Aspects of Scottish Migration History with Particular
Emphasis on Contemporary Pakistani and Bangladeshi
Migration

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Summary

The central object of this thesis is to locate and analyse the underlying determinants which have structured the scale and dynamic of Scottish migration patterns both historically and in the contemporary period.

The discussion is concerned primarily with highlighting the inadequacies of existing economistic explanations of migration in the context of the Scottish experience. It is demonstrated that existing studies of migration carried out within the English context, and in particular of contemporary migration from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, fail to acknowledge the role of distinct Scottish social, economic and political factors in structuring the scale and dynamic of migrations.

The importance of recognising a distinct Scottish context is demonstrated theoretically and empirically through a systematic establishment of both the strength and the weakness of the links between migration flows and labour demands. By systematically locating the determinants of Scottish migration patterns through historical reconstruction and a contemporary case study of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migration, it is argued that although an economic demand for labour may be a central determinant of some migration patterns during specific historical periods and under certain structural circumstances, it is not a necessary determinant of all migration flows. Therefore, in those instances where a demand for labour does not appear to adequately explain any given instance of migration, additional structural factors are isolated and accounted for.

Introduction

During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a rapid proliferation in the number of studies which sought to analyse factors structuring the scale and dynamic of migration flows to Britain from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan. In effect, however, these studies dealt almost exclusively with the English context and paid little or no attention to contemporary migration flows into Scotland. Indeed, any cursory reference which is made was in a casual and unconnected fashion, with no consideration of the distinct Scottish economic, social and political context in structuring the scale and dynamic of these migrations. As a result of this widespread neglect and omission within the literature, one cannot therefore assume that the conclusions drawn from studies carried out within the English context are necessarily applicable in the Scottish instance.

In the light of this, it is the object of this thesis to redress part of this imbalance. Through both historical reconstruction and a contemporary case study of Scottish migration patterns, I will seek an analysis which does not simply superimpose existing approaches and conclusions from the English context but which takes account of distinctive characteristics of the Scottish economic, social and political structure in defining the scale and dynamic of migrations both historically and in the contemporary period.

An Overview.

The origins of the analytical neglect of contemporary migration flows into Scotland within the extant literature can be traced to a number of factors. First, I would not underestimate the role played by ethnocentric English educational establishments in setting a myopic

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research agenda. Sherwood's "imperialist historians" (1985b: 138) exist in the ranks of sociologists, geographers and demographers alike, and both directly and indirectly through their neglect have contributed to a persistent image of Scotland as a country of "emigration". Although in terms of overall demographic trends, Scottish society has been characterised both historically and in the post-1945 period by high levels of emigration (Flinn, 1977: 448; Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 10), as I will demonstrate more fully in the main body of this thesis, there is ample evidence to confirm a multiplicity of varied inward migrations.

Second, the particular neglect of contemporary migration to Scotland within the extant literature has, to a large degree been the result of the analytical dominance of purely economistic explanations of migration which seek to account for the inward movements from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan solely in terms of responses to demands for labour within the 'British' economy during the post-war period. Within this framework, the possibility of any significant migration to Scotland from these areas - and hence the subsequent likelihood of any serious analysis - has been effectively ruled out on the grounds that the Scottish economy did not appear to experience the same degree of sectoral labour shortages as the English economy during this period.

Such an approach is epitomised in the influential work of Ceri Peach (1968). Ironically, although on the one hand, Peach is one of the few writers who has made any reference to contemporary New Commonwealth migration within the Scottish context, on the other, the possibility of any "significant" settlement has been casually dismissed. For example, writing in 1968 on factors affecting the migration to, and subsequent distribution of West Indian migrants in Britain, Peach concluded:

> "The main determinant of West Indian migration to Britain has been the **demand for labour** in this country......." (1968: 92; my emphasis)

Further, when referring to the **internal** distribution of migrants within Britain, Peach maintains:

> "....... On a regional scale, the **primary determinant** of the distribution of the main coloured immigrant groups has been **demand for labour**: they have avoided areas of unemployment

(Wales, Scotland, North and North Western standard regions) and settled in regions of demand". (1968: 95; my emphasis)

The conclusions drawn by Peach and, in particular, his findings on the role played by labour demands in the process of migration, have been influential in subsequent analyses not only of West Indian migration to, and settlement in Britain during the post-1945 period, but also in studies of migration and settlement from areas of the Indian subcontinent. **Vaughan Robinson** (1980, 1986), for example – although arguing that initial migration from the Indian subcontinent does not appear to be as closely linked as West Indian migration to demands for labour within the British economy during the post-1945 period – maintains that patterns of migration and settlement **within** Britain are closely allied to regional demands for labour (1980: 119; 1986: 28);

> "Once Asians have gained entry to the UK, many of their settlement patterns were determined purely by economic, or pull factors." (1986: 28)

Similarly, **Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack** writing in 1973, although concerned more generally with migration patterns to Western Europe, cite the work of Peach as evidence of the relationship between labour demand and immigration in the British context: "... *the demands of the Western European labour market may be regarded as the dynamic factor which has determined the volume of migratory flows*" (1973: 27).

Indeed, such has been the persistent dominance of economistic explanations of migration within the extant literature that it has only been fairly recently that the conclusions of Peach (1968), Castles and Kosack (1973) and others on the dominant role of labour demands in the process of migration have been questioned. The 1980s, however, have witnessed the development of a body of thought which questions the overt simplicity and apparent naïvety of such purely "economistic" approaches. In relation to this, the work of, for example, **Carter, Harris and Joshi** (1987), **Harris** (1987), **Joshi and Carter** (1984), and **Miles and Solomos** (1987), have highlighted the central role played by ideological and political factors and, in particular, the role of the state as a crucial mediating institution, in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration

flows. And it is to a further, if small, contribution to this body of critical thought that this thesis is primarily concerned.

Locating a Distinct Scottish Context.

The subject matter of this thesis arose from two directions: first, from my concern over the noticeable absence of studies on contemporary migration to Scotland and second, from what I regarded as the general inadequacy of existing "economistic" explanations of migration which focussed solely on demands for labour. The work of Peach (1968), and in particular his comments that the reason relatively few migrants have settled in Scotland in the post-1945 period is the result of low labour demands within the Scottish economy (1968: 64-70), led me to question the empirical adequacy and analytical strength of existing studies of migration carried out in the English context and, in particular their application to Scotland. It appeared to be necessary to reconstruct and analyse Scottish migration patterns both historically and in the contemporary period in order to understand the underlying mechanisms in the process of migration. In particular, I was interested in assessing the extent of the link between migration and labour demands in the Scottish context, and where this link appeared to be weak or absent, to locate additional factors which may have structured the scale and dynamic of migration. This appeared to be of particular significance in explaining post-1945 migration patterns in the light of the apparent weakness of the economic factor.

I was aware that in comparison with other areas of Britain, for example, London and the South-East, and the Midlands, Scotland's New Commonwealth and Pakistan population was small. Nevertheless, it appeared that while Peach's explanation may account for the reason why, relative to England, NCWP migration to Scotland was limited, it did not adequately explain the migration which manifestly did occur. Further, as a result of comments made by Harris (1987: 83), which indicate that Peach's analysis only addresses surface phenomena and fails to understand the structural processes which have given rise to labour shortages, I also questioned why large-scale labour shortages did not appear to

develop within the Scottish economy on the scale of sectors of the English economy during the post-war period. It appeared, therefore, that such fundamental questions had to be addressed in order to adequately understand the process of migration in the Scottish context.

A search through the very limited number of studies which deal directly with various aspects of the NCWP population living in Scotland, further confirmed that the issue of factors structuring the scale and dynamic of this migration had not been adequately addressed or satisfactorily dealt with even within this literature. Indeed, the apparent "popularity" of explanations which seek to account for variations in the spatial distribution of migrants from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan within Britain in terms of regional demands for labour, are strong currency for those few writers who have sought to analyse various aspects of the NCWP population living in Scotland. For example, **Huw Jones and Maureen Davenport**, writing in 1972 on the growth and demographic structure of the Pakistani community living in Dundee, maintain:

> "Because of persistently low labour demand, Scotland, like Wales and the Northern region of England, has attracted only a small part of the appreciable flow of migrants from Commonwealth countries to Britain in the last two decades....". (1972: 75)".

Similarly, **Geoffrey Kearsley and Sheela Srivastava** (1974) in a discussion of the spatial evolution of the city of Glasgow's Asian community, point out that:

> "The overall proportion of immigrants is quite low [in Glasgow]..... That this should be so is probably a reflection of the persistently poor level of labour demand which has characterised the West of Scotland particularly throughout the the post-war period, and which is identified by both Peach (1966) and Rose (1969) as an important variable in the attraction of immigrant labour". (1974: 110)

With the exception of the work of Jones and Davenport (1972), which linked the growth of Dundee's Pakistani community to demands for labour within the city's jute industry in the early 1960s, none of these writers has produced an adequate and satisfactory explanation of the migration which **did** take place.

Thus, in many respects, and in particular in the light of the limited amount of material which deals specifically with contemporary migration to Scotland, I was given a *carte blanche* to construct the beginnings of an explanation of historical and contemporary migrations in the Scottish context. The work of Peach, despite my reservations, provided an important starting point from which to begin to unravel the factors in the process. In particular, it became apparent that in order to begin to locate factors structuring the scale and dynamic of migration to Scotland, it was necessary to focus on the **differences** of the Scottish context rather than the similarities vis-à-vis England. In relation to this, I located three major factors which I believed had to be taken into account when analysing the Scottish context.

First, the Scottish economy has a distinct historical trajectory. Structural developments during the 19th century, and in particular the rise of heavy industry geared for the export market have had lasting implications for the economic development and prosperity of Scotland. Further, the historical development of the Scottish economy (Dickson, 1980), its satellite status relative to the English economy, and its greater dependence on investment by international companies after 1945 (Scott and Hughes, 1976), has left it more vulnerable to economic crisis than the English economy (Saville, 1985). The contemporary evidence of this can be seen not only in the high levels of unemployment and industrial decline which has characterised much of the post-war period, but also in the general absence of large-scale sectoral labour shortages. Further, in light of Harris' comments (1987: 83) which criticise writers such as Peach (1968) on the grounds that they examine only surface phenomena and fail to address the underlying structural factors, I found it necessary to locate the structural reasons why historically and in the contemporary period the Scottish economy did, and conversely did not, develop labour shortages.

Second, and consequently, Scotland has a distinct migration history. In terms of overall demographic trends, Scottish society has been characterised historically by high levels of emigration (Flinn, 1977: 448), a trend which has continued to be an important element of Scottish population history after 1945. In the period between 1961 and 1971, for

example, net population loss by emigration stood at 95 per cent of the natural increase for the period (Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 10). Nevertheless, this should not obscure the significant inward migrations which have taken place, particularly from Ireland (Handley, 1945; 1947; Jackson, 1963), and to a lesser extent from areas of Europe and the Indian subcontinent during the 19th and early 20th centuries (Flinn, 1977: 458; Rodgers, 1982; Salter, 1873; Visram, 1986: 60-1, 64). However, during the post-1945 period, inward migration has been relatively limited when compared to the experience of England. Peach himself comments that in 1961, for example, the number of West Indian, Indian and Pakistani migrants in Scotland numbered 4,437 compared with 126,726 in London and the South-east of England alone (1968: 67). Further, migration from the West Indies to Scotland has been almost non-existent, the majority of migrants originating from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Scottish Office, 1983).

Third, and finally, Scotland remains politically and culturally distinct from England in a number of respects. The historical development of Scotland as a distinct nation-state following the Union of Parliaments in 1707 has preserved a number of separate legal, political and social institutions (see for example, Nairn, 1981; Harvie, 1981; Kellas, 1984). As I have argued in greater detail elsewhere, this has had some bearing on the political reaction to New Commonwealth migration (cf. Miles and Dunlop, 1986, 1987). The significance of this for the present discussion, however, manifests itself at two levels. First, particularly in the absence of urban "riots" in the 1980s, the presence of Black people in Scotland has not been racialised and problematised at a political level. Second, and as a result of this, although Black migrants and their families living in Scotland experience racism and discrimination, this has not received widespread recognition at both the popular and academic/institutional level. Thus, until fairly recently, at least, it was widely - although erroneously - believed that there was no racism in Scotland. I would suggest that this may have had some bearing on subsequent migration flows, particularly with respect to those migrants who have settled in the first instance in England and who may have perceived Scotland as a more attractive destination.

In the light of these factors, the following thesis aims at assessing the relevance and influence of these observations upon the subsequent analysis of Scottish migration history.

Organisation of the Thesis.

The main body of the thesis is organised into four main chapters which are in turn sub-divided. Chapter One is primarily an elaboration of some of the themes and issues raised in the Introduction. I first review and critique a selection of literature which purports to address factors structuring the scale and dynamic of Asian and Afro-Caribbean migration to Britain both historically and in the contemporary period but which in effect deals only with the English context. In doing so I suggest why such literature is of only limited application to the Scottish experience. In the second section, I present a more specific critique of existing economistic explanations of migration. Here, I highlight not only their one-dimensional approach but also their failure to acknowledge the central role played by ideological and political factors, particularly the role of the state, in structuring the scale and dynamic of migrations both historically and in the contemporary period.

Chapter Two examines the structural dynamics of the development of labour shortages within the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period. The Chapter will be divided into two main parts, linked by a smaller sub-section. In the first section I locate the late 18th and 19th centuries as a period of rapid economic change and expansion which resulted in increased demands for labour. Following from this, I examine the period from approximately the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the Second World War in which the Scottish economy exhibited not only characteristics of expansion but also early indications of decline. In the final section I discuss the development of the post-1945 Scottish economy, and, in particular, locate the structural reasons why large-scale sectoral labour shortages did not develop.

In Chapter Three, again using secondary sources, I assess the extent of the link between the structural economic factors outlined in Chapter Two and the historical and contemporary migration patterns which have taken place within the Scottish context. The Chapter will be divided

into three parts. In the first section, I discuss migration patterns during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I then examine the period from the beginning of the twentieth century until the end of the Second World War. In the final section I discuss migrations during the post-1945 period. Although it will be demonstrated that under certain historical conditions and specific structural circumstances some population movements can be linked to labour demands within the Scottish economy, it will be demonstrated that not all population movements can be accounted for in this way. Thus, in this chapter I will also be concerned with locating factors which, in the absence of labour demands, contributed to the migration.

Finally, in the absence of any satisfactory material which deals with factors structuring the contemporary migration of New Commonwealth migrants to Scotland, Chapter Four analyses original empirical data collected from a sample of male Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants who settled in the city of Glasgow in the post-1945 period. The Chapter will be divided into two main sections with a shorter introductory section. Initially, I examine the background characteristics of migrants before migration to the UK. Following from this, I consider the process of **Primary Migration**, in which I locate the central factors which have structured individual migrant's decisions to leave the Subcontinent and migrate to the UK. In the final section, I consider the process of **Secondary or Internal Migration**. Here I will be concerned not only with identifying those factors which have structured migration and settlement specifically in Glasgow, but will also demonstrate that existing studies of migration to Britain have failed to take account of the specific characteristics of the migration process within the Scottish context.

Given the central importance and original contribution made by the empirical data analysed in the final chapter, I devote the remainder of this Introduction to a discussion of the history and methodology of the fieldwork used to collect the data.

Fieldwork: Methodology and History.

. As I have already indicated, there is a distinct absence of extant secondary material and archival sources which deal specifically with migration to Scotland from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan in the post-1945 period. In the light of this, therefore, it appeared that the only source of information was directly from the NCWP communities living in Scotland. For obvious practical purposes, it was not possible to carry out research in all the main settlement areas in the country, and therefore, because I was based in Glasgow, all the subsequent fieldwork was carried out in the city. As a result, the empirical data used in Chapter 4 was collected from a sample of 35 Pakistani and Bangladeshi men living in Glasgow between the period of June to December 1986.

History of the Research.

The fieldwork history began with what is now, in retrospect, a rather ambitious project. At the outset, I intended to build up a detailed profile, through subjective perceptions, of the process of migration of both men and women who had settled in Glasgow at various stages from areas of the Indian subcontinent. In particular, I was interested in tracing the origins of the migration, first through oral histories of the earliest "pioneer migrants", many of whom had arrived before the Second World War and who were still resident in the city, and second, through interviews with people who had arrived in the post-1945 period. My interest in this was the result of a number of factors. First, and most importantly, I was particularly concerned about the lack of adequate existing data on factors structuring Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi migration to Scotland both historically and in the contemporary period. Several of the older members of the communities had been living in Glasgow for over fifty years (Maan, 1967) and I was keen to hear the history of their arrival and life in this country.

Second, and of no less importance, I was also interested in the process of migration from the perspective of female migrants. I had become increasingly aware of the treatment of women within migration studies as invisible, "inactive dependant wives and mothers" with no importance as individuals in the migration process. In this respect, therefore, I was determined not to fall into the "trap" of many existing studies, but to locate factors affecting the process of migration of female migrants who had settled in Scotland[1].

In reality, however, this study has not reached many of these initial objectives and I can be accused, particularly, of once again contributing to the persistent invisibility of women in migration studies. In spite of my initial aims, however, I quickly realised that practically, for one person, it would be impossible to interview the number of male and female migrants needed in order to obtain any significant results: at best I anticipated that I would be able to interview perhaps 60 individuals, but spread over three groups and two sexes this would not have amounted to a realistic sample. Further, as has been indicated by, for example, Jeffery (1976: 72), a conversant knowledge of a south-asian language is essential if one is to gain access particularly to female informants. My lack of any language skills and interpretation resources in this area therefore effectively ruled out the possibility of interviewing women. It was also suggested that if I was to make any sense of the data once it was collected, it would be necessary to have a very clearly defined frame of reference which could be easily ascribed to one, or at the most, two, groups.

In spite of these limitations, however, it was relatively independent developments within the early stages of the fieldwork which dictated the boundaries of both the subsequent research and the analysis. As a 'white' woman with no knowledge of any of the south-asian languages, I did not have direct access to any of the Asian communities in the city and

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[1] In recent years, a number of writers have highlighted the active participation of women in the migration process. Such studies highlight that women are not passive, inactive wives, mothers and dependants, but on the contrary have taken an active role by migrating as individuals or in the decision-making process of migration (see, for example, Allen, 1982; Jeffery, 1976; Morokvasic, 1984; Phizacklea, (ed.), 1983).

therefore had to rely upon the willingness and help of individual members
in order to gain access (see Jeffery, 1976: 70-1 for a similar
experience; also Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 56. 61-2).   It was
fortunate, however, that I had been involved, in a voluntary capacity,
with an Asian organisation in Glasgow for some time and it was
indirectly through this that I was able to actively begin my research.
My initial contact, a Bangladeshi man whom I had known for some time
before beginning the research, agreed to act as sponsor, and subsequently
introduced me to three other Bangladeshi men who agreed to be
interviewed in the early stages.   My sponsor also had a number of
contacts within Glasgow's Pakistani community and introduced me to one
Pakistani man who subsequently became my key contact during the rest of
the fieldwork.   Through this particular individual I was then able to
interview the vast majority of Pakistani informants in the sample. Thus,
because my key contacts were from Glasgow's Pakistani and Bangladeshi
communities, and since I had already broken into both these networks, I
decided to restrict my interviews to these groups.

Interview Procedure

During the period June 1986 until December 1986 I met with, and
interviewed a total of 35 Bangladeshi and Pakistani men who had been
living in Glasgow for varying lengths of time.   In all but two instances,
I was personally introduced by my sponsor who reassured them that my
intentions were "honourable" and that he personally had been interviewed.
This personal introduction helped tremendously with the building of some
degree of rapport and trust (for a discussion of the importance of this
see, for example, Benney and Hughes, 1977: 239).   The importance of this
was confirmed on the two occasions when my sponsor was too busy to make
a personal introduction but had sent me to meet someone with his
recommendation.   Although in these two instances the informants were
willing to be interviewed, I was aware that there was not the same degree
of trust than there was when my sponsor made a personal introduction and
this to some degree affected the quality of the interviews.   Further, this
confirmed the obvious practicalities of conducting interviews as a "non-
member" of a community, highlighting the importance of having a sponsor.

Had I attempted to approach people on my own I am sure, like Jeffery (1976: 72), I would never have achieved my aims.

Because I was primarily concerned to establish and explore the personal perceptions of the migration process and to obtain qualitative rather than quantitative data, I intended to carry out only 35 in-depth interviews. This is a reflection of both my position as an "outsider" and my overall research objectives. Because I was not a member of the community, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for me to interview door-to-door: people would have been suspicious, rightly, of my intentions. Further, because of the detail I wanted to find out, coupled with the often intimate nature of the questions, and the necessity of having a sponsor, it would not have been practical to carrying out a survey-based research project.

It was not my intention from the outset to seek a fully representative sample - this would not have been possible given the limitations I have already indicated - because it was not my objective to draw conclusions from the interview data about the absolute size and composition of the communities resident in Glasgow, nor to measure precisely the various origins of the migration. Rather, I was more concerned with identifying the main determinants of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migration to and settlement in Glasgow, even if the relative significance could not be determined or satisfactorily generalised to the rest of the population. The interview schedule which I used (see Appendix 1) was therefore designed to elicit qualitative rather than quantitative information and its length reflects this aim.

The questions which I used were informal and loosely structured in order to maximise, as far as possible, the quality of information people were willing to give me. I used a number of directive and non-directive questions which allowed the informants to talk freely about what they wanted within this broad framework without feeling pressurised to answer questions spontaneously "on demand" (for a discussion of this see, for example, Benney and Hughes, 1977: 234; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 110, 113; see also the experiences of Anwar, 1985: 226-8). I found that this was a very effective method of obtaining detailed information. On the occasion when informants began to wander too far off the subject it was

necessary to draw them back to the point. I found, overall, however, that
the questions I had devised were sufficient to keep the discussion
roughly to the point and the conversations were often so free-flowing
that I did not need to prompt many of the men to answer any questions:
answers to my anticipated questions very often appeared spontaneously
and in advance, what are referred to by Hammersley and Atkinson as
"unsolicited answers" (1983: 110).

All interviews were conducted in English on a one-to-one basis in
the absence of other individuals in order to maintain privacy and avoid
the possible detrimental influence of the presence of another person.
However, as I will highlight when I discuss the limitations of the
research shortly, privacy was often impossible, particularly in those
situations where the interview was conducted in business premises. The
length of the interviews lasted anywhere from 30 minutes to several
hours. I was fortunate, however, that each interview was completed in one
session. Informants were reassured about the confidentiality of the
interview by both myself and my sponsor, and in many instances I did not
know the exact name of the person I was talking to. I have sought
throughout to maintain anonymity of the individuals and in my discussion
of the data in Chapter 4 I strive to present the material in fashion
which cannot link it to any specific individual.

In all but two instances, the interview was tape-recorded. Each
person was given the opportunity to refuse and to ask that the interview
be hand-written without the use of the tape-recorder. It is interesting
to note that in the two instances where informants refused to have the
interview recorded it was when my sponsor was not present, further
confirming their important role in research of this nature. I choose to
record the data in this way in order to maximise the quality of material
I could collect and to maintain, as far as possible an unobtrusive and
informal position in which informants could talk freely. In the majority
of instances, informants commented that after the initial few minutes
they had not been aware that the conversation was being recorded. This
again proved to be the most effective and appropriate method (for a
discussion of the advantages, and disadvantages of this data recording
method see for example Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 157-9).

Analysis of Data

With the exception of the two interviews that had not been recorded, all data had to be transcribed from tape. This proved to the the most time-consuming - and tedious - stage in the project. Once this stage had been completed, however, I was faced with the ominous task of collating and making sense of the data. Because much of the material had been obtained through informal interviewing, a large proportion was not in any strict order, making cross-reference between interview material impossible. I therefore had to devise a coding sheet which would standardise the layout of the information and make subsequent analysis possible. After much reading and re-reading of each interview, I was aware of an emergent pattern and the recurrence of certain responses. In light of this, and using my original interview schedule as a guide, I was able to draw up a lengthy, but now standardised coding sheet (see Appendix 2). This made possible the subsequent analysis of my data and the location of certain key themes throughout.

Initially, the questions I had asked each informant covered many varied subjects, some of which, in retrospect, were not directly connected to the migration process. As a result, I was faced with a vast amount of information, not all of which could be used in the final writing of this work. Therefore, it should be noted that not all the information I received was subsequently used.

Limitations

Finally, a number of considerations on the limitations of the research and hence the data should also be mentioned.

First, although the vast majority of my informants were Muslim, two men, both from Pakistan, were Christian. At one stage I considered whether to include these two men in the subsequent analysis for fear that in doing so the "cohesiveness" of the sample would be ruptured. However, on reflection, I decided that because I was primarily interested in the process of migration, such considerations were secondary.

Second, the oldest informant in my sample had been born in pre-Partition India before coming to this country in 1929. The question arose whether he also should be included in the sample. The problem was solved, however, as he defined himself, without any hesitation, as Pakistani.

Third, on several occasions, informants refused, or were unwilling to divulge certain items of information. Although these are, in retrospect, of minor importance, I have indicated, where relevant, the occasions when this has happened. For example, four men were unwilling to say precisely from which area of Pakistan they came from, although mentioned it was from the Punjab.

Fourth, and building on comments I made earlier, it is also important to note both the limitations, and advantages, of not being a member of the community. As an "outsider" it would be naïve not to assume that there was a certain degree of "impression management" on the part of those I interviewed which undercut and influenced the responses I was given (Benney and Hughes, 1977: 234, 237). As Hammersley and Atkinson have succinctly put it ".... *participants may be intent upon making sure that the researcher understands the situation 'correctly'. 'Telling the researcher how it is' is a recurrent feature of the fieldwork.*" (1983: 108). Further, although all the men were willing to talk to me about their experiences, I was aware that in certain instances information was withheld. This was a combination of both an understandable unwillingness to tell me certain things about their personal lives and the belief that as an "outsider" I would not have understood certain aspects. This ranged in some instances, for example, from telling me where they came from in Pakistan or Bangladesh *"you wouldn't know where that place was"*, to telling me about experiences of racism *"you wouldn't understand it"*. As I have indicated in Chapter 4, the importance of land-ownership in the Subcontinent was an opportunity for some of them to impress me. On the other hand, however, I would advocate that being an "outsider", I gained information I would otherwise not have had access to had I been a member of the community. As one man put it: *"I can tell you because I know you won't go and pass it around because you are not one of us!"*

Fifth, the current occupational background of the men interviewed was limited. This was the result of a number of factors. My "sponsors" were very busy and were therefore only able to take me to see people at certain times of the day. Invariably, this was during lunch time. Further, because of ease of access, I was introduced to men who were either on holiday, unemployed or self-employed and the interviews either took place in their own homes or businesses. The occupational distribution of informants therefore reflects this practical concern.

A Note on Terminology.

Throughout this thesis I use several terms which are open both to possible contention and misunderstanding. To avoid confusion it is therefore necessary to define at the outset what, in my opinion, such terms mean.

Asian: this term is often used indiscriminately and therefore ignores the regional and cultural diversity of the population in the continent of Asia. Nevertheless, while I am aware of such heterogeneity, in order to avoid clumsy terminology throughout I use the term "Asian" to specifically refer in this instance to the Indian subcontinent, that is India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Black: historically, the word "black" has been persistently used as a negative and derogatory term when referring to members of the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities. However, in the context of this thesis, I use the word "Black" (with an upper-case 'B') in a positive sense to refer collectively to members of the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities in order to highlight a common, shared political situation.

CHAPTER ONE

Post-1945 Migration to Britain: some theoretical implications for analysing the Scottish Case.

Introduction

The following chapter has two specific aims. First, I will present a general critique of the extant literature on the grounds that it deals only with the **English** context. In particular, it will be argued that existing studies which focus on explanations of migration to and settlement in England in terms of demands for labour within the economy cannot be generalised to the Scottish case. Indeed, the distinctiveness of the Scottish situation both in terms of its migration history and the structural condition of the post-1945 economy would confirm that migration to and settlement in Scotland, particularly from areas of the New Commonwealth, justifies separate and distinct analysis.

Following from this, and second, it will be argued that those theorists who have sought to explain post-1945 migration flows to Britain in terms of demands for labour within the economy, do so from a simple economistic perspective. Here it will be argued that such one-dimensional explanations for migration fail to recognise the important role of ideological and political factors effected through, for example, state apparatuses, in structuring and regulating migration flows during the post-1945 period.

(1) Invisible and Insignificant?: the literary treatment
of New Commonwealth and Pakistani migration to Scotland.

An Overview.

Depending on the literature consulted, it would appear that a Black
presence in Scotland is non-existent, invisible or of no particular
significance to justify either passing recognition or even detailed
analysis. Indeed, it is only fairly recently that academics - all of whom
are based in Scotland - have considered the subject worthy of research,
although the number of systematic studies still remains small. Research
which has been carried out has largely been concerned with racism
experienced by Black people and their families living in Scotland (see
for example, Miles and Dunlop, 1986, 1987; Walsh, 1987). Nevertheless,
although steps are now being actively taken to place Scotland's Black
communities firmly on the research agenda, there is as yet no reliable
information available which deals specifically with their position in
relation to areas such as housing, education, and employment. The only
material which can be drawn upon, but which does not deal with the
contemporary situation, is in the monographs of **Elahi** (1967) on the
Pakistani community in Glasgow, **Srivastava** (1975) on aspects of the
Asian community in Glasgow and a paper by **Jones and Davenport** (1972) on
the Pakistani community in Dundee.

This "invisibility" and apparent "insignificance", both at the level
of policy-orientated and academic research, is further consolidated by a
number of popular and widespread interpretations of the contemporary
position of Black people within Scottish society. Until fairly recently,
it was widely maintained that the Black communities living in Scotland
were not subject to the racism and discrimination which is an endemic
feature of English cities (see for example, Budge and Unwin, 1966: 96;
Sunday Post, 15th September 1985). Further, it was suggested that the
relative "scale" of the problem had not reached "sufficient" proportions
in Scotland to warrant serious attention and concern (see, for example,
Budge and Unwin, 1966: 96; Harvie, 1981: 67; Sunday Post, 15th September

1985). These views were reinforced in the light of what was seen as an absence of a "race relations" problem in Scotland in comparison with the situation in England, particularly following the uprisings in many English cities during the 1980s (Sunday Post, 15th September 1985). Elsewhere, I have considered and challenged this view in more detail (Miles and Dunlop, 1986, 1987), and have indicated the prevalence of racism in Scottish society both historically and in the contemporary period (see also Miles 1982; Miles and Muirhead, 1986).

Although the existence of racism has long been a concern of the Black communities living there, until fairly recently there was little statistical evidence which both acknowledged and confirmed the prevalence of racism and discrimination in Scotland. This has been remedied to some degree with the recent publication of reports by, for example, **Tayside Community Relations Council** (1987) on racist harassment and discrimination in the Dundee area, by **Walsh** (1987) which deals with the incidence of racist harassment and physical attacks in Glasgow and by the **Commission for Racial Equality** (1988) on racist harassment in schools and colleges. In addition, recent media coverage has highlighted the reality of racism in Scotland (see for example, Ashrif, 1984; Asian Times, 18th August 1986; Churches' Committee on Migrant Workers in Europe, 2nd September 1986; Lwanda, 1984; McConnell, 1988; McMahon and Morrison, 1986; Searchlight, September 1986, June 1988; Stewart, 1986; Tyler, 1988; Walsh, 1986; Wilson, 1985).

The reason for this neglect and "invisibility" over the wide range of literature which deals with varying aspects of migration to, and settlement in Britain would appear to be the result of a combination of four inter-related factors. First, the domination of the "race relations" industry by English educational establishments and other relevant institutions during the post-1945 period has ensured that such studies have been produced from a myopic and ethnocentric perspective. Second, one can assume that such an imbalance is the result of a persistent image of Scottish migration history at both a "popular" and academic level. For example, Scotland has traditionally been regarded as a country of emigration rather than immigration, and while this is certainly true in

terms of overall demographic trends (Flinn, 1977: 441; Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 10), it obscures the significant inward migrations of groups not only from Ireland, but also from Europe and from those areas which were formerly part of the British Empire. I highlight this in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Third, and closely connected to my second point, it could be argued that historically there have been very few Black people in Scotland to warrant any serious academic consideration. This argument, however, ignores the reasons why various groups came to Scotland from other areas of the globe at all, and skims over this migration and subsequent presence in the context of Scottish history. As will become apparent in Chapter 3, the limited material which does exist confirms that there has been a significant – although small – Black presence in Scotland dating from at least the 19th century (see, for example, Fryer, 1984; Visram, 1986) and which in the 1980s totals more than 38,000 people (Scottish Office, 1983; but see also Dalton, 1983-4).

The contemporary presence of Black people in Scotland leads me to my fourth, and final, point. As I have already mentioned, although some tentative steps have been taken to highlight and understand the contemporary position of Black people in Scottish society, particularly in relation to experiences of racism and discrimination on the streets, the literature continues to remain silent in relation to the history of migration within the Scottish context after 1945. Undoubtedly, this is an artefact of both time and legislative change: following the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, continuing British Government legislation has strictly controlled and attempted to prevent further immigration from areas of the New Commonwealth. Nevertheless, it is vital that we have some understanding of the process of migration from such areas in the context of the Scottish experience, both historically and in the contemporary period. This is important in order to highlight not only the inadequacies and shortcomings of existing studies carried out within the English context but also the fact that one cannot uncritically transfer the framework and conclusions of such

studies to the Scottish case. And it is to a critique of such studies that I now wish to turn.

Given the vast amount of material which has been produced from different disciplinary perspectives during this period on migration to, and settlement in Britain, it would be both impossible and impractical to review all sources. Further, to do so would be a repetitive and unnecessary exercise: as will become apparent, there are a number of recurrent themes which continually emerge within the literature. Therefore, what I intend to produce is not an exhaustive literature review covering every relevant angle, but rather to identify the major trends in a few of the dominant works on post-1945 migration and to pinpoint some of the general silences in relation to the Scottish context which run through the vast majority of studies of migration to, and settlement in Britain.

The plethora of studies which have been produced in relation to the migration of Black people and their subsequent settlement in Britain both historically and in the contemporary period can be divided into five broad disciplinary areas. First, there are those studies which purport to document and analyse the **historical** presence of Black people in Britain, characteristic of the work of, for example, Fryer (1984), Ramdin (1987), Shyllon (1977), Visram (1986) and Walvin (1984). Second, and with respect to the contemporary period, there are a wide variety of studies which deal almost exclusively with the migration and settlement of Black people in Britain after 1945. Within this area, there have been a number of general **empirical** accounts which have dealt largely with trends in immigration from a demographic perspective, as in the work of, for example, Isaac (1954). Third, there have been an extensive number of **sociological** studies. These studies have mainly been concerned with migrants' socio-economic position in British society, for example in the labour and housing markets, in education, and in relation to racism and discrimination as a structural process (see, for example, Braham *et al*, 1981; Brooks, 1975; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982; Deakin, 1970; Miles and Phizacklea, 1979; Patterson, 1969; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Unit for Manpower Studies,

1977). Fourth, the work carried out by social anthropologists has made an important contribution to an understanding of the significance of culture and its reproduction during the period of settlement in Britain (for example, Anwar, 1979, 1985; Dahya, 1973; Desai, 1963; Foner, 1979; Jeffery, 1976; Saifullah-Khan, 1976, 1979; Watson, 1977; Werbner, 1979, 1987). Fifth, and finally, the work of **geographers** such as Jones (1978), Peach (1968) and Robinson (1980 and 1986) have likewise made a significant contribution to the field by examining, for example, the spatial location of migrant communities living in Britain.

In the following sections I will critically and briefly review material which is primarily concerned with the historical presence of Black people in Britain. Following from this, I will be concerned in rather more detail with material which deals with the contemporary period. Here I will consider, first, the dominant works produced by geographers; second, a selection of studies produced by social anthropologists; and third two sociological texts which have dominated many studies carried out in their wake, namely Patterson's *"Immigration and Race Relations in Britain, 1960-1967"* published in 1969 and Deakin's *"Colour, Citizenship and British Society"* published in 1970.

Historical.

Those studies which have dealt with the historical dimension of the settlement of Black people in Britain are particularly guilty of neglecting such a presence in Scotland. One is immediately struck by the historical "invisibility" of Black people in Scotland in the majority of studies in this area. On those rare occasions where reference is made to the presence of Black people in Scotland, it is in a casual and disjointed fashion and with no consideration of the role of Scottish history in the process of migration and settlement. For example, James **Valvin's** "Passage to Britain" published in 1984 is a significant illustration of the way in which Scottish migration history has generally been perceived and subsequently stereotyped by writers in this field. In an attempt to trace the history of migration to Britain from the Middle Ages to the contemporary period, Walvin explicitly fails to acknowledge both the

historical and contemporary settlement of Black people in Scotland, making reference only to Jewish and Irish migration to Scotland in the 19th century (1984: 22-24; 63). Walvin's over-riding image of Scotland is as a country of emigration rather than immigration (1984: 22-23), and it would not be misleading to assume that this is perhaps the major determining factor for his overall neglect of any systematic analysis of Scotland's immigration history.

Although Walvin's study is an excellent example of the way in which the majority of writers in this field have dealt with the migration of Black people to Scotland historically, those writers who have at the very least made passing reference to such a presence, are likewise open to criticism. For example, in the recent work of **Peter Fryer**, "Staying Power" published in 1984 which claims to be the *"first comprehensive history of black people in Britain"*, only passing reference is made to migration and settlement in Scotland from areas of the Indian subcontinent, Africa and the Caribbean. Indeed, Fryer devotes all of three or four pages in a volume of some 600 pages to document such a history in Scotland and focusses exclusively upon the few Black servants, musicians, acrobats and royal attendants who were in Scotland during the 16th century (1984: 2-4). Elsewhere in the book, Fryer makes passing reference to several Black individuals who visited or lived for some time in Scotland: the visit of Olaudah Equiano, the "first political leader of Britain's black community" to Scotland in the late 18th century (1984: 110), to the black radical William Davidson who studied in Aberdeen (1984: 215), to the black actor, Ira Aldridge, who toured Scotland in 1833 (1984: 254) and finally to Celestine Edwards, a "long forgotten forerunner of Pan-Africanism" who spoke extensively throughout Scotland on the Pan-African movement during the late 19th century (1984: 277). In addition, Fryer does make reference to the position of Black slavery within Scottish law during the 18th century (1984: 126-7, 206).

However, while such information is important in understanding the history of Black people generally within Britain, it tells us very little about the process of migration and settlement in Scotland in the context of Scottish economic and social history. In addition, Fryer makes no

reference to the presence and the contemporary experiences of Black people in Scotland in the post-1945 period, a serious omission given that his study apparently spans the period from "the time of the Roman occupation" until the early 1980s.

Folarin Shyllon's book "Black People in Britain 1555-1833" published in 1977 is an earlier work which is solely concerned with a documentation of the Black presence and settlement in Britain from the mid-16th century until the 19th century. As in the work of Fryer (1984), Shyllon skims over the existence and significance of such a presence in the context of Scottish history, making only passing reference to the domestic use of Black slaves in Scotland and to the declaration in 1778 that slavery was illegal within Scottish law (1977: 26, 30). With the exception of these limited references, however, the vast bulk of Shyllon's material deals solely with England.

Rozina Visram's recent book, "Ayahs, Lascars and Princes" published in 1986 attempts to document an Indian presence in Britain historically from the early 18th century to shortly after the Second World War. In contrast to parallel studies, Visram makes a number of welcome, although cursory references, to such a presence in Scotland (see, for example, 1986: 55, 58, 60, 62, 64, 70). Unfortunately, however, Visram, in common with Fryer (1984) and Shyllon (1977) before her, makes no systematic analysis of that presence in the context of Scottish history. For example, she makes a number of references to the presence of Indian servants and lascar seamen in Scotland (1986: 55, 58, 70, 190) but does not link this presence in any systematic way to the participation of Scots in British colonial activities in the Indian subcontinent during the 19th century as a possible explanation for that presence in Scotland.

In the most recent publication of its kind, Ron Ramdin's "The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain" published in 1987, we are once again faced with a relative neglect of the presence of Black people in Scotland and in particular of their role within the working class. In what is effectively a Black labour history, Ramdin attempts to place in a *"historical context the development of a small black presence in*

sixteenth century England [sic] into the disadvantaged black working class today". In a book which purports to deal with the Black working class in **"Britain"** Ramdin would have more accurately entitled his book solely with reference to England: in such a vast and so-called "comprehensive" volume of over 600 pages with a lengthy bibliography, Ramdin makes only a few cursory and unconnected references to the presence and contribution of Black people in Scotland.

On the rare occasion where Ramdin does mention a Black presence in Scotland (1987: 45, 47), it is in the absence of an understanding of the context of Scottish history generally and Scottish labour history in particular. For example, in the first chapter of the book – which is primarily concerned with colonialism and Black slavery – Ramdin makes no reference to the participation of Scottish merchants in British colonial activities. As I will go on to discuss at several points in the chapters which follow, although Scottish ports did not extensively engage in the slave trade, Scottish merchants profited significantly from colonial trading activities and the exploitation of plantation labour in the colonies (see for example, Devine, 1974: 13-29; 1976: 1-13; Sheridan, 1977: 94-106; Soltow, 1959: 83-98; for an overview see Miles and Muirhead, 1986). Ramdin's failure to acknowledge this is particularly serious given the wide variety of literature available on the subject which highlights that colonial activities were not solely an English concern.

Ramdin's analysis is further problematised in relation to his failure to acknowledge the early historical presence of Black people in Scotland. Despite evidence in the work of Fryer (1984: 2) and to a lesser extent that of Shyllon (1977: 26, 30) that there has been a Black presence in Scotland since the 16th century, Ramdin's discussion of this early presence is wholeheartedly concerned with the English context and makes no reference to Scotland. Ramdin's persistent interchange of "Britain" and "England" in this chapter only serves to further highlight both his parochialism and his failure to recognise that the Scottish context deserves separate and distinct analysis.

It is in relation to Black labour history in the post-1945 period, however, that Ramdin's silences on the Scottish dimension are most deafening. Ramdin devotes considerable attention to analysing post-1945 immigration to "Britain" and to the subsequent role and participation of Black migrants in the economy and other related institutions such as the trade union movement. Although Ramdin fleetingly acknowledges as an aside that Scotland has a "New Commonwealth population" (1987: 243), nowhere does he attempt to either understand the origins of this population, nor their economic, social and political role in the context of post-1945 Scottish affairs. Thus, for example, we are afforded no information on patterns of settlement within Scotland, the role of Black migrants in the Scottish labour market and trade union movement, or of the incidence of unemployment.

Thus, because Ramdin fails to include even the most basic material on the Scottish "dimension" - which would have contributed to a more accurate analysis of the participation of Black people in British social, economic and political affairs - significantly invalidates the so-called claims of "comprehensiveness". Indeed, as a result of this omission, much of his discussion and subsequent analysis is rendered incomplete and of little value in relation to the Scottish experience.

Geographical.

The criticisms which I have outlined in relation to the work of Ramdin, and in particular to his coverage of the contemporary period, are pertinent to the work of other writers and theorists who are exclusively concerned with the post-1945 period. As I have already mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, the majority of writers on post-1945 migration to Britain, regardless of disciplinary or analytical background, cite demands for labour within the British economy during the 1950s and 1960s as the major determinant of migration flows to Britain from areas of the New Commonwealth (see, for example, Castles and Kosack, 1972, 1973; Deakin, 1970; Miles, 1986; Patterson, 1969; Peach, 1968; Robinson, 1986; Walvin, 1984). The link between labour demands and post-1945 immigration has been demonstrated by a number of writers, for example

Ceri Peach (1968) and **Vaughan Robinson** (1980). These writers were, however, were not the first to attempt such a correlation: **Senior** (1957) linked the increase in Britain's Black population directly to the increased demand for labour during the 1950s although his analysis is by no means comprehensive. However, it was not until the 1960s with the publication of the work of **Peach** (1968) on West Indian migration to Britain that a demonstration of the relationship between immigration and labour demands was attempted systematically (see also Peach, 1965, 1966). And it was not until the publication of work by **Robinson** in 1986 that a similar procedure used by Peach was applied to demonstrate the extent of the relationship between immigration from areas of the Indian Subcontinent and labour demands in Britain (see also Robinson, 1980).

The content and major conclusions of Peach's work are well-known and extensively used by a number of writers and therefore need only passing reference here. In his book "West Indian Migration to Britain" published in 1968, **Ceri Peach**, using a "push-pull" dyad, concluded that economic conditions in Britain, and in particular demands for labour, exerted a stronger "pull" on migrants than the so-called "push" conditions of "over-population" and under- or unemployment in the West Indies. Further, in arguing this, Peach maintained that fluctuations in the level of immigration from the West Indies showed a high positive correlation with changes in the demand for labour in the British economy (1968: 38). However, the data source used by Peach, obtained from the Migration Service Division, to calculate emigration to the United Kingdom during the period 1956 to 1960 as a percentage of the 1960 population has been identified by **Roberts** (1970: 246-7) as defective, casting some doubt on the reliability of Peach's findings generally.

Nevertheless, Peach is one of the few commentators who has made any reference to New Commonwealth migration to and settlement in Scotland during the post-1945 period. However, although he argues that the reason relatively few migrants have settled in Scotland is because of low labour demands within the Scottish economy during this period (1968: 64-70), he does not analyse the structural reasons for this. Further, because Peach ignores the important structural reasons why labour shortages did develop

during the post-1945 period in sectors of the English economy he cannot explain why, and under what circumstances, migrant labour was employed and why Black workers in particular were concentrated in a number of specific industries (see for example, Brooks, 1975; Fevre, 1984; Patterson, 1968; Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977; Wright, 1968). Conversely, and of more importance for the present discussion, Peach does not analyse the structural reasons why large-scale labour shortages **did not** arise within the Scottish economy during the post-war period.

Given that labour demands do not appear to play as central a role in the process of migration to Scotland as they have done in the general case of England during this period, the central question that arises concerns the explanation for the migrations to Scotland which **did** take place. Clearly, given the general weakness of the economic determinant in relation to the Scottish case during the post-1945 period, additional factors must be involved in the process. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4 which attempt to pinpoint additional factors which may have structured the scale and dynamic of migration to Scotland in the post-1945 period.

Overall, however, any adequate answers to all, or even some, of these general questions must pass beyond simplistic notions of "labour shortages". The work of, for example Cohen and Jenner (1968) on the employment of immigrant labour in the wool industry, of Duffield (1985) on Indian workers in the foundry industry, of Fevre (1984) on the employment of migrant labour in the textile industry, and of Harris (1987), have made significant contributions to uncovering the structural factors which operate and which give rise to sectoral labour shortages and the subsequent employment of migrant labour. As yet, however, there are no comparable studies of the Scottish economy. In Chapter 2 I consider in part the structural reasons why the Scottish economy generally has not been subject to the same levels of labour shortage as sectors of the English economy, an analysis which I would argue has been absent generally from existing studies which seek to explain post-1945 migration to Britain.

The criticisms which I have raised in relation to Peach's work as an inadequate and simplistic account of post-1945 migration to Britain generally and to Scotland in particular are also relevant to the work of Robinson on Asian migration to and settlement in Britain (1980, 1986). In many respects, however, my criticisms of Peach's work are even more pertinent to the work of Robinson. In both his article in the journal **New Community**, "Correlates of Asian Immigration: 1959-1974" (1980) and subsequently in his book "Transients, Settlers and Refugees" (1986) which claims to deal with "Asians in Britain", Robinson makes no reference to the corresponding situation in Scotland, focussing his analysis solely on data collected within the English context.

For example, throughout both the discussion and the analysis in "Transients, Settlers and Refugees" (1986), we are continually confronted by references to "Britain" and the "British situation", but in effect presented only with data collected in England and Wales. For instance, Robinson claims to provide a *"typology of Black Settlement in Britain"* based on those cities which have had *"a resident New Commonwealth population which exceeded 2000 in 1971 or 1981...."* (1986: 22). In effect, however, he makes reference only to extant material on settlement patterns in urban areas of England, despite the fact that the city of Glasgow, for example, had a minimum New Commonwealth and Pakistan (NCWP) population of approximately 15,300 (that is 2.1 per cent of the total population of Glasgow) at the time of the 1981 Census (Commission for Racial Equality, 1985: 8; see also Scottish Office, 1983). Although such numbers are small in comparison with, for example, Greater London which according to 1981 Census data had a NCWP population of 945,148, that is 42.8 per cent of the total population (C.R.E., 1985: 7), nevertheless, Glasgow's NCWP population is more than that of Merseyside at 14,823 or 0.7 per cent of the total population (C.R.E., 1985: 7), an area which Robinson obviously found worthwhile to comment upon (1986: 9).

Further, it is somewhat ironic that although Robinson is aware that literature does exist on the Asian communities living in Scotland, he does not incorporate any of this material into his subsequent analysis. For example, at one point (1986: 6), Robinson makes reference to the work

of Jones and Davenport (1972), but does not give any indication in the text that the study is concerned with the Pakistani community living in Dundee. This occurs at several stages throughout his work: Robinson makes reference to the article written by Faux (1980), but ignores the fact that this article deals specifically with the Pakistani community living in Stornoway in Scotland's Outer Hebrides (1986: 26). Further, although at one point in the text Robinson makes reference to the work of Kearsley and Srivastava (1974), and acknowledges that it is concerned with "housing patterns and spatial clustering" in Glasgow (1986: 32), he does not return to this. This appears to be a continuation of a trend which developed in his earlier work (1980); here Robinson similarly acknowledges the work of Kearsley and Srivastava (1974) but his comments are confined to the methodological considerations of the use of electoral registers as data sources (1980: 119).

In addition to the problems which arise within the Scottish context in terms of Robinson's sources and use of data, there are considerable difficulties in relation to his overall analysis of the causes of migration and, in particular of factors determining internal settlement patterns within Britain. For example, in his article "Correlates of Asian Immigration: 1959-1974" (1980), Robinson attempts to assess the extent of the link between levels of Asian migration and demands for labour within the British economy. Using the work of Peach (1965) as a starting point - which he comments focusses almost exclusively upon the relationship between levels of West Indian migration to Britain and economic conditions in Britain - Robinson attempts to produce a similar analysis in order to assess the extent of the corresponding situation with regard to migration from the Indian subcontinent. He concludes that there is not such a strong correlation between immigration and labour demands in the UK as there was for West Indian migration in Peach's study, and that therefore factors in addition to demands for labour must have precipitated migration from the Indian subcontinent (1980: 118). For example, following the work of Rose (1968), Robinson suggests that the construction of the Mangla Dam in Pakistan in 1961 and government initiatives to move people out of the area, led to 5,000 migrants coming to Britain (1980: 118).

However, although Robinson maintains that there is no close correlation between levels of immigration from the Indian subcontinent and demands for labour generally within the British economy, he argues that such a relationship exists with respect to the internal movement of Asian migrants to different regions within the UK (1980: 119; 1986: 28). Using the work of both Peach (1966) and Jones (1978) Robinson argues that *"once Asians had gained entry to the UK, many of their settlement patterns were determined purely by economic, or pull factors"* (1986: 28). Again citing Peach (1966) and Jones (1978) he argues that both West Indian and Asian migrants have avoided areas of low demand for labour and have settled in those regions which have a high and unsatisfied labour demand (1986: 28). Although he reaches the same conclusion as Jones (1978), who likewise demonstrated that patterns of Asian settlement corresponded to areas of labour shortage, Robinson further elaborates that in the case of Asian migrants, settlement patterns correspond to those areas which faced a shortage of labour because of rapid economic expansion, e.g. Greater London and Birmingham, and to those areas in which there was a labour shortage because of the poor conditions of employment, as for example in the textile industries in Manchester and Leeds (1986: 29; see also 1986: 15-16).

As I have already suggested concerning Peach's work (1968), had Robinson paused in greater depth to consider the structural reasons why labour shortages were regionally and sectorally concentrated he may have questioned why Scotland was, using his own criteria, an area of "low labour demand" during the post-1945 period. Further, it may have been pertinent to ask the question why Scotland has a significant NCWP population despite the apparent weakness of this factor. As in the instance of Jones (1978) and Peach (1968) writing before him, and indeed all other writers who seek to explain internal migration and settlement patterns in terms of regional variations in demands for labour, Robinson cannot account for the migration and settlement which took place in the absence of labour shortages. Clearly, therefore, if the demand for labour is weak, other factors must come into play which have encouraged migration to and settlement in that area. What the majority of writers have failed to analyse, however, is the form such factors have taken. We

are once again presented with an omission through silence: to have acknowledged, let alone addressed such matters would perhaps have raised more questions than it answered. Therefore Robinson - following the rule characteristic of all such work in this area rather than making the exception - remains silent on this, and subsequently focusses both his data sources and analysis upon England and Wales, despite the fact that he purports to deal with Britain as a whole.

Anthropological.

The study of contemporary migration to, and settlement in Britain from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan is not the exclusive domain of geographers. On the contrary, in recent years there has been a rapid rise in the number of cultural monographs produced on migration and settlement in the UK. A number of writers, principally social anthropologists, have produced detailed micro-studies of individual migrant communities in Britain, focussing on one particular area of settlement. For example, **Sheila Patterson** (1963) in her study "Dark Strangers" carried out a *"sociological study of the absorption of a recent West Indian migrant group in Brixton, London"*. **Rashmi Desai** (1963) has produced a similar study, "Indian Immigrants in Britain", although the majority of his data was collected in Bradford. He is, however, one of the few writers of this period who acknowledges the settlement of migrants from the Indian subcontinent in Scotland and makes passing reference to the economic activity of Indian pedlars in various parts of Scotland (1963: 4, 5, 64, 65). Beyond these limited references, however, Desai provides no data which gives any impression of the spatial distribution, general employment patterns or housing tenure of Indian migrants settled in Scotland during this period.

More recently, in a collection of articles edited by **James Watson** (1977) entitled "Between Two Cultures", the central aim was to *"summarise the research of twelve anthropologists who worked on problems of migration and ethnicity in British society ..... outlining the different patterns of settlement in Britain"*. Some other studies produced in a similar vein include, for example the work of **Patricia Jeffery** (1976) on

Muslim and Christian Pakistani families living in Bristol; **Muhammad Anwar** (1979; 1985) on Pakistanis living in Rochdale (although the title of the 1985 version suggests that it is a study of Pakistanis living in Britain); **Nancy Foner** (1979) has produced a study of Jamaican migrants in London, and has been careful to point out that her study is of Jamaican migrants living in English society. **A V Helweg** (1979) has similarly written about Sikh Jats living in Gravesend in Kent.

Although such anthropological "ethnicity" studies have been widely criticised on a number of levels (see, for example the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982[1]), certain aspects are, nevertheless invaluable for understanding the cultural processes of each individual group involved in migration and settlement in Britain. For example, the role of the *Biraderi* system in Pakistani migration is crucial in the chain migration process through the sponsorship of close relatives, a feature which I will discuss in more detail in relation to my own research on Pakistani migration and settlement in Glasgow in Chapter 4 (see also Anwar, 1985: 62-95).

Despite the relevance of such anthropological studies generally, I would, however, argue that certain experiences of migrant groups in these studies of life in "Britain" cannot be transferred and generalised to the communities living in Scotland. This is particularly relevant in terms of the external local constraints on, for example, employment or housing. Although Black migrants and their families (who may have been born and/or brought up in Britain) may experience racism and discrimination in all areas of the public sphere regardless of whether they live in Bradford, London or Glasgow, the structural framework within which they are able to find employment or accommodation, for example, will very much

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[1] The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1982) have criticised "ethnicity" studies on the grounds that by focussing on the "cultural differences" of individual communities rather than on the shared experiences of racism and discrimination, they ignore the relations of power and domination in British society and the implications for the social and economic position of Black people. For a response to this and other criticisms see, for example, Pnina Werbner, 1987: 176-181.

depend upon the region in which they are living. For example, because the industrial structure of Rochdale near Manchester is predominantly based based upon textiles, or Walsall in Birmingham is at the heart of the car manufacturing industry in the West Midlands, we cannot expect that the situation is the same in Glasgow which has a very different industrial structure and history and which will therefore define the parameters and subsequent employment patterns of Pakistani and Indian workers. Likewise, within Scotland, we cannot expect that the employment structure will be uniform across the country: for example, Pakistani workers during the 1960s found employment in Dundee's jute industry (Jones and Davenport, 1972), while during the same period in Glasgow employment was found as drivers and conductors with Glasgow Corporation Transport Department (Beharrell, 1965). This further highlights the importance of pinpointing and analysing the characteristic features of regional sub-economies, not only in order to understand the structure of the local labour market, but also, more importantly, to illuminate the specific economic sectors in which migrant workers are concentrated.

Another dimension which has been highlighted by anthropological research, and which I would argue is regionally-specific and cannot therefore be generalised throughout Britain, is in relation to the area of origin of migrants, particularly from the Indian subcontinent. The spatial location of different communities from specific areas of origin once they have arrived in Britain has been recognised by a number of writers (see, for example, Anwar, 1979, 1985; Ballard, 1983; Dayha, 1972-3; Jeffery, 1976; Shaw, 1984). These studies highlight the fact that the specific area of origin within the Indian subcontinent varies not only between various towns and cities in Britain, but also between communities living within certain areas of settlement. For example, in his study of Pakistanis settled in Rochdale, **Anwar** (1985) states that the regional division in the town is between Mirpuris and Punjabis who live in concentrated streets according to area of origin in Pakistan. Similarly, **Jeffery** (1976) writes that Bristol's Pakistani population includes Mirpuris and Punjabis, although she does not indicate the relative proportions of each. **Roger Ballard** (1983: 117), argues that although precise figures are not available, well over 50 per cent of all migrants

from the Indian subcontinent in Britain originate from the Punjab;
further, from the Indian Punjab, the majority of migrants come from the
area of Jullunder and on the Pakistani side of the border, at least half
of all Pakistani migrants in Britain originate from the two neighbouring
districts of Mirpur and Rawalpindi.

Alison Shaw (1984), however, appears to be the only writer who has
attempted to describe the national distribution of migrant communities
originating from specific areas of the Indian subcontinent throughout
Britain. She argues that this spatial settlement throughout Britain
according to area of origin in the Subcontinent is primarily the result
of the tradition of emigration from specific areas and the process of
"chain migration" which ensures spatial concentration throughout Britain
(1984: 20-24). I shall return to the significance of this for Pakistani
migration to and settlement in Glasgow in more detail in subsequent
chapters.

Up to this point, I have briefly reviewed some of the extant
anthropological literature on individual migrant communities. Although on
the one hand I have argued that certain aspects of such studies can be
generalised to migrant groups from the Indian subcontinent living in
Scotland, in terms of specific cultural organisation and other
characteristics, on the other hand one cannot generalise data collected in
England in terms of, for example, the external economic structure and its
effects upon employment characteristics, to the Scottish situation. I
thus maintain that in analysing for example, the economic position of any
migrant group, one must take into account the structure of the regional
or even local economy which defines the parameters of subsequent
employment patterns.

Sociological.

Following from this, I wish to consider a fourth, and final
disciplinary area, illustrated through the material of two key
sociological texts: Sheila Patterson's "Immigration and Race Relations in

Britain, 1960-1967" published in 1969 and N Deakin's "Colour, Citizenship and British Society" published in 1970. Although both studies deal largely with the position of New Commonwealth migrants in Britain during the 1960s, they are nevertheless standard references for their period and have been extensively cited in numerous texts produced subsequently. For this reason, therefore, and also for brevity's sake in light of the vast amount of sociological material which has been produced particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, it is reasonable to focus on these two texts as illustrations of the manner in which post-1945 migration to "Britain" has been dealt with generally by the discipline.

Sociological material which purports to deal with migration and settlement in Britain from colonial and ex-colonial areas during the post-1945 period is particularly negligent of the paralleled settlement in Scotland. As in the instance of the anthropological and historical studies cited above, and which are representative of the way in which studies generally in these areas have dealt with the Scottish dimension, the vast majority of sociological material which claims to deal with contemporary migration and settlement patterns to Britain focusses solely on England.

Patterson's study attempts the formidable task of providing a summary of the position of Black migrants and their families living in Britain during the 1960s, covering areas such as immigration legislation (in particular the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962)) anti-discrimination legislation enshrined in the Race Relations Act 1965, aspects of employment and unemployment of Commonwealth immigrants, housing, education and various migrant associations. Although Patterson makes reference to the settlement of Black people and their families living in Scotland during this period - for example, she provides a table which estimates the distribution of West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis in those towns and cities in England, Wales and Scotland with a Black population of 3,000 or more and which includes Glasgow (1969: 12-13; see also 1969: 98, 317) - nevertheless the study provides no data relating to the position of migrants living in Scotland in areas such as employment, housing and education.

Further, there is no attempt to account for the scale and dynamic of the migration of Commonwealth citizens to Scotland both historically and in the post-1945 period. This can be illustrated, again using the example of employment characteristics, when Patterson claims to present an overview of the "distribution by regions and occupations" of Indian, Pakistani and West Indian groups:

"The geographical, occupational and socio-economic distribution of workers in the three major immigrant groups differs considerably. Asian workers are most often found in the North and Midlands, in textiles, steel works, some public services, and the manufacture of some engineering and electrical and chemical goods. West Indians, on the other hand, are mostly concentrated in London and the Midlands in a wide range of industries, including light engineering, food manufacture, clothing and footwear.....in public transport....... (1969: 134).*

Nowhere in this "regional" overview does Patterson make any reference to the employment characteristics of Black workers living in Scotland; her main data source is from the Occupational Distribution Tables of the Census of Population for England and Wales, 1961, even though corresponding tables are available for Scotland. Again, I would argue – as I have done in relation to other similar studies – that such material cannot justifiably claim to present a "national picture" of characteristics of Britain's Black population when data relates only to the English (and in this instance, Welsh) situation while at the same time persistently ignoring the Scottish dimension. This omission in Patterson's study is particularly hazardous when at one level she has acknowledged that Scotland has shared in post-1945 migration from Commonwealth countries, but on the other obviously has not considered it worthy of further exploration and analysis. This is further consolidated by Patterson's apparent ignorance of the Area Report produced by the Institute of Race Relations in 1965 which deals with Glasgow as one of the areas in Britain which has a "substantial immigrant settlement". The report provides data relating not only to an estimation of the size of the New Commonwealth population living in Glasgow, but also to employment, housing and education. What is also significant here is that this Report on Glasgow and Patterson's own study in 1969 were both produced for the Institute of Race Relations. Another "official" report produced during the 1960s which has some data relating to Commonwealth

migrants in Scotland in terms of their socio-economic position, and which was not drawn upon in Patterson's study, is the report published by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1961 on the employment of immigrants from the Commonwealth and which gives some breakdown for Scotland (1961: 11).

Deakin's study exhibits similar difficulties: it relies solely on material collected in England and makes no reference in the main body of the work to the corresponding situation in Scotland during this period despite the misleading title of the book. Indeed, if we were to take the Foreword by Rose to Deakin's book literally - in which he refers to the study as an assembly of a body of knowledge on *"the coloured immigrant communities [in Britain] and how they were adapting themselves to this country"* - we are guaranteed that by the end of some 400 pages we are no further forward in gaining information about the position of New Commonwealth migrants living in Scotland.

The vast majority of the discussion in Deakin's work, as in Patterson's, focusses upon the position of New Commonwealth migrants once settled in England in areas such as housing, employment, education, health, and racism and discrimination, although again there is some detailed discussion of the implications of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 for trends in migration. A passing reference is made to Glasgow's Pakistani community using the study carried out by Elahi (1967), although this material together with the settlement of New Commonwealth migrants generally in Glasgow is not incorporated into the main body of the study in any systematic and detailed fashion (1970: 294).

In terms of actual migration patterns the discussion is fairly pedestrian and empirical and makes no systematic, structural analysis of migration as a process to Britain generally or to Scotland in particular. As a result, we are presented with a dichotomous and incomplete view of New Commonwealth migration; on the one hand, we are given an overview of conditions in the "sending societies" of the West Indies, India and Pakistan which dwells more on the anthropological aspects of such societies than on the dynamics of colonial exploitation. On the other

hand, migration to Britain is accounted for in terms of responses to demands for labour within the "British" economy which was regulated by the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962 (1970: 47).

As I have already argued, such a perspective ignores the regional and sectoral disparities in terms of labour demand, presenting a one-dimensional image of Britain during the post-1945 period. This is further consolidated in Deakin's work by the obvious neglect of statistics relating to the presence of Commonwealth migrants in Scotland; this is somewhat ironic given that in the introduction to a chapter which claims to deal with demographic characteristics, it is clearly stated:

> *"Unfortunately, accurate, factual information is rarely a feature of current discussions on race relations in Britain. In an attempt to remedy this deficiency this chapter presents a statistical profile of the main coloured communities and sets this profile against that of the total population. By far the most important source of information that will be used for this purpose is the 1966 10% sample census; we shall use this to assess not only the number and distribution of coloured people but also their demographic characteristics and situation in housing and employment"* *(1970: 56).*

The chapter then proceeds to analyse material in the very manner which it claims to criticise, by dealing exclusively with material drawn from sources relating to England and Wales, and making no reference to the Scottish situation. Given therefore, that the data is drawn from English sources, we cannot assume that the conclusions drawn will be relevant to the Scottish context. The criticisms which I raised in relation to, for example, the importance of analysing the structure of regional sub-economies in order to understand the economic constraints within which migrants are able to find employment, are particularly poignant in this instance, and can equally be applied to all sociological studies which attempt such sweeping generalisations.

The studies which I have reviewed so far have been criticised on the grounds that they fail to recognise the distinctiveness of migration patterns to Scotland particularly during the post-1945 period. In particular, I have argued that they fail to acknowledge the influence of

the Scottish context in structuring the scale and dynamic of these migrations and as a result their subsequent analyses are both hazardous and parochial. Following on from this, and to some extent building upon what I have already said, I will now develop my critique one step further by considering the role of the state in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration.

(2) Ideological and Political Factors in Migration: the role of the state.

Having argued in the first section that the main body of literature concerned with post-1945 migration to Britain explicitly neglects the Scottish dimension, I now want to extend my critique to a more general level in order to further highlight both the inadequacies of existing studies and the complexity of the determinants of the migration process. In this section I argue against those theorists who seek to explain migration to Britain during the post-1945 period solely in terms of demands for labour within the economy. In particular, not only do such explanations fail to take account of the relative weakness of this factor within the Scottish context - as I have indicated in the previous section - but they also underestimate or even fail to recognise the role of ideological and political factors in structuring the scale and dynamic of the migrations themselves. Although such studies tend to regard the role of the British state in the process of migration as either absent or minimal, I would argue that, on the contrary, it has played a central role in both effecting and regulating post-1945 migrations, and is thus central to an understanding of the dynamics of migration. In the following section, therefore, I provide an overview of the role of the British state in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration flows to Britain in the twentieth century, and particularly during the post-1945 period.

A number of studies, especially those concerned with the post-1945 period, have argued that until the implementation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, migration to Britain was governed by the demand for labour within the British economy (see, for example, Deakin, 1970: 47;

Patterson, 1969: 17; Peach, 1968). Further, such studies regard immigration to Britain prior to the 1962 Act as free and unchallenged, arguing that until then Britain operated an "open door" policy, particularly from the New Commonwealth. Such a perspective however, ignores the central role played by the British state in attempting not only to directly mediate migration flows from areas of the New Commonwealth - for example, by delaying the issue of passports to applicants in the West Indies (Carter, Harris and Joshi, 1987: 336; see also Harris, 1987: 62-3; Joshi and Carter, 1984: 58-9) - but also indirectly through ideological and political discourse which problematised Black immigration and settlement prior to the 1962 Act. In essence, what the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962 signalled was the articulation and consolidation of over a decade of internal ideological and political opposition to Black immigration from within the British state and not simply the first instance where immigration was placed on the political agenda.

The role of demands for labour in "regulating" immigration flows prior to the 1962 Act is a central theme throughout much of the standard literature on the subject. For example, in the work of **Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack** (1972 and 1973), it is argued that *"the demands of the Western European labour market may be regarded as the dynamic factor which has determined the volume of migratory flows"* (1973: 27; my emphasis). They further argue that *"no country has decided in advance on the scale and character of immigration"* (1973: 26; my emphasis). Similarly, **Peach** (1968), as we have seen in the previous section, argues that the demand for labour within the "British" economy was the major regulating factor structuring levels of West Indian migration to Britain in the period leading up to the implementation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962. However, even after the introduction of the Act Peach continues to maintain that the *"economic determinants resumed their role of controlling numbers and trends"* (1968: 53).

What all these examples have in common, however, is a somewhat naïve perception of both the process of migration and in particular the role of the state within it. While is is true that the 1962 Act was the

first time that the British state laid down legislative measures to control the entry of New Commonwealth citizens, there had been a desire to control the entry of Commonwealth citizens from the late 1940s (Carter, Harris and Joshi, 1987: 335-6; Dean, 1987; Harris, 1987: 61; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 89-90). Indeed, as I will discuss shortly, by the early 1950s the British state had become actively involved in measures designed to prevent Black immigration (Carter, Harris and Joshi, 1987: 336; see also Miles and Solomos, 1987: 89).

Further, the 1962 Act was not the first time that the State had intervened in the regulation of immigration. The **Aliens Act of 1905** effectively marked the beginning of direct state intervention in the mediation and control of immigration by setting out the legislative framework within which the migration of Europeans to Britain, for example, was able to take place. To argue, therefore, as Patterson (1969) and others have done, that prior to the 1962 Act Britain had an "open door" policy towards immigration, is to fail to acknowledge the ideological and political debates which shaped the form the 1962 Act was subsequently to take and to ignore the historical role the British state as a crucial mediating institution, in both effecting and regulating migration flows, particularly through immigration legislation.

Contrary to the position of Patterson (1969), Deakin (1970) and others, I argue that the 20th century as a whole is marked by a series of legislative measures designed to exclude certain categories of migrants before the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962. In this sense, therefore, state intervention has changed historically, with a movement away from the "open door" policy evident only in the early 19th century, to increasingly restrictive immigration legislation.

During the 19th century, inward migrations to Britain, for example from Ireland, took place largely within a context which was unregulated by state immigration controls and where nation-state boundaries were as yet both shifting and permeable. One noticeable exception to this is to be found in the British state's discriminatory treatment of lascar seamen in the early 19th century (Gordon and Reilley, 1986: 74; Hepple, 1968: 42-

4; Joshua *et al*, 1983: 14-16; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 84-5). Although lascar seamen were legally British subjects, a series of Acts was aimed at controlling their settlement in British ports (Gordon and Reilley, 1986: ibid; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 84). This culminated in the late 19th century with the **Merchant Shipping Act 1894** which included further provisions designed to prevent lascar seamen from remaining in Britain (Gordon and Reilley, 1986: 74; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 84). The continuing presence of lascar seamen in British ports, as we will see in more detail in Chapter 3, however, proved that such attempts were only partially successful (Fryer, 1984: 294-5; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 84; Visram, 1986: 34-54).

The early 20th century witnessed further state intervention in the regulation of immigration to Britain. It was largely in response to a number of politically-induced migrations, mainly of Jewish refugees fleeing the pogroms of Eastern Europe during the 1890s (Foot, 1965: 85-6; Gainer, 1972: 1; Gartner, 1973: 21-2; Pollins, 1982: 134) that the British state ended its *laissez-faire* approach to immigration with the introduction of the **Aliens Act** in 1905 (Alderman, 1983: 66-85; Gainer, 1972; Garrard, 1971; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 78-80; Rees, 1982: 78). This legislation effectively laid down the legal framework within which all non-United Kingdom subjects were admitted to Britain by defining them as "aliens" (Gainer, 1972; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 78-80; Rees, 1982: 78). Although the Act contained the provision that entry could be refused to anyone classified as an "undesirable alien", entry could not however, be refused if the immigrant was subject to religious or political persecution (Bevan, 1986: 71-2; Gainer, 1972: 190; MacDonald, 1983: 8).

With the outbreak of the First World War, the British state introduced further legislative restrictions to control "alien" immigration. The **Aliens Restriction Act, 1914**, was aimed primarily at controlling immigration in the interests of "national security". After the end of the War, the 1905 legislation was repealed and the 1914 Act was extended for one year under the **Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act of 1919** (Foot, 1965: 104-7; Rees, 1982: 79). In 1920 a new Aliens Order was passed and

thereafter the Acts of 1914 and 1919 were renewed annually under the Expiring Laws Continuance Acts (Miles and Solomos, 1987: 81).

Although this legislation did not affect migrants from the British Empire - who were legally British subjects - certain categories, and in particular, "coloured" seamen, were subject once more to further measures to restrict their entry and possible settlement in Britain. Following a series of "riots" in certain British city ports during 1919 (Evans, 1980, 1985; Griffith, 1960: 56; Jenkinson, 1985: 43; May and Cohen, 1974), sections of the British state expressed "concern" over the presence of "coloured" seamen in Britain's ports. This "concern" culminated in 1925 with the passing of the *Special Restrictions (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order.* In effect what this Order removed were the legal rights of British citizens from those who possessed such citizenship, placing them under the restrictions of the Aliens Orders (Rich, 1986: 121-6).

While such legislative developments are indicative of the central role of the state in regulating immigration during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the recruitment and subsequent migration of European workers brought to Britain under the European Workers Scheme during the late 1940s is illustrative of the involvement of the state in both initiating and mediating the process of migration. Immediately following the Second World War, Britain, in common with other European countries, was faced with the re-armament and reconstruction programme needed to return its economy to normal peace-time production. Certain essential industries such as agriculture and the service sector were faced with acute shortages of labour, and this was intensified with the withdrawal and return to domestic production of many female workers who had previously been actively engaged in war-time production (Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1947-1955; Summerfield, 1977). It was estimated that the deficit in labour power was 940,000 in June 1946 and by the end of 1946 the estimate had risen to 1,346,000 (Joshi and Carter, 1984: 55; see also Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977: 161).

The Labour government of the time considered several options aimed at reducing this deficit, for example increasing the output of existing

workers, and attracting female labour back into industry (see for example Harris, 1987: 59-60; Joshi and Carter, 1984: 55-6). However, for a variety of reasons such options were untenable. A remaining option, which was first raised officially in early 1946, was the possibility of incorporating foreign labour into the workforce of the "unattractive industries" (Harris, 1987: 60; Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977: 161).

It was within this context that the British state set up a number of official recruitment programmes to draw European workers into the British economy and to direct them into those sectors which faced shortages of labour (Isaac, 1954; Tannahill, 1958). This was the first time during peace-time that the British state had intervened on behalf of capital to facilitate the migration of labour on any large-scale. The debate which surrounded the utilisation of foreign labour was not, however, politically and ideologically neutral, but was set within discussions of the practical and legal means by which such labour could be effectively directed and controlled without posing a threat to "indigenous" labour (Joshi and Carter, 1984: 56; Harris, 1987: 61). In the light of this, European workers recruited by the British state were subject to a number of restrictions. For example, they were placed under annual employment contracts which allowed the Ministry of Labour to direct and retain then in selected industries. Their employment could be terminated at any time if they broke the terms of the contract (Miles and Solomos, 1987: 87; see also Castles *et al*, 1984: 41; Tannahill, 1958: 123-8). Further, they could not leave the job they were assigned to and take up another without the permission of the Ministry of Labour, and were further under threat of deportation for misconduct (Joshi and Carter, 1984: 56).

The political and ideological debate, however, took place at another level. The British Government expressed a strong preference for "white" European workers, although Joshi and Carter comment that the precise reasons for this are unclear (1984: 56). It appears that it was the result of a combination of a number of factors, including beliefs about the apparent suitability of "white" workers for the types of jobs which needed labour. This "suitability" was, however, grounded within *"ethnocentric and sometimes racialist assumptions about the alleged*

similarities of 'white' cultures and the difficulties in assimilating cultures other than those" (Joshi and Carter, 1984: 56).

In this context, the British state set up and administered the official European Volunteer Workers Scheme during the period 1946 to 1951 alongside a number of smaller recruitment programmes (Foot, 1965: 117-121; Isaac, 1954: 176-183; Tannahill, 1958). The aims of the European Volunteer Workers programme were twofold: firstly, and most importantly, to provide workers for the undermanned essential services and industries during the period of post-war reconstruction (Vernant,1953:343; Tannahill, 1958: 116; Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977: 6, 15), and secondly to make a contribution to the solution of the displaced persons problem (Isaac, 1954: 177; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 87). These workers were placed in a variety of essential industries with shortages of labour such as agriculture, coal mining, textiles and foundries and also as domestic labour in sanatoria and other institutions (Isaac, 1954: 181; Tannahill, 1958: 5-6, 30-3, 133; Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977: 161; see also Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1945: 113; 1946: 94, 281, 317; 1947: 15, 81, 148, 259, 272, 370, 401). About 460,000 European workers are estimated to have entered Britain between 1946 and 1951 through this process, although not all of them settled permanently (Castles *et al*, 1984: 41).

In addition, the British state made a significant intervention in the resettlement of Polish ex-servicemen and their dependants, with the formation of the Polish Resettlement Corp in May 1946 by the War Office and the Air Ministry (Foot, 1965: 117-19; Isaac, 1954: 171-76; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 86; Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1947: 38-9, 188). Its official purpose was to *"effect as speedily as possible the orderly disbandment of the Polish Armed Forces in this country and to facilitate their repatriation to Poland, emigration to other countries, or resettlement in civilian life here, according to the individual wishes of the members of these forces"* (Isaac, 1954: 171; see also Zubrzycki, 1956). Their status was decided by the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 (Isaac, 1954: 171; Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1947: 148). Under the auspices of the War Office, 30,000 members of the Polish forces and their dependants were also brought to 'the UK following the end of the War from areas

where they had fought alongside the British forces (Isaac, 1954: 173; Zubrzycki, 1956: 54-61). It is significant, however, that many ex-members of the Polish Resettlement Corp were employed in those sectors of the economy which faced acute shortages of labour, for example, agriculture, textiles, the service sector and metal manufacturing industries (Zubrzycki, 1956: 66). This would suggest, as Miles and Solomos (1987: 87) have indicated, that the involvement of the British state in the resettlement of refugees following the Second World War was secondary to considerations about the contribution such groups could make to solving Britain's manpower shortages.

It was towards the end of the EVW programme in 1948 - against a background of discussion over the use of foreign labour to meet Britain's post-war labour shortages and of the means by which it could be controlled and directed most effectively by the state - that the possibility of utilising colonial labour to meet Britain's labour shortages was raised (Harris, 1987: 61-2; Joshi and Carter, 1984: 57; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 88-9). The suggestion, however, was immediately dismissed (Harris, 1987: 62). The central dynamic of the decision not to use colonial labour at this stage revolved around both political and ideological concerns. The politico-legal position of European labour ensured that European workers could be effectively controlled as "aliens" and deported if necessary. In contrast, following the granting of independence to Britain's colonies, the British Nationality Act of 1948 defined the Commonwealth citizens of these countries as British Subjects with the legal right of entry and settlement in Britain (Freeman and Spencer, 1979: 56; Patterson, 1969: 17).

However, the undesirability of colonial labour and the preference for European workers was not just a matter of effective control by the British state; colonial workers, by virtue of their colour, were regarded as "unassimilable" within British society, and it was argued that their presence would therefore cause a "race relations problem" (Carter, Harris and Joshi, 1987; Dean, 1987; Foot, 1965). This belief laid the foundation for state discourse on Black immigration throughout the post-1945 period and set the pretext for legislative measures to control entry from areas

of the New Commonwealth (see, for example, Foot, 1965; Miles and
Phizacklea, 1984: 25-31; Rich, 1986).

In spite of the desire to discourage colonial migration and
settlement in Britain following the introduction of the British
Nationality Act in 1948, the first significant contingent of migrants
from the colonies arrived in Britain, some 400 Jamaicans aboard the
Empire Windrush (Fryer, 1984: 372-3; Harris, 1987: 62-3; see also Franks,
1988). Although many of those who arrived had been stationed in Britain
during the War (Banton, 1955; Richmond, 1954; Unit for Manpower Studies,
1977: 6; see also Deakin, 1970: 44; Ford, 1985; Fryer, 1984; Patterson,
1963: 38; Scobie, 1972; Sherwood, 1985a, 1985b; Walvin, 1984) as we have
seen in the previous section, they were not the first Black people to
come to Britain (Fryer, 1984; Shyllon, 1974; Visram, 1986). However, in
an effort to prevent the possibility of these migrants "drifting" to the
established Black communities in Britain's seaports (Dean, 1987: 319-20),
the majority of those who arrived were swiftly registered for employment
in areas of "undermanned and essential industries" and were subsequently
placed in iron foundries, agriculture, railways and bricklaying throughout
the country (Harris, 1987: 63; 65-6). It also appears at this stage that
the Ministry of Labour went to some length to discourage any further
arrivals from the West Indies and possibly from other areas of the New
Commonwealth, although the effectiveness of its efforts were blocked by
the legal framework of the 1948 Nationality Act and by the knowledge in,
for example Jamaica, that British industry was short of labour (Harris,
1987: 62-6; see also Joshi and Carter, 1984: 58-9).

Although the British state did not realise its objective of stopping
Black immigration through official legislation until the introduction of
the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, the period between the 1948
British Nationality Act and the early 1960s was one of increasing
political agitation, both inside and outside Parliament, to introduce
"controls" (Carter, Harris and Joshi, 1987; Foot, 1965; Miles and
Phizacklea, 1984; see also Miles and Solomos, 1987: 88-91). As a result,
by the mid-1950s the presence of Black people had been both politicised
and racialised by both press and Parliament despite the fact that

immigration from areas of the New Commonwealth did not reach any significant levels until the latter part of the decade (Miles and Solomos, 1987: 89). Further, the British state had taken a number of steps to discourage immigration from these areas, a position which can hardly be regarded as one of "open door" policy. As Carter, Harris and Joshi have argued:

> *"The period between the 1948 Nationality Act and the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act is frequently characterised as one in which the principle of free entry of British subjects to the UK was only relinquished with great reluctance and after considerable official debate. This was not the case, On the contrary, the debate was never about principle. Labour and Conservative Governments had by 1952 instituted a number of covert, and sometimes illegal, administrative measures to discourage black immigration." (1987: 336)*

It is with the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 which was designed to limit New Commonwealth immigration, that the role of the state in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration flows during the post-1945 period was further formalised and institutionalised. In particular, the state's actions had some unintended consequences for the scale and dynamic of migration flows to Britain during this period. Fears that restrictions would be imposed are believed to have led to the marked increase in immigration from New Commonwealth countries to Britain from 1960 to the early part of 1962 when the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) was introduced and when, for the first time, the entry of Commonwealth citizens was formally restricted through government legislation (Deakin, 1970: 47; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984: 40; Patterson, 1969: 3). The effect of the "beat the ban" rush is evident in Table 1.1.

In the period between 1955 and 1960, numerically the migration from the New Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan and parts of the Caribbean was dominated by those coming from Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean, accounting for approximately 76 per cent of all New Commonwealth migrants entering Britain. In comparison, migrants from India and Pakistan accounted for only 24 per cent of the total.

Table 1,1; Net Inward Migration from India, Pakistan and the West Indies, 1955-68

	INDIA	PAKISTAN	JAMAICA	REST OF CARIBBEAN	TOTAL
1955-1960	33,070	17,120	96,180	65,270	211,640
1961-30th June, 1962	42,800	50,170	62,450	35,640	191,060
1st July, 1962 - Dec 1968	124,260	78,670	32,700	31,310	266,940
Total;	200,130	145,960	191,330	132,220	669,640

However, in the 18 month period leading up to the introduction of the 1962 Act, numbers entering Britain from India and Pakistan increased whereas those entering from areas of the Caribbean dropped dramatically. The number of migrants coming from the Indian subcontinent during this 18 month period was almost double that of the 1955-1960 period, totalling 92,970 and 50,190 respectively. In contrast, numbers coming from the Caribbean during the 18 month period leading up to the 1962 Act, although still higher than those coming from the Indian subcontinent, were significantly lower than they had been in previous years (all figures from Patterson, 1968: xii).

Not only did the threat of state legislation have a dramatic impact upon the pattern and volume of migration from areas of the New Commonwealth to Britain in the period prior to the 1962 Act, but it also had significant, if at times unintended, consequences for the future scale and dynamic of migration from the New Commonwealth. With the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act the impact of state legislation upon the process of immigration is most explicit through a radical transformation of the pattern of migration flows from the New Commonwealth. The long-term implications of the 1962 Act and, in particular its radical transformation of the character of New Commonwealth migration to Britain further illustrates that the assertions of, for example, Peach (1968) who argues that state intervention was a

mere interruption before economic forces resumed their control upon immigration, are clearly erroneous.

In terms of legislative framework, the 1962 Act required that all Commonwealth citizens obtain an employment voucher issued by the Ministry of Labour before travelling to the UK, although such conditions were waived in those cases where the migrant was a dependant of a person already living in the UK, or a student (Patterson, 1969: 20-1). The issuing of these vouchers was controlled along strict quota lines and appeared to be linked to the availability of jobs in the British economy. Preference was given primarily to those applicants who had a specific job to come to in Britain ("Category A" vouchers) or secondly who had a marketable skill or qualification which was in demand ("Category B" vouchers). The third category of work vouchers issued went to those applicants who were unskilled, although priority was given to those who had served in the British armed forces during the war (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984: 40).

On the surface, it appeared that immigration control was being structured along lines which followed economic demands for labour rather than discriminating against applicants on grounds of "colour". However, in a climate of virulent campaigning to reduce the numbers of Black immigrants from the Commonwealth, the Act in effect actively discriminated against them: it did not, for example, regulate the significant flow of migrants who were entering Britain freely from the Irish Republic (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984: 41; Patterson, 1969: 19-20). Peach is therefore both extremely naïve and mistaken when he asserts that *"with the enforcement of the Act, the psychological barrier and political uncertainty were removed and economic determinants resumed their role of controlling numbers and trends"* (1968: 53). If immigration was controlled mainly by economic forces after 1962, how can Peach account for the significantly high numbers of citizens of the Irish Republic who were able to enter Britain freely and without restriction under the 1962 Act? Clearly, the ideological and political contents of the 1962 Act designed to control the entry of mainly Black immigrants

were of more significance in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration flows than purely economic concerns.

Although in the short-term, the threat of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) created an increase in the numbers of migrants entering Britain from areas of the Indian subcontinent and the West Indies, its long-term implications for the scale and dynamic of migration flows from the New Commonwealth were particularly significant (Deakin, 1970: 47). Until the introduction of the 1962 Act, migration from areas of the Indian subcontinent, in particular, was characterised by its temporary nature, with many migrants arriving in Britain with the intention of living and working in the country for a few years before returning to the Subcontinent (see, for example, Anwar, 1979: 4; Jeffery, 1976). However, with the introduction of the Act and its associated restrictions, what was hitherto for all intents and purposes a temporary migration, thereafter became transformed into a permanent migration and settlement. Further, because the 1962 Act did not place restrictions on the entry of dependants, the migration was transformed from one which was previously made up of single migrants to one which was increasingly made up of families coming for permanent settlement (Castles and Kosack, 1973: 3; Castles *et al*, 1984: 12-15; Deakin, 1970: 54; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 93).

Deakin (1970) describes this as one of the "unintended consequences" of the Act: not only did the numbers entering Britain increase overall in the period leading up to the Act as we have seen, but following the introduction of the Act migration became one of permanent settlement characterised by "family reunification" (Castles *et al*, 1984: 13-14). Thus, between 1962 and 1968 the number of dependants entering Britain from the New Commonwealth greatly exceeded the number of voucher holders, a development which was to signal the departure from mass migration to the settlement and consolidation of the family unit (Castles *et al*, 1984: 13-15; Deakin, 1970: 52).

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962 in many senses marked both the beginning and the end of contemporary migration flows from areas of

(53)

the New Commonwealth: the end of a period of unrestricted entry from areas of India, Pakistan and the West Indies (although, as we have seen, it was not a period of inaction by the state in terms of a desire to restrict entry) and the beginning of a period where ideological and political concerns which were paramount in determining the scale and dynamic of the migration became formally institutionalised within British immigration law.

The period following the 1962 Act is one in which the migration and settlement of New Commonwealth citizens has been increasingly regulated by the British state. In addition, it is also a period in which the entry of Black New Commonwealth citizens has been further problematised. For example, concern was openly expressed about the numbers of dependants of New Commonwealth migrants entering the country, despite the fact that 30,000 citizens of the Irish Republic would enter Britain unrestricted in 1965 alone (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984: 53). Thereafter, successive Labour and Conservative governments have produced a succession of Acts which have both renewed and tightened the provisions contained in the original 1962 Act and have thus structured the scale and dynamic of subsequent migrations. In view of this, it is therefore erroneous to maintain, for example as Patterson (1969) and Deakin (1970) have done, that the ideological and political concerns of the state, instigated through a succession of immigration legislation, have had no influence upon migration flows. On the contrary, evidence would suggest that post-1945 migration flows in particular cannot be regarded simply in terms of responses to demands for labour within the British economy; these migrations have taken place within an ideological and political discourse which has had important implications for the shape those migrations have subsequently taken.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I had two distinct, but nevertheless inter-related aims. First, through a critique of a selection of literature which purports to address factors structuring migration to, and settlement in Britain from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, I demonstrated that because such studies fail to acknowledge the historical and contemporary distinctiveness of Scottish social and economic life, conclusions drawn from such studies are generally not applicable in the Scottish context. In particular, I argued that studies which seek to explain migration to Britain in terms of demands for labour within the 'British' economy cannot be generalised to the Scottish situation given, by the admission of theorists such as Peach (1968), that Scotland was an area of "low labour demand" during the post-1945 period. Further, such studies fail to analyse the structural reasons why labour shortages did, and conversely, did not develop. It was also suggested that additional factors must be responsible for migrations in the absence of labour demands. Second, and following from this, I argued that theorists who focus exclusively upon a "demand for labour" account of post-1945 migration to Britain, fail to acknowledge the central role of ideological and political factors effected through, for example, state apparatuses, in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration flows. As a result, such studies present a one-dimensional analysis of migration.

The realisation of both objectives highlights not only the inadequacies of existing studies in relation specifically to the Scottish context, but also in relation generally to the limitations of purely "economistic" explanations of migration. Thus, although a demand for labour may be a necessary prerequisite in precipitating migration flows at specific historical periods and under certain structural circumstances, it is not the sole determinant of all migrations.

This has important implications for the subsequent analysis of the Scottish 'case'. As I have already indicated, existing studies fail to acknowledge the structural reasons why large-scale labour shortages did not develop within the Scottish economy during the post-1945 period. In

the following chapter, therefore, I explore the structural development of the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period in order to locate the reasons why labour shortages did, and conversely did not, develop. Following from this in Chapter 3, I assess the historical link between migration flows both into and out of Scotland, and the structural developments outlined in Chapter 2. Although on the one hand it will be demonstrated that some migrations can be directly attributed to demands for labour within the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period, it will be argued that on the other, such a link does not exist in all instances. The establishment of alternative explanatory factors in these instances will therefore be the objective of the remainder of the discussion in Chapter 3 and subsequently in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER TWO

The Scottish Economy: factors affecting expansion and decline.

Introduction

The aim of the following chapter is to illustrate empirically the structural dynamics in the development of labour shortages in the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period. The chapter is in three main sections. In the first, I locate and analyse the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a period of increased demand for labour resulting from structural changes which were taking place within all sectors of the economy. I argue that as capitalist relations of production developed there was a radical re-organisation of existing production relations, evident in the commercialisation of agriculture, in the transition from the domestic to the factory system, and in the development of heavy industries and a communications infrastructure. In section two I am concerned with the transitionary period between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the Second World War during which the Scottish economy exhibited not only features of prosperity but also early indications of decline.

In the final section, I focus upon the post-1945 period. It is argued that the Scottish economy underwent a period of contraction and crisis, evident in the continual downward decline of its heavy industries and the concomitant increase in the level of unemployment. Although it

can be argued that to a certain degree all the economies of Western Europe underwent a similar process of de-industrialisation during this period, particularly in the wake of the International Oil Crisis of the early 1970s, the Scottish economy experienced economic crisis and decline at a much earlier stage than its European counterparts. Further, this decline has been more corrosive in its effects and more intense in its experience. The aim of this section will be to show why the Scottish economy was particularly susceptible to crisis and why, as a result, it did not develop large-scale sectoral labour shortages.

(1) Economic Change and Expansion in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

Changes in the Organisation of Agricultural Production.

In this section I outline some of the fundamental structural changes in Scotland which arose out of the reorganisation and increasing commercial orientation of agricultural production during the 18th and 19th centuries. This process accelerated towards the closing decades of the 18th century and was characterised by the widespread consolidation of landholdings as farming became geared for profit rather than for basic subsistence. Scottish landowners were quick to exploit the increasing demands for agricultural produce both at home and abroad, and this resulted not only in the reorganisation of landholdings but also an increase in rents and the prices of commodities such as cattle and grain (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 103, 113).

In order to understand the impact of change upon agricultural production, it is important to begin with a conception of the existing organisation of this sector of the economy and its implications for social relations. In common with all western European countries during the early 18th century, Scotland had an agriculturally-based economy. Agricultural activity was, to a large extent, governed by the physical terrain of the country. In the southern areas, for example, where the

land was flatter and more fertile, cattle could be reared and crops grown. However, in the Highland region, the physical environment confined farming and human settlement to a limited number of areas and as a result agriculture was scattered throughout the glens, along the coasts and on the islands where the land was flatter and therefore more suitable for arable subsistence farming (Hamilton, 1963: 10). Traditionally, cattle were reared and they occupied a central role in the economy of the Highlands at this time (Richards, 1982: 119-20).

There is also some evidence to suggest the increasing development of other sectors of production (Thompson, 1980: 70; see also Hamilton, 1963; Slaven, 1975). However, at this stage economic activity was closely linked to domestic production and was carried out in conjunction with, rather than in place of, subsistence farming and other household activities (Thompson, 1980: 70). The spinning and weaving of coarse linen and woollen cloth using raw materials produced on the farmland was carried out by individual producers within the domestic sphere. In some areas, activities such as fishing also supplemented agricultural production (Slaven, 1975: 79-80). An exception to this was the extraction of minerals such as coal and salt (Thompson, 1980: 70). Mineral extraction was localised and concentrated in a limited area on the east coast of Scotland (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 40-41; Lenman, 1977: 37). Production was dependent upon the legal enserfment of a labour supply for its continuation (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 40-41; Thompson, 1980: 70; Smout, 1969: 169; Duckham, 1969; Hamilton, 1963: 367-9).

The chief characteristic of the physical organisation of Scottish agriculture in the early 18th century was the division of arable land into the *infield* and *outfield* and the division of cultivated fields into rigs, a system known as "runrig" (Hamilton, 1963: 37-8; 1966: 13; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 110-1; Richards, 1982: 76-7; Slaven, 1975: 59). This system was common throughout both the Highland and Lowland regions of Scotland and was characterised by an intense sub-division of land. Farming techniques were limited and as a result crop and livestock yields were poor. In addition, the variety of crops grown was limited to oats and barley (Hamilton, 1963: 103; Slaven, 1975: 63). For the majority of

the peasantry, this situation was intensified in times of crop failures which resulted in starvation for humans and beasts alike (Richards, 1982: 88-9; see also Lenman, 1977: 47; Hamilton, 1963: 42). The problems of growing a surplus for winter made it largely impossible to feed livestock during this time of the year. Further, throughout the year livestock were crowded onto small areas of land and inadequate grazing resulted in poor milk yields.

During the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the basic socio-economic relations of the land tenure system remained predominantly feudal, with the emergence of a wage-dependent class occurring only after the widespread enclosure and reorganisation of the agricultural sector (Thompson, 1980: 67, 69). Hamilton (1966: 31) identifies four classes of people on the land in 18th century Scotland: the proprietors, who kept their estates under their own management; tacksmen, who held their lands by lease from the proprietor; tenants, whose lands were held sometimes on short leases, or without a lease at the will of the proprietor; and finally, sub-tenants. The relationship between each of these groups varied between areas of the country and did not necessarily involve all four groups at any one time.

For example, in the west of Scotland, the land was held by a wide range of owners, from the aristocracy and nobility to small landowning lairds, who often rented it directly to the tenants without the mediating relationship of the tacksmen. The practice of feuing land, that is granting perpetual heritable tenure in return for a down-payment and a fixed annual money rent, consolidated the ownership of land in Scotland in the hands of a small number of families (Slaven, 1975: 60; Smout, 1969: 137; Thompson, 1980: 67).

The Highlands, by contrast, exhibited a rather different set of social relations. Here, the clan was the basic socio-economic unit. The relationship between the landlord, the clan chief, and the tenants was indirect and was mediated by the tacksman (Bumsted, 1982: 30-2; 34-6; Hamilton, 1963: 47; Richards, 1982: 56-57; 66-69; Prebble, 1963: 14). Although tenants in the traditional sense, tacksmen were frequently close

kin of the clan chief. Moreover, they were required to mobilise as many men for battle when required and they obtained them by sub-letting land to tenants who paid in kind by joining battle forces (Hamilton, 1963: 47-8; 1966: 31). The tacksmen also paid rent in money or kind to the chief and in turn obtained a larger rent in money or kind from the peasants (Lenman, 1977: 32; Richards, 1982: 60-2; Smout, 1969: 129).

In sum, therefore, because economic activity was closely linked to the domestic and agricultural spheres it was scattered throughout the country, making the possibility of organising all sectors of production centrally along fully capitalist lines difficult (Burgess, 1980: 89-90). Capitalist organisation of production within agriculture during the late 17th and early 18th centuries was therefore fragmented and incoherent and it was not until the existing land tenure system was reorganised and new farming methods were introduced that agrarian production became more systematically geared for a capitalist market economy.

As the 18th century progressed a series of major changes took place within the organisation of agriculture which involved not only fundamental alterations in traditional farming methods but also in the structure of the land tenure system itself. Such changes signalled not only an increase in the rate of accumulation and the penetration of capitalist relations of production in the countryside, but also changes in the structure of social relations between landlord and tenant.

The central impetus for change can be directly linked to a number of developments which took place after the 1707 Union. During the early 18th century, Scottish landowners increasingly came into contact with English farming methods which gave improved crop and livestock yields. This prompted many Scottish landowners to adopt the new farming methods of their English counterparts. This was not, however, a purely economic drive, but was also the result of an aesthetic desire to improve and "beautify" their estates in an attempt to gain greater power and prestige within the community (Hamilton, 1963: 55; Burgess, 1980: 95). However, perhaps of more importance, the 1707 Union removed tariff barriers between the two countries and this brought an increase in competition

from English farmers (Burgess, 1980: 95).   The race to secure the increasing demands for agricultural produce fuelled landowners' desires to consolidate their landholdings and turn them over to production for exchange and profit (Burgess, 1980: 89-90, 96-7; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 23, 41-8, 52-3, 56-7; Lenman, 1977: 40-1; Thompson, 1980: 66, 80-1).

However, although alterations in traditional farming methods led to the improvement of crop and livestock yields in all areas of the country (Hamilton, 1963: 58-64, 68-9, 79-81), and hence to better food reserves for the general population, the fundamental social changes appeared to benefit the landowners' desires to increase profit and prestige rather than improve the conditions of the mass of the farming population. Nowhere are the effects of this more evident than in the alterations to the existing land tenure system.   One of the most fundamental changes in this general process of agricultural reorganisation was in the erosion of the run-rig system and the consolidation of land units by enclosure (Burgess, 1980: 97; Hamilton, 1963: 55-87).   Such changes signalled the transition from individualistic farming practices to collective husbandry. However, although consolidation and enclosure of land resulted in greater yields as well as an increase in rents, it also led to a reduction in the number of tenants per existing farm (Richards, 1982: 166).   For some this gave greater security of tenure, but for the majority it led to expropriation and dependency on wage labour as 'surplus' individuals were evicted to make way for capitalist farming practices (Hamilton, 1963: 82-4).   Such developments played a central role in the process of migration during this period as we will see in Chapter 3.

At a regional level, the general "improving" movement was irregular, progressing rapidly in some areas and more slowly in others and it was not until the end of the first quarter of the 19th century that it was widely adopted throughout Scotland.   Specific changes in the structure and practice of agricultural production and the pace at which they were adopted depended not only upon the suitability of areas of land for different types of farming but also upon landowners' desires to switch from traditional methods to what were perceived as "revolutionary" practices.   For many landowners, at least initially, returns were still

sufficiently high using older farming practices to render change apparently unnecessary and they were therefore relatively slow to adapt to the new methods.

Agricultural change penetrated farming practices in the southern region from the early 18th century. The movement towards enclosure and commercial farming was sustained by opportunities for profit in the growing English and home markets, particularly from the expanding woollen industry (Lenman, 1977: 70). Although this process was initially met with active resistance from those under threat (Ferguson, 1978: 167; Lenman, 1977: 69; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 112; Richards, 1982: 163-4; Smout, 1969: 304) it resulted in the forced eviction of many small tenant farmers (Hamilton, 1966: 42; see also Ferguson, 1978: 167; Lenman, 1977: 69; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 112; Richards, 1982: 163-4; Smout, 1969: 304).

Agricultural change, however, was somewhat slower in the Highland region. Here, the diffusion of capitalist relations of production did not take place until after 1750 and was not widespread until the 19th century (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 149; Richards, 1982: 44, 113-9). The relatively slow penetration of capitalist relations was the result of a number of factors. First, the continued existence of the tacksmen system was a major obstacle for change in the land tenure system. Only by changing the basic social relations of this region could the land be more efficiently utilised allowing for the emergence of a cash nexus system (Burgess, 1980: 92-3). The gradual disappearance of the clan as the basic socio-economic unit, and in particular, the erosion of the tacksmen system, allowed for a more direct relationship between landowner and tenant (Richards, 1982: 4, 62). The defeat of the Jacobite clans in the battle at Culloden in 1746 virtually ensured the destruction of the clan in terms of military effectiveness (Richards, 1982: 52, 111, 149, 198; Smout, 1969: 208-9, 321-2).

This military defeat was reinforced by legal measures which undermined the role of the chieftain (Smout, ibid). Concerns in Edinburgh were clearly focussed on maintaining political and perhaps more significantly, economic relations with England, especially in the form of

cattle trading. Without the need for military services, the role and status of the chief increasingly depended upon the amount of wealth he was seen to possess, and the kind of investments he made. Cash payments thus became extremely important. The tacksmen system, with its dependence on the payment of rent in kind rather than in cash, presented a major obstacle to securing large amounts of cash for the landowners. Thus, only by eliminating the position of tacksmen and creating a direct relationship between landlord and tenant could a controlled and increasing income be guaranteed. The transition from rent in kind to cash payments was therefore a necessary constituent of any social and economic change.

Second, the physical environment rendered a large proportion of the Highland region unfit for cultivation, and therefore the introduction of new farming practices, particularly arable techniques, to previously uncultivated areas was both impractical and unprofitable. Agrarian change in the more barren areas of the region therefore concentrated on revolutionising existing land utilisation and on altering the traditional land tenure system.

Areas in the eastern region of the Highlands were more easily adapted to changes brought about by the commercialisation of agriculture. Here, in localities where the geographical situation and land tenure system permitted, as, for example, in parts of Perthshire, Angus and West Aberdeenshire, a pattern of large farming units similar to those in other areas of Scotland developed (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 150). In these areas, consolidated farm units became involved in mixed livestock and arable farming with the introduction of new strains of crops and improved breeds of cattle and sheep. In other areas, however, the dispossession of the small tenantry was the result of the consolidation of landholdings solely for the introduction of large sheep farms. This development began in Perthshire in the 1760s, but it was not until the years around 1800 that such developments penetrated, for example, Sutherland and Inverness-shire resulting in the Clearances (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 113-4; Mitchison, 1981; Richards, 1982; see also Prebble, 1963

and Richards, 1982 for a detailed history of the Highland Clearances; but see Adam, 1920: 78-80.

As we will see in Chapter 3, these changes had dramatic implications for the mass of the landless tenant population, as peasants were expelled from the land to make way for commercial agriculture. Forced off the land by such changes, many emigrated to North America. Many more, however, migrated to the towns in search of employment, finding work in the textile factories of the west-central region. And it is to the growth of the textile industry and, in particular the rise of the factory system, that I now turn.

The Rise of Textiles and the Growth of the Factory System.

Although agriculture was undoubtedly the central pivot around which the Scottish economy was organised during most of the 18th century, the development and growth of textile production during the latter part of this period effectively marked the transition to factory production and thus to the rise of an urbanised, manufacturing economy. The production of linen and cotton textiles and other related goods was important not just for domestic consumption, but also as one of the central exports to the colonial markets which developed during the 18th century (Ferguson, 1978: 184; Lenman, 1977: 91; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 149). The emergence of the factory system is also testimony to the effects of the application of new production techniques and work practices on the economy. Its most vivid effects can be seen in the creation of an industrial proletariat which became subject to new constraints of the wage system and in the concentration of the ownership and control of the means of production.

The forerunner of the textile industry was linen manufacture, which had long been a feature of the Scottish economy. The early period of linen manufacture was characterised by domestic production and much of the labour which sustained the early expansion of the Scottish linen industry was rural based (see, for example, Hamilton, 1966: 76; Slaven, 1975: 79-80; Smout, 1969: 377). The history of the linen industry, and its eventual succession by the cotton industry during the latter part of

the 18th century, clearly illustrates the transition from scattered home
employment, closely connected to agricultural production, to the
centralisation of production with the rise of the factory system. The
removal of tariff barriers following the Union of 1707 opened up new
possibilities for the expansion of trade in existing domestic industries.
By the 1720s there were indications that Glasgow merchants were seeking
fresh outlets for their wealth (Hamilton, 1966: 78).

By the middle of the 18th century, linen manufacture was widespread
with the domestic organisation of the spinning and weaving sections of
the production process being carried out with basic spinning wheels and
hand looms. It was within the finishing process of the manufacture of
the cloth, in bleaching, dyeing and printing which required capital
investment, that production became centralised in the hands of a few
merchants (Hamilton, 1966: 98). In all the main urban centres, merchants
employed large numbers of people in the rural districts to produce the
linen cloth. A distinct division of labour within the manufacturing
process was evident, each stage being gender-specific; the spinning of
the raw flax into threads was mainly carried out by women in conjunction
with domestic labour (Slaven, 1975: 80), with the actual weaving of the
material carried out by a separate producer, who tended to be male. In
the final stages the cloth was transferred to the urban centres for the
finishing process of bleaching.

The existence of the independent weaver declined by the end of the
18th century with the rise of the factory system in urban centres and
the penetration of capitalist relations of production into the textile
sector reducing the workforce to various degrees of wage-dependence
(Hamilton, 1966: 100). The extent of capitalist relations of production
within linen manufacturing by the last decades of the 18th century was
undoubtedly great not only in terms of the existence of a wage labour
force but also in terms of the the level of capital investment. Hamilton,
quoting from the *Old Statistical Account* refers to the extensive numbers
of weavers employed by manufacturers and bleachers in the Glasgow area
alone to be in the region of 3,000 (1966: 101).

Two apparently separate developments revolutionised the production process and heralded a greater degree of penetration of capitalist relations of production into textile manufacturing. First, the expansion of the credit system freed capital from stagnating in the final stages of linen production and allowed the cycle of investment and production to continue (Slaven, 1975: 82). Second, the discovery of new and quicker chemical bleaching processes in the middle of the century drastically reduced the lapse between finishing and sale of the cloth likewise releasing capital invested into circulation. In addition, landowners were given state incentives in the form of substantial grants to establish large bleachfields thereby further concentrating the control of the whole linen production process into fewer hands (Slaven, 1975: 85).

By the end of the 18th century water driven spinning mills were set up in a number of sites, particularly in urban areas such as Dundee, and these increased in number in the early decades of the 19th century. The change in the organisation and geographical location of the linen industry, with the transfer of production to the factory, potentially raised the problem of securing a workforce. However, with the decline of spinning as a domestic occupation, which had until then been largely a female occupation, women and increasingly children transferred their labour to the spinning factories. In addition, and as we will see in more detail in Chapter 3, Highland migrant labour also constituted a large sector of the workforce (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138; MacDonald, 1937: 50-73). In contrast, mechanisation had as yet not penetrated the weaving sectors of the industry, and production of linen cloth was continued by small independent male weavers.

However, with the introduction of machinery into the weaving sector of the linen industry by the mid-19th century, many of the early factory owners had great difficulty in obtaining a labour supply. In contrast to spinning, there was no automatic transfer of weavers from the independent sector to the factory. As a result, factory owners often had to rely upon orphan children, casual workers and Irish migrant labour for their workforce (Hamilton, 1966: 117). Eventually, following a bitter period of degradation of their trade as a result of the penetration of

industrial capitalism, many of the hand-loom weavers were absorbed into the factory system (Hamilton, 1966: 114; Smout, 1969: 393). Smout (1969: 400) argues that an oversupply of labour was the main factor in the decline of the industry and in the worsening of the position of hand-loom weavers in the 19th century. The influx of Highland and later Irish migrant labour to the industry resulted in a drastic cut in wage levels, and the situation was further consolidated by the deskilling of the weaving process as new machinery made the trade easier to learn.

The eventual demise of the linen industry in the latter part of the 18th century was the result of a number of factors connected to the severe competition from the rapidly rising cotton industry particularly in the west of Scotland. New Continental spinning and weaving methods and the invention of new spinning machines, for instance Arkwright's water-frame, permitted a degree of mechanisation to be applied to the textile industry. Thus, very fine threads could be spun thereby enabling the production of pure cotton goods for the first time. However, it was not until after 1785 that these methods were widely adopted in the textile trade. Their application to cotton, however, signalled the downfall of the existing linen industry.

The rapid rise of the cotton industry in Glasgow and the surrounding area in the last decades of the 18th century epitomised the rise of the factory system and the growth of the factory proletariat (Ferguson, 1978: 185). The cotton industry marked an important shift away from domestic production not only in the use of imported raw materials from the colonies but in terms of the large amounts of capital which were necessary for the development of factory production and for the circulation of the commodities in the market.

The sources of capital for investment in the cotton industry have long been disputed (Campbell, 1967: 17-18; Burgess, 1980: 99). Hamilton, for example, assumed a direct transfer of funds from the profits of tobacco into the new machinery and mills of cotton spinning (1966: 121). However, recent evidence suggests a more tenuous relationship between wealth originating from the tobacco trade and the subsequent transfer of

capital into cotton industry (Devine, 1974, 1976, 1978; Lenman, 1977: 91-2; Slaven, 1975: 89). It would appear that the cotton industry was not the main nor sole beneficiary of colonial profits, and that other manufacturing sectors were funded by this source (Devine, 1978: 178-9; see also 1976: 4).

The greatest source of finance for the emerging cotton industry would appear to be via those who were already involved in the textile industry, particularly in linen (Butt, 1977: 117; Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 142; Hamilton, 1963: 167; 1966: 167; Slaven, 1975: 91). Evidence suggests that it was a small group of influential former linen merchants who alone or in partnership, provided the main stream of enterprise and finance in the new cotton industry, possessing not only the finance necessary for the development of the industry but also the expertise through established contacts within the textile trade (Slaven, 1975: 91). Slaven (1975: 90) also cites the importance of English skill and capital in the early stages of the development of the industry.

By the early decades of the 19th century cotton manufacture was concentrated in and around the Glasgow/Paisley area, although production still continued in the earliest established mills in rural areas such as New Lanark (Ferguson, 1978: 186). The urban concentration of the industry in the Glasgow area was the result of the application of steam power which gradually forced those mills which were established in the more rural areas of the country to decline (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 186-7).

Increasing employment in the cotton factories only partly compensated for a decline in opportunities for handloom weavers (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 187). Women increasingly took the factory jobs, displacing men who had either worked in their own homes or, as time passed, in the loom shops (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 187). The employment of women was partly possible through the introduction of more advanced machinery into the industry, but more importantly, because female labour was cheaper to employ and therefore more profitable.

The reasons for the subsequent decline of the cotton industry can be located in terms of increasing competition from abroad and by the greater relative advantages of Glasgow and the west of Scotland in the production of iron and metal goods. As early as the 1830s, Scottish firms complained of American competition in Central and Latin America and also in the Far East (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 188). On the home front, however, entrepreneurs were facing increasing problems from the 1830s onwards in raising credit as a result of the expansion of metal manufacturing industries. The American Civil War in 1861-65, which has often been cited as the point of decline in the cotton industry (see for example Carter, 1972: 18; Grosicki, 1958: 241), although producing a crisis in the supply of raw materials, did not alone precipitate the downfall of the cotton industry. The industry's fate had already been decided.

Thus, the growth of the textile industry, and in particular the shