market ambitions to the retail and restaurant trades.

CHAPTER SIX   Understanding Responses: Minority Ethnic Youths' Perceptions of Police and Community Organisations

Media and Public Information

6.1   After 9/11 young Muslims in Scotland felt it necessary to re-negotiate their religious, ethnic and national identities. In the immediate aftermath of the media spectacle of 9/11 and the extensive coverage of the London bombings (7/7), some of our focus group participants noted that their experiences became much more dramatically racialised, and that the process was intimately connected with the fore-grounding, in the media, of their religious affiliation.

> *'The racism that is there is because of the way we have been portrayed, but in general terms if you're born and brought up here and you look like everybody else you are ok.'*
>
> *'The way we are portrayed, Muslim terrorist, this and that you know, maybe people are scared to talk to us.'*
>
> *'We are Scottish ...'*

6.2   As Muslims, or even young men or women who looked like Muslims, they became stereotyped as acolytes of Bin Laden and some recounted how they were taunted by white people who commented on their **'obvious'** affiliation with the most wanted man on the planet. Interestingly, one participant from a Chinese background noted that he **'got most stares'** after 7/7 and our Muslim participants noted that Hindu, Sikh and north African friends had experienced racial abuse that was predicated on the assumption that they were 'Pakis' and therefore must be bombers. Some of the young men from Govanhill felt that the slightest visible affiliation with the Muslim faith meant that they would be stereotyped as terrorists and some of the young men from Edinburgh argued forcefully that the media had a lot to answer for, by *'demonising'* Islam. One young man from Glasgow had this to say about media coverage of the war in Afghanistan:

> *'One of the things that really bothered me was during the Afghan war, if an American soldier or someone died through the war, if one person died it was on the front pages, everything and then I read a tiny wee column at the side, an Afghan wedding got bombed accidentally and a couple of hundred people died, a wee column at the side, it's actually shocking'*

6.3   Some respondents – particularly in the wake of 7/7 - were deserted by long established white friends and businesses were affected because customers *'suddenly disappeared'* or *'cancelled papers'*. The moral panic created by the media, participants argued, had driven a wedge between them and some elements of the white community, including the police, many of whom, some argued, were only too ready to propagate Islamaphobic sentiments. However,

some participants felt that the police probably felt more at risk in Muslim communities because the media has constructed such places as the boltholes of *'the enemy within'*. It was clear that a very significant percentage of participants felt that the racism and Islamaphobia that they had experienced was not something that had its origins in their neighbourhoods or communities. Rather, it was a consequence of the biased media coverage of the *'global war against terror'*.

6.4   One participant who teaches in a Mosque noted that negative media representation of Muslims was so pervasive that *'even the children are under enormous pressure'*. The relatively secure sense of place and identity that was invoked by the vast majority of our focus group participants was threatened, therefore, by a hyper-real enemy that seemed bent on representing them as *'dangerous'*. One participant argued that since he had grown his beard, he felt uncomfortable about leaving the local territory that he regarded as a zone of safety. He was afraid to go into Glasgow city centre.

6.5   The equation of *'Muslim'* and *'extremist'*, participants argued, was primarily a legacy of media coverage but they experienced it in very personal and threatening ways. Many participants felt that particularly after 7/7 they were under intense surveillance. For men, a beard or a rucksack attracted a lot of attention and one young man noted that *'all they see is the beard, not the person'*. Young women participants who wore headscarves, noted that after 9/11 they were conscious of getting *'a lot more looks'* that made them feel uncomfortable. One young woman remarked:

> *'Every time you hear something about bombing that's when things get worse, but then it calms down and then starts again when something happens'.*

In this account, the peaks and troughs of Islamaphobia follow the peaks and troughs of media coverage. However, the discomfort that people felt under *'the white gaze'* was not simply related to Islamaphobia. One Chinese participant noted:

> *'Sometimes we are in town at night, just walking about, a group of us and you do just get everyone staring at you, thinking what are they up to'.*

Community Engagement
6.6   The second generation are key players in encouraging their children to break out of the confines of the *'ethnic community'* and engage with the wider world beyond. One participant remarked:

> *'They want us to have a better life than they had so they*
> *would push us slightly more, like they did have the motivation*
> *but they didn't have the resource, we have both'.*

The ambition to explore communities that are not more or less ethnically circumscribed is regarded by the third generation as a gift given to them by the graft and the thrift of their parents and grandparents.

6.7   There were a number of positive comments from participants about the way in which their minority cultural values were afforded positive recognition. For example the support given by local schools to religious festivals like Ramadan was applauded. One participant noted with delight that white colleagues at work supported her through Ramadan:

> *'I remember doing Ramadan, when I was at my last job, they*
> *were all about to go fasting with me. In work as well, they*
> *know a lot. I think that is what encourages us more, because*
> *white people are more involved in our culture too'.*

However, this enthusiasm contrasted with very negative comments about the policing of minority religious festivals:

> *'When it's your Christmas nobody's got Police everywhere*
> *saying you can't do this and you can't do that'.*

Another respondent remarked:

> *'when you're celebrating Eid and things like that, they put*
> *you in lockdown. Every corner you turn, there's Police*
> *everywhere'.*

Participants reckoned that the policing of drunken white youths was far less invasive and controlling than the policing of ethnic festivities but some recognised that the police were beginning to engage with minority communities in positive ways.

6.8   Most young people – with the exception of a group from Bellshill and a Chinese group from Glasgow - felt very let down by the paucity of sports and recreational facilities in their areas and felt that they had *'no place to go'* and therefore ended up *'hanging around on the streets'*. Some young Muslims felt lucky to have their local Mosques where they could go for both religious and social reasons. One participant noted;

> *'the way the Mosque has been set up is … to give the young generation activities to do, to avoid going down other routes'.*

Young people from a Chinese background argued that because they were busy helping their parents by working in the family business they didn't have time to go out much and when they did, they would not rely on sports and recreational facilities for leisure and entertainment. They were more likely to *'do their own thing'* with friends, *'get drunk'*, *'do the normal stuff'* or, as one participant put it, *'we often organise our own events'*.

6.9   However, most participants expressed deep concern about the lack of appropriate facilities. They yearned for something a little more that the YMCA or drab local *'youth club'*. Aspirations included *'a drop in centre'*, *'a place to drink tea and coffee'* with mates, *'somewhere to chill out'*, *'play cool'*, *'play pool'*, *'a proper sports centre'* with all the facilities that was not privately run and cost a fortune, *'a place with a really big plasma screen'*. One remarked that we need a place *'that is just for young people'* a place that really reflects the interests and energies of young people and that isn't organised for them by their elders who (in this particular context) do not know better. One participant blamed the lack of sporting talent among Scottish Asians on poor neighbourhood sporting facilities, some felt that it was too costly to reach available sporting facilities in Edinburgh, and one suggested that access to the facilities at Meadowbank stadium was easier for white youth than for BME kids. Opening this up to all, for a football league involving all groups for example, could be integrative. The strong desire for an autonomous space for sport, recreational and social activities was pertinent for most of our participants but some young Muslims felt that the deficit was compounded by the fact that *'we don't drink'*. The association between many social and recreational spaces and alcohol in Scotland is a barrier to participation in a range of activities for a significant proportion of young Muslims. Some participants certainly implied that there was a correlation between poor access to sports and recreational facilities, the amount of time spent hanging around on the streets and the frequency with which they were *'pulled up'* by the police. It was recognised by at least one group that this was a problem shared by many young people irrespective of ethnicity.

6.10 Views were mixed as to whether facilities should be for specific groups, or targeted at all youth. One Edinburgh group welcomed the development of a Thai Boxing club as a chance to meet other Asian youth, particularly important for one respondent who was the only Asian in his school and had experienced bullying. At the same time however they were not averse to multi-cultural activities. One group of women expressed support for multi-cultural activities citing positive examples of a music, drama and dance event in Hillhead and a music event in Sighthill. These kinds of activities, they argued, could be used to tackle the ignorance which they felt underlies racism.

Policing and Community Engagement

6.11 *'And the Police have a really important role. They're the ones that are meant to be saying to society this is what our rules are and this is what is right'.*

'People hate the Police more and more because … all that they are doing is pulling people up.'

'Oh Chinese drive a Mercedes! He must be dodgy. Pull him over and see what that is about.'

6.12 Some young people had had one-to-one contact with police in youth clubs and had extremely positive views of those officers. Some referred to incidents in which they commended the police for their actions. One young woman remarked:

'Well, I've had an incident and I did report it to the Police and it was dealt with straight away, but I didn't feel that Police man was making a difference like I was Asian and I was doing a complaint against a white person, it was dealt with the way it should have been, so that was good'.

Another young woman said:

'A couple of men started giving nasty remarks and the Police station was just round the corner, so we went and reported it and the Police guy came out with us straight away and they got charged, they got arrested actually because they were giving the Police guy abuse as well'.

Another participant, reflecting on the trouble that his family shop had with *'local kids'*, argued that in relation to juvenile crime, the police had their hands tied behind their backs. *'The kids are untouchable'*, he remarked.

6.13 However, most youth had only experienced police directly or indirectly in a very a negative way and even those who had engaged with individual police officers in a positive way did not necessarily generalise this experience. The *'good'* police officer was regarded as an exception to the rule. Negative experiences with the police tended to be understood and explained, by our young participants, within the context of racism. One young Chinese woman noted that a call to the police about a trivial matter by her white neighbour produced an immediate response. In no time a police officer was at her door. A call that she made to the police about a violent incident outside her home met with no response. *'They didn't come at all'*, she claimed. Another participant used the term *'zero tolerance'* to describe his understanding of the attitude of the Police to young Asians. All of the participants in one focus group agreed that they felt that they were more likely, than their young white

neighbours, to be stopped by the Police, both on the street, when in cars, where they felt that the police would stop them more often and pick up minor traffic offences, and when travelling, with one young man reporting that he was stopped when returning from a holiday in Pakistan with his mother.

6.14 Many reported incidents in which they felt that assumptions had been made on the grounds of their ethnicity – assumptions which on occasion had an adverse impact. One described an incident where three Asian men encountered 15 builders who began to racially abuse them. The situation escalated into a fight. The builders struck the first blow and one of the Asians was badly beaten. The Police arrived and despite the injury to one of the young Asian men and the relative size of the opposing forces the police threatened to arrest the Asian contingent. One young woman noted that:

> *'My husband got beaten up in the shop as well once, but we never called the Police because it's not worth it, they never do anything.'*

One young man with a white cousin who spends a lot of time with his brother noted that:

> *'the Police were more likely to pick up my brother than … my cousin'.*

A Chinese participant argued, *'by the time they come, it is probably sorted.'* One young Muslim man, who had a professional occupation, argued that many young Muslims, because they do not smoke and drink, can afford nice cars and houses yet are treated with suspicion. He had been stopped twice in one day in a new van, and on another occasion a police car had stopped when he was sitting in his own car, outside his own house with his cousin.

6.15 Young people from both Chinese and Pakistani backgrounds were unanimous on the superfluity of reporting racist abuse to the police on the grounds that *'nothing will come of it'*, *'there's no proof'* or if it is your word against that of a white person, then *'you might as well forget it'*. Our findings also suggest that the vast majority of young minority ethnic people would be unlikely to report racist incidents to the police because of their perception that the police are racist. However, a wider context of fear of racism that did not relate to the police was also invoked for the refusal to seek help from the police. A young participant argued:

> *'It's the fear as well sometimes, when someone racially abuses you, you got fear in case you complain about them and then they turn nasty, you know what I mean, then they*

are worse than when they were before and they know where
you live and stuff like that'.

Many made it clear that they did not trust the police and would be unlikely to contact their local force for help even under the most trying conditions or in the context of a serious incident.

6.16   Some participants made very positive comments about contacts that they had had with senior officers but felt that the *'constables'* that they encountered were not prepared to get to know them:

'you could never really stand there and have a really friendly
chat with a Police officer because they won't be coming over
to have a friendly chat with any of us'.

There is, many participants suggested, no authentic communication with police officers. Young people claim that their only contact with the police is when they get *'pulled up'*. Some young people note that they had better relationships with women police officers because they were *'much more prepared to listen'*.

6.17   A number of young people felt that they were under severe scrutiny from policing agencies. One remarked;

'Sometimes you feels as though you're getting watched by the
FBI and all that, they'll take you away for no reason, there
stick you behind bars and throw away the key, that's how it
feels'.

Indeed, most of the focus groups made several references to *'over policing'* and the Orwellian metaphor of *'Big Brother'* was invoked on a number of occasions.

6.18   Advice to the police on policing might be summed up by the aphorism *'education, education, education'*. One young person argued:

'I think they should be holding more events explaining
different religions to people, that people have a basic a
background of each religion and maybe that way they would
be more tolerant to other religions, because every religion as
their own priorities and values, let people do whatever is
valuable to them'.

While quite a few young people were aware that the police are involved in quite a lot of community engagement events, they stressed the need for these to be educationally focused in a way that would help different communities to get to know and understand one another. Young people recommended that the police should:

1) Coordinate or contribute substantially to educational initiatives designed to break down racial and religious stereotypes and bust the myths that the media built up about minority communities;

2) Increase training programmes for police officers that emphasise that policing by consent should embody respect for diversity. Increase the number of *'visible'* police officers who, through local presence, come to know and champion the priorities of the community.

Interestingly, embodied in this advice is a strong accent on prevention that seems to be commensurate in many respects with the *'Public Health'* model of policing adopted by the Strathclyde force.

Conclusions

6.19 Muslim and other minority ethnic youth in Scotland feel under siege from media inspired negative representations of minority religions and ethnicities, which they argue has led to them being regarded with suspicion by members of the public and the police. In their view the media therefore have a lot to answer for.

Many also felt that there were still a number of barriers to their full participation in social and cultural activities. While some public agencies, like schools, discharged their duties to support minority festivals and festivities, the policing of such festivities, particularly Eid, was criticised for being too invasive and heavy handed. Leisure facilities were regarded as very poor, did not - where they did exist - represent young people's interests and desires and were sometimes more accessible to white than minority ethnic youth. Chinese youth were however, much less concerned and more inclined to *'do their own thing'* and *'organise their own activities'*.

Although some young people praised individual police officers and recounted stories of *'good policing'*, the vast majority feel that the police are racist and that they have no evidence from their experience that permits them to place their trust in the judgement of the police. Very few would report a racist incident to the police and many would be unlikely to contact the police even if they were witness to or the victim of a serious incident. Most would prefer to *'handle things on their own'*. The police were charged also with *'over policing and poor communication'* and many respondents felt that the police need to get to know minority communities and play a leading role in challenging myths and racist stereotypes.

CHAPTER SEVEN   Key Issues and Implications for Community Planning Partnerships

Introduction

7.1   This research was commissioned by Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police to examine the changing face of Scotland's minority ethnic populations, particularly the 3rd generation, who differ in their economic aspirations and social identities from their 'elders', with whom the police have established networks.

Key Issues

7.2   The need for this research was confirmed by literature which revealed the shortage of in-depth qualitative information about the contemporary attitudes and experiences of minority ethnic youth in today's rapidly changing environment. In comparison to England and Wales scholarship in Scotland is at an early stage, smaller groups are neglected and Edinburgh is more neglected than Glasgow. There is very little research outside these areas, or on the many issues identified in England of relevance to policing. Also neglected are smaller groups and those who are more recently arrived. This was also confirmed by the key stakeholders interviewed who stressed that cultural differences need to be understood both within and without minority ethnic communities and that differences of gender, culture and faith must be examined more fully.

7.3   This is underlined by the confirmation, in the demographic information and the literature review that Scotland is distinct. Not only did many young people confirm a very strong sense of 'Scottishness' but many held a very strong perception, based on discussions with family and friends, that the situation as regards 'racism' or policing is much 'worse' in parts of England.

7.4   Efforts were made to contact a wider range of groups but within the time frame and resources available it proved difficult to access those who are harder to reach – young people from a range of backgrounds who do not choose to engage in the kinds of religious or other community based activities which inevitably are the points of contact with those who are available for research. It is more difficult to contact smaller and more recently arrived groups such as Somalis or groups from New Accession countries such as Poland. It was clear from our research however that these groups are increasingly a visible presence in some areas, particularly in Glasgow. In addition it is recognised that the respondents to this research cannot be taken as a fully representative sample of minority ethnic community or religious groups in Scotland, but nonetheless it is felt that the research has made a very useful contribution to our understanding of the challenges faced by a range of minority ethnic youth.

7.5   The suggestions from both the literature review and key stakeholders about intergenerational differences were also largely confirmed. Respondents felt overwhelmingly that their experiences were very different to those of their parents and that they were adopting a much wider range of educational and employment aspirations, which had not been available to their parents and particularly their grandparents who had to struggle to build up and maintain businesses. Their parents were keen that they should enjoy the benefits which older generations had not been able to and encouraged them in relation to education. Politically also, and in terms of racism, the young people were seen to be, as one respondent already quoted put it, less likely to put up with 'bullshit', to name racism and be less afraid to speak their minds – the elder generation to them, had been more tolerant and less prepared to make trouble in 'someone else's' society. To the younger generation, citizenship is crucial, this is their society, they are born here and intend to stay here. Racism is experienced within this context and any suggestions, for example, that they should 'go back' are strongly resented as they have nowhere to 'to back' to.

7.6   This was linked to the very strong perception of themselves as, and pride in being, 'Scottish'. While there were variations, with youths from Sikh and Chinese background expressing more feelings of 'Britishness' and the Chinese expressing strong links with Hong Kong, young Muslims were keen to stress their Scottish identity.

7.7   At the same time, for Muslim youth, as suggested in earlier research, religious identity is also of considerable significance. Some felt more assertive about and expressed more commitment to their religion in the wake of 9/11 and 7/7. This was particularly so for some Muslim women, who expressed this by adopting the veil. Nonetheless, this had not led to alienation as they reiterated their wish to integrate and contribute to Scotland. As pointed out in Chapter 5, our research confirmed other suggestions in previous studies that a 'torn between two cultures' model is too simplistic and that ethnicity and faith interact with other factors such as neighbourhood, gender, education and class which form the context within which young people negotiate an identity, a negotiation in which experiences and perceptions of racism constitute a significant element.

7.8   Intergenerational differences were also strongly linked to experiences of education, which was often seen as a major difference between respondents and their parents. Young people had experienced the Scottish education system and had been encouraged by families to move outside the small businesses of previous generations. Nonetheless their different experiences to those of their parents could produce some problems - some key informants identified a distinct lack of role models within minority ethnic communities for young men and women to aspire to. Because their experiences were so markedly different from their parents, many felt that much more could be done to provide useful career and educational advice and support, particularly for some groups. Community partners also felt that the education system was

failing some minority ethnic youths through inadequate support and a culture of low expectation.

7.9 Assumptions that minority ethnic youth would be adopting a wider range of occupations than their parents were also largely confirmed and many different occupations were held by those who were interviewed. A recurring theme in the focus groups was the extent to which most had moved away from the assumption and reality that they would seek employment in parents' or ethnic businesses. Nonetheless there were strong perceptions of some racist and religious discrimination across a range of employment areas and some reported experiences of this.

Racism

7.10 In line with some existing research, while many did feel safe in their areas and neighbourhoods, nearly all groups reported experiences variously described as 'racist' or as directed against their religion. This was reported as an everyday experience and reports ranged along a continuum from being shouted at using terms such as 'Bin Laden', 'Paki' or 'Chinky' to, in a much smaller number of cases, experiences of actual physical harm.

7.11 There is some ambivalence as to whether or not there is a sustained increase in direct racism post 9/11 and 7/7. Some report that initially racism increased but then began to recede as time went on. On the other hand since these events and the rise in media representations of Islamaphobia the young people report feeling less secure in some social locations and subject to more public attention.

7.12 Indirect racism was felt to be a difficult issue to both prove and deal with but the perception amongst young people is that they are discriminated against in employment because of their ethnicity. Some report that they refuse to fill in the ethnicity section on the equal opportunities forms that often accompany employment application forms.

Policing

7.13 As indicated by research in both England and Wales and previous Scottish research it was recognised by key stakeholders in the statutory and voluntary sector and many informants that a lot of good work has been done in relation to policing but also that considerable work remains.

7.14 This was reflected in the often made distinction between the attitudes of some, primarily community based, officers, who liaised with youth and who sought their views, and those whom they encountered in the more everyday business of policing either when they responded to calls or encountered them on the street. Thus, although some young people praised individual police officers

and recounted stories of 'good policing', the vast majority felt that they were racist, and few would trust them.

7.15 Very few would report a racist incident to the police and many would be unlikely to contact them even if they were witness to or the victim of a serious incident. Most would prefer to 'handle things on their own'. This was largely because they felt that the police either could or would do little, and the limitations of policing in terms of responses to 'low level, high volume' crimes was recognised by some of the police interviewed. This should be placed in the context of the recurrent findings of victim surveys that large proportions of victims choose not to report incidents for similar reasons – some were of the view that the police could do little. Of more concern is that for too many of the minority ethnic youth interviewed, racism plays a significant role and there is a strong perception that the police would respond more strongly to other groups.

7.16 In line with previous research, stop and search activities and experiences of contacts with the police were also seen to be problematic by some with the police being criticized for 'over policing' and poor communication. Many incidents were reported in which slow or inappropriate police responses were perceived to have been attributable to the ethnicity of the complainant particularly where for example, young men were stopped in cars on the perceived assumption that they 'should' not have, as young minority ethnic men, been driving such cars. Whether or not these decisions are made on the grounds of ethnicity or other factors which might render the incident **'suspicious'**[82], the important aspect of these reports is that it was perceived to constitute over-policing and as racist, a perception with which most of the young people, even those who had not had direct experiences of this kind of incident, agreed. Similarly, while the police have to balance out the concerns of different groups within communities in, for example, the policing of festivals such as Eid, where large groups of young people have been reported to be celebrating in the streets, causing a disturbance to, particularly older, members of all communities, Muslim young people perceived police activities as unfairly selecting their festivities, as opposed to others.

Community Facilities

7.17 Concerns, both in interviews with key stakeholders and in previous research, about a shortage of community facilities were echoed by some, if not all groups. Many saw barriers to full participation, with facilities being seen as either unavailable or not available to them but to other groups. While some public agencies, like schools, did support minority festivals and festivities, the policing of such festivities, particularly Eid, was criticised for being too invasive and heavy-handed. Leisure facilities were regarded as very poor, and did not - where they did exist – represent young people's interests and desires and were sometimes more accessible to white than minority ethnic youth.

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[82] See for example, Holdaway, S (1996) *The Racialisation of British Policing* London: MacMillan

Chinese youth were however, much less concerned and more inclined to avoid community based activities choosing instead to 'do their own thing'.

Implications for Community Planning Partnerships and Policing

7.18   The conclusions and issues identified above have a number of implications for the development of policing policies within the context of community planning partnerships.

7.19   Community planning partnerships would be considerably assisted by a programme of community based research which maps changes in the situation of young people within established minority ethnic groups, in relation to the situation of newly arrived groups about which much less is known, and about relations between different communities. An absence of information can trigger fears and myths about the existence of gangs, racism and inter-group violence which may be vastly exaggerated, particularly by the media. Such up to date information is needed also on smaller groups such as Hindus and Sikhs and small communities of, for example, those from different African countries. Means should be developed to build on research such as this to reach groups who are much harder to reach via gatekeepers such as the most disengaged and/or economically deprived youth who don't attend groups.

7.20   It is clear from our knowledge to date that few generalizations can be made about minority ethnic youth as a whole or specific groups in particular. There is also a realization, as expressed by key stakeholders, that a 'one size fits all' policy cannot address the many differences within and between communities and that a range of culturally sensitive services is necessary. This should include recognition of a variety of specific issues such as those identified in Chapter Three - different cultural practices and identities; the significance of racism, religion, class and gender; the complex situation concerning how individuals and groups perceive issues of identity; intergenerational issues and changing educational and employment aspirations; changing attitudes to and experiences of policing and perceptions of racial, ethnic or faith based discrimination in employment, community services and policing.

7.21   The very different situation of what can be described as '3rd generation' minority ethnic young people underlines the situation that, as recognised by the police and other stakeholders, contacts with different communities need to be broadened beyond those organisations, often consisting of 'elders', who have been seen in the past as representative of different 'communities'. Our research indicates that where this is done, through for example, community police officers engaging in a non-confrontational manner with young people and taking time to appreciate their interests and needs, there is a far less critical view of the police.

7.22 While some minority ethnic young people exceed the performance of white young people in school, college and in Higher Education, other groups do not and it is important to recognise the specific needs of some BME youth in relation to, for example, information, support and encouragement in relation to educational and career opportunities which may not be forthcoming within their own ethnic group or from their parents.

7.23 It is also important to continually monitor perceptions and experiences of discrimination in employment across different minority ethnic groups - which was perceived to be common.

7.24 The finding that for many minority ethnic young people, 'racism', whether it is defined as trivial or serious, is an everyday occurrence and an issue which they have little confidence in the police to deal with suggests that all organisations in community planning partnerships should consider some means of monitoring experiences of such incidents and taking steps, along with young people, to combat this. Research has indicated that while some incidents may appear trivial, repeated experiences can become a much more serious problem.

7.25 The police and others engaged in community planning need to be sensitive to and aware of the increasingly complex interplay between different aspects of young people's identity such as ethnic or national origin, notions of 'Scottishness' and 'Britishness', in some cases religious identities. They also need to be aware, in the wake of perceived 'racism', of their significance for young people's perceptions of police and other service providers' responses to them which may readily forefront racial or religious over other aspects. In this way, problems with services whether concerned with education, employment, leisure or policing may be perceived as 'racist' although they may apply to young people as a whole.

7.26 Within this context failure, for example, on the part of the police to respond to complaints or intervene in incidents involving young people, or to recognise cultural differences, will also be perceived as indicative of racism. All service providers must therefore aim to be as sensitive to changes in cultures and perceptions of racism as possible.

7.27 Policing therefore faces several challenges amongst which are those indicated by the key stakeholders of recognising that many of the hard-to-reach groups in the minority ethnic communities remain disengaged and that there is much work to done to build up relationships of trust. It is important that efforts are made to reach as many sections of 'communities' as possible. It is envisaged that continuing to develop partnership working will help to facilitate this.

7.28   Many respondents felt that the police need to get to know minority communities and play a leading role in challenging the myths and racist stereotypes blamed for racism. While this may not be the specific role of police, it is one which community planning partnerships could well perform.

7.29   Many respondents felt that the police need to get to know minority communities and to play a leading role in challenging the myths and racist stereotypes blamed for racism. Community Planning Partnerships, by involving a range of service providers, could play a major role in developing a much broader understanding.

7.30   The provision of facilities for young people as a whole, particularly in the light of community regeneration and declining facilities is a challenge facing community planning partnerships. It is also important that planners recognize the actual and perceived barriers, of neighbourhood, religion and class, which lie in the way of some young people using those facilities which are available and taking steps to remove such barriers. It is also important that provision for youth be seen not only as a response to the needs of specific groups, although in some cases this may be important, but of all youth and that a balance be struck between the provision of much needed support for some communities and the provision of facilities open to all – many young people felt that cultural and sporting facilities open to all could play an integrative role.

7.31   In conclusion this research has established that while the police have achieved some success in building trust and relationships with the communities they serve in relation to Community policing from the point of view of minority ethnic young people this trust is not extended to the police more generally. Cultural insensitivity and a lack of recreational facilities for these youths is a cause for concern and a source of tension for these young people in their communities and with the police.

Racism is an everyday experience which is often endured rather than reported to police and while many of these young people acknowledge that the police have a difficult job to do in protecting them they also express concern about slow response times. Their perception was that their ethnicity, irrespective of the crime they were reporting, was a determining factor in how their calls were responded to and that responses to others would be faster.

Many minority ethnic young people are confident in their hybrid identities but deeply concerned that they are widely disapproved of, that their religion is not understood and that their place in society is under question - *'we're not confused, we're worried'*.

Recommendations

7.32   It is important that engagement with minority ethnic young people is built-in structurally, as a continuing and productive part of community policing. For example, developing on the precedents already established through consultations at school and community organisation level. The need for the development of systematic engagement with minority ethnic youth is clearly evident at both community and strategic levels.

7.33   Police engagement at the community level can be positive but consultation without results contributes towards the feelings of 'consultation fatigue' reported by community partners. Consideration should be given to addressing this by, for example, feedback meetings, reports, briefing sheets or newsletters on progress. Good channels of communication with minority ethnic young people should be established. Bridging the gap between consultation, police practice and service delivery is crucial to foster continuing good community relations.

7.34   The perceived racism and culturally insensitivity on the part of some officers in relation to encounters on the street with minority ethnic young people should be addressed in, for example, training and educational programmes involving minority ethnic community workers.

7.35   In order for the Police to establish a clearer understanding of the levels, and experiences, of racism reported by our respondents consideration should be given to establishing less formal ways for reporting and monitoring racist incidents in conjunction with community planning partners, or example, through community youth groups.

7.36   Negative media representation of minority groups needs to be challenged and ways of engaging the media in promoting more positive images sought. While anti-racist posters are welcomed, more positive images are needed to reinforce this message. It was felt that the media could do more to support minority ethnic youths by, for example, being more pro-active in reporting on multi-cultural events and educational initiatives aimed at challenging racism.

7.37   Service providers should aim to work towards the provision of culturally sensitive facilities. This should not be misunderstood as a request for separate facilities based on ethnicity, but integrative services, sensitive to the need of minority ethnic groups, in which youths from all ethnicities can participate,.

7.38   Education has been identified as a service where there is the potential to build on existing policies. For example, there is an identified need for more guidance and information about a broad range of educational and employment options to assist minority ethnic youths in making informed decisions on the

transition from education to employment. It was also felt that some aspects of racism could be challenged through education by fostering through the curriculum a greater understanding of different cultures and faiths.

7.39   The issue of discrimination in employment should be reviewed in a similar way to racist incidents. Minority ethnic young people argue that there needs to be greater transparency in the employment market. Employers need to be able to demonstrate that decisions on employment are commensurate with the qualifications, ability and suitability of the applicants and not on their ethnicity.

7.40   The need for future research is also evident from our findings especially for those harder-to-reach groups such as those who are disengaged from their own social and cultural communities, those from New Accession countries; gypsy travellers. There is also the need for inter- and intra-racial differences to be explored along with class and gender differences and a fuller exploration of areas of changing cultural diversity.

Summary Findings and Recommendations

- Key stakeholders in the community planning process agreed that while some good work has already been done, there is a need for more culturally sensitive services and that the heterogeneity of minority ethnic communities and the distinctiveness of the 3rd generation should be recognized along with changing cultural, religious and 'Scottish' identities.

- Participants in the focus groups reported that experiences of racism were a significant part of their everyday lives although not all of the Scottish population are perceived to be racist.

- Racism is seen to be based on a lack of understanding of their faiths and cultural differences. Particularly post 9/11 and 7/7 they report feeling more scrutinized.

- They are particularly critical of negative media representations which to them, are in large part responsible for many public misperceptions.

- Many felt that there is a lack of culturally sensitive facilities, particularly sporting ones. Many however felt that any such facilities should be open to all youth as a means of cultural integration and learning about different cultures.

- On the other hand, some, particularly Chinese youth were said to prefer to 'do their own thing'.

- Many respondents expressed a strong Scottish identity although this was stronger for Muslim youth than for Chinese or Sikh youth. To many of our participants Scotland is 'their country'.

- Inter-generational differences are evident and many young people are being encouraged by their parents and grandparents to move away from the traditional retail and restaurant trades. In addition many young Muslims expressed a recognition that they are more prepared to speak out about and combat perceived racism than the older generation.

- Many perceived continuing barriers to full participation in social and cultural activities. While some public agencies were viewed positively in respect of their encouragement of minority festivals, many expressed criticisms of over policing particularly of Eid. However community leaders and police are actively engaging in discussions and planning for policing future Eid celebrations.

- Many young people reported positive encounters with the police, particularly community based police officers who spent time engaging with young people and their activities.

- At the same time, there were strong perceptions amongst most participants that some actions of the police amounted to racism and reflected cultural insensitivity. Many lacked confidence in the judgement of the police.

- Because of this, along with a perception that response times would be slow, many would not report incidents to the police, and some expressed the opinion that they would prefer to deal with low level incidents themselves.

- Many expressed the view, based on their own experiences and those of family and friends, that the general situation as regards racism, and relations with the police, were much better in Scotland than south of the border.

Recommendations:

- Existing engagement with minority ethnic young people is productive and should be developed, for example, through building on engagement at school and community organisation level.

- Good channels of communication with minority ethnic young people should be continued through, for example, feedback meetings, reports, briefing sheets and newsletters on progress from consultations.

- The perceived cultural insensitivity on the part of some officers in encounters on the street with minority ethnic young people should be addressed in, for example, training and educational programmes involving minority ethnic community workers.

- Consideration should be given to establishing less formal ways for reporting and monitoring racist incidents in conjunction with community planning partners, for example, through community youth groups.

- The police should work together with the media to challenge negative media representation of minority groups and to promote more positive images.

- Service providers should aim to work towards the provision of culturally sensitive facilities, which need not be separate, but integrative facilities.

- Within education, there is a need for more guidance and information about a broad range of educational and employment options to assist minority ethnic youth along with fostering through the curriculum a greater understanding of different cultures and faiths.

- Minority ethnic young people argue that there needs to be greater transparency in the employment market.

- The need for future research is evident especially in relation to harder-to-reach groups such as those who are disengaged from their own communities and new arrivals from New Accession countries. There is also the need for inter- and intra-racial differences to be further explored along with class and gender differences.

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APPENDIX 1 – KEY INFORMANTS

Police:
Assistant Chief Constanble John Neilson, Strathclyde Police.
Chief Superintendent John Pollock Strathclyde Police.
Chief Inspector Grant Manders, Strathclyde Police (Seconded).
Inspector Ian McKim, Strathclyde Police.

Chief Superintendent George Simpson, Lothian & Borders Police.
Superintendent Derek Wheldon, Lothian & Borders Police.
Chief Inspector George Denholm, Lothian & Borders Police.
Inspector McCartney, Lothian & Borders Police

Community Workers and Community Partner Representatives:
Kalim Uddin – Glasgow Community and Safety Services
Rami Ousta –Bemis
Anne Hamilton – Glasgow City Council - Community Planning
Mary Hastie – Sikh Women's Support Group
ELREC
Martin – local businessman in one of the localities researched
Stephanie Chan – Youth Project Chinese Community Development Partnership
Anas Sarwar – involved in youth work
Atta Yacqub – involved in youth work

APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Researching 3rd Generation BME Youth.

Interview Schedule
(for use in stakeholder interviews)

Introduction to/explanation of/ the study:

We are investigating the experiences of 3rd generation BME youths in Central Scotland in relation to policing. This piece of research has been commissioned by Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police. The aim of the study to provide, for the purpose of developing policing policy for the next decade, insight into the needs of youths in our multi-cultural society.

Questions:

1. Can you tell me about your organisation? Its main aims/objectives/function…. etc.

2. What is your involvement with Scottish youth and in particular BME youths?

3. What would you/your organisation identify as the main concerns faced by youths? Are these concerns shared by all youths or solely by BME youths?

4. Do these issues of concern differ according to gender, ethnicity, faith …..etc?

5. Are these issues/concerns specifically related to policing?

6. Are there specific social/cultural concerns in relation to policing?

7. Do you feel that the issues/concerns faced/voiced by BME youths are different from:

(i) the concerns of previous generations of youths; and
(ii) the concerns of white youths?

8. What is your reaction to our study?

9. What advice would you give to the police?

10. What would you like to see change?

11. Are there ways in which you feel your own community could contribute towards fostering better policing relations?

12. Are there specific youth groups in your area that you feel should be included in this study?

APPENDIX 3 – FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

FOCUS GROUP SUMMARY

ID	Group	Location	Team		Group profile			Date	No.
			Main	Helping	Ethnicty	Generation	Gender		
1	Bellshill Mosque 1	Bellshill, Lanarshire	LR	RR	Scottish Pakistani, other	4 2nd, 3 1st	F	18 Jan	7
2	Bellshill Mosque 2	Bellshill, Lanarshire	BH	LF	Scottish Pakistani	Mostly 2nd, some 1st	M	18 Jan	6
3	Youth Counselling Services Agency	Glasgow	LF	--	Scottish Pakistani	6 2nd, 5 3rd	Mixed	22 Jan	12
4	6VT Youth Café	Edinburgh	RR	LR	White Scottish, Mixed	Mostly 2nd, some 1st	Mixed	24 Jan	10
5	Chinese Community Development Partnership	Glasgow	LR	RR	Chinese, one Pakistani	2nd	Mixed	31 Jan	8
6	Active Life Club (male)	Glasgow	BH	LR	Pakistani, Mixed	3rd	Male	21 Feb	10
7	Active Life Club (female)	Glasgow	LF	GS	Pakistani, Indian, African and Scottish	3rd and 1st	Female	23 Feb	7
8	Pakistan Society (Group 1)	Edinburgh	BH	HC	Pakistani	3rd and 2nd	Male	1 Mar	5
9	Pakistan Society (Group 2)	Edinburgh	RR	--	Pakistani	3rd	Male	1 Mar	7
10	Pakistan Society (Group 3)	Edinburgh	LF	--	Pakistani	3rd	Male	1 Mar	8
11	Pakistan Society (Group 4)	Edinburgh	GS	--	Pakistani	3rd	Male	1 Mar	6
12	Sikh Temple	Edinburgh	LF	--	Indian	1st and 3rd.	Male	25Mar	4

APPENDIX 4 – FOCUS GROUP TOPIC GUIDE

Researching 3rd Generation BME Youth.

Focus Group Schedule

Introduction to/explanation of/ the study:

We are investigating the experiences of 3rd generation minority ethnic* youths in Central Scotland in relation to policing. The research has been commissioned by Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police. The aim of the study to provide, for the purpose of developing policing policy for the next decade, insight into the needs of youths in our multi-cultural society.

*nb: police research in Edinburgh found young people don't necessarily know what BME means – so use the phrase minority ethnic

General themes

☐ Living here – neighbourhood, place of interview

☐ Regional recreation activities, youth facilities

☐ Racism (may include Islamaphobia)

☐ Policing – experiences, attitudes, needs, aspirations

☐ Perceived similarities and differences with other ethnic minority and white youth

☐ 'Third generation' - identity (Scottishness, etc)

☐ Intergenerational - similarities and differences with how parents view themselves, religion etc

Example questions

Living here – neighbourhood, place of interview
So what's it like living here?

Do you feel safe living here?

Have you been coming for a long time? Why do you come?

Local recreation activities, youth facilities
Obviously all of you attend this group, what other kinds of things do you do when you're not at school/work? Sports, socialising? What do you do in your spare time?

What kind of facilities are available around here for young people? (What about facilities for people in your ethnic community?)

Racism (and Islamaphobia)
Is racism a problem for you? Where (at school, in the neighbourhood, at work)? In what ways is it a problem? What do you do about it?

Has anyone ever tried to make you feel bad about your ethnicity/identity/religion? How? How does that make you feel? Has it affected how you feel about living here?

Policing - experiences, attitudes, needs, aspirations
What do you think of the police? How have you come across them? (school, neighbourhood, work?)

If you or someone you knew was harassed, bullied or victimised, would you report it to the police or would you go elsewhere? Why?

If you or someone you knew was racially harassed, bullied or victimised, would you report it to the police or would you go elsewhere? Why?

What about if something was stolen from you?

If we asked you to draw up a 'wish list' where you could have whatever you wanted and it wouldn't matter how much it cost what would you like to see the police doing to improve policing in this area? Any other agencies? Anything else?

Perceived similarities and differences with other ethnic youth including white
Do you feel some ethnic youth are more privileged than others in this area? (In what ways are you all in the same boat?)

'Third generation' - identity (Scottishness, etc)
People talk about the 'third generation'. Is that you? How are third generation different to people who just migrated here, or whose parents were migrants (2nd generation)?

So who here is Scottish? Who isn't? If someone asks you 'what's your identity', how would you answer? Would you just say Scottish or Scottish Pakistani/Chinese or what would you say?

Intergenerational - similarities and differences with how parents view themselves, religion etc
Is your identity different from your mother and father – do you think they think about themselves differently to you, or is it pretty similar?

Is your attitude to your identity/faith different to your Mum and Dad's do you think? In what way?

How about your experiences of education and the labour market? Are they different
to your Mum's and Dad's? In what way.

Any other comments?

APPENDIX 5

Researching BME Youth in Scotland

Our research team at the Caledonian Centre for Equality and Diversity (Glasgow Caledonian University) is carrying out on a short-term project about the needs and aspirations of young people from ethnic minority communities in the central belt in Scotland. We were asked to carry out this research by Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police who will use our findings to inform their plans for policing in the region for the next ten years. They are carrying out the research because they would like to know more about the problems and experiences of young people from ethnic minority groups so they can provide the police support that those young people need.

Our target group is young people aged 16-25. We're especially interested to talk to second and third generation (Scottish born ethnic minority youth) about their day-to-day experiences in school, at work, at home and in their leisure time and about identity. We also want to ask them what their neighbourhood is like, what they think about resources available to them, what resources they would like to have and their perceptions and aspirations for community issues like policing.

We are in the process of organising twelve focus groups across the region with about 10-15 people in each, though some may be larger or smaller. As our schedule is very tight now we would like to organise these as soon as possible. Our team can travel to your venue or arrange a venue at your convenience (evenings and weekends are ok). The groups will take about an hour and we will pay each participant £10 for their trouble. Participants will be anonymous. Basic factual information (age, etc) will be collected but will be provided anonymously.

After the project report has been prepared in March 2007, groups and individuals who have participated will receive a summary by email or post. Forms will be provided at the focus groups for participants who wish to receive their own copy to leave contact details. Otherwise the summary will be made available to the officers of the organisation which has set up the focus group. Alternatively the summary can be obtained after March through members of the research team.

For further information please contact one of the following members of the research team:

Liz Frondigoun: liz.frondigoun@gcal.ac.uk phone 0141 331 3994
Rachel Russell: r.russell@gcal.ac.uk phone 0141 331 8594
Gill Scott: j.m.scott@gcal.ac.uk phone 0141 331 3493
Or email bmeyouthscot@hotmail.co.uk .

Appendix 6

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**RESEARCHING BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC
COMMUNITIES IN SCOTLAND.**

</div>

Request for Executive Copy of Research Findings.

If you'd like to receive a Executive Copy (summary) of the findings of the research when it's completed please complete the form below. You can request a hard copy by giving your name and address or an electronic copy by giving your email address. You can either hand this request to the researcher facilitating the group discussion or send in your request by post to: Liz Frondigoun, W504b, Hamish Wood Building, School of Law and Social Sciences, Glasgow Caledonian University, Cowcaddens Road, Glasgow G4 0BA.

Name: _____

Address:_____
_____
_____Post Code _____

E-mail: _____

Your contact details will be kept separately from the research data to maintain your anonymity.

APPENDIX 7

RESEARCHING BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN SCOTLAND.

Participant Agreement
Focus Group – PLACE
DATE

I, _____, agree to participate in this research project on experiences of ethnic minority youth in the central belt of Scotland that is being conducted by …… …………………………………………………..of the Caledonian Centre for Equality and Diversity for Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police Forces.

The purpose of this study is to explore the challenges and aspirations of 16-25 year old ethnic minority youth, including experiences of identity, employment, education and policing, with a particular focus on 'third generation' youth and inter-generational issues.

I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and that if I wish to withdraw from the study or to leave, I may do so at any time, and that I do not need to give any reason or explanation for doing so. If I do withdraw from the study, I understand that this will have no effect on my relationship with either the other participants or the research team.

I understand that all the information I give will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law, and that the names of all the people in the study will be kept confidential.

I understand that I will receive a I will receive a small attendance fee of £10 for participating in this study, and that my participation may help in improving policing for minority ethnic communities in central Scotland in the future.

The members of the research team have offered to answer any questions I may have about the study and what I am expected to do.

I have read and understand this information and I agree to take part in the study.

Date _____   Signature_____

If you have any concerns about this study, please contact Liz Frondigoun on 0141-331-3994 or email bmeyouthscot@hotmail.co.uk

APPENDIX 8

<u>RESEARCHING BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN SCOTLAND.</u>

Focus Group Participant Profile.

These questions are to give a statistical background of those who have participated in this study.

1.   Gender (please circle):   Male   Female

2.   Age Group (please tick) –

               16-18
               18-21
               21-25

3.   What is your ethnic group? Choose ONE section from A to E, then tick the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British
               Indian
               Pakistani
               Bangladeshi
               Chinese
               Any other Asian background, please write in

               _____

B Black, Black Scottish or Black British
               Caribbean
               African
               Any other Black background, please write in

               _____

C White
               Scottish
               Other British
               Irish
               Any other White background, please write in

               _____

D Mixed
               Any Mixed background, please write in
               _____

E Other Ethnic background
               Any other background, please write in
               _____

4. Educational/employment status (please tick)
   Are you at:

        School
        College
        University
        Employed Part-time while a student
        Employed Full-time (please state your type of
        Employment)

        _____

        Unemployed

5. Educational attainment:
   Do you have any of the following qualifications:

        Standard Grades
        Highers
        HNC
        HND
        Degree and/or Postgraduate
        None of the above

6. How long have you lived in Scotland:

        All of your life
        Over 10 years
        Over 5 years
        Over 2 years
        Only recently come to live in Scotland

7. In which country were your parents born? (leave empty if not known)

        Father _____

        Mother_____

8. In which country were your grandparents born? (leave empty if not known)

        Mother's father _____
        Mother's mother _____
        Father's father _____
        Father's mother _____

9. Do you consider yourself to be Scottish?   Yes   No

Comments: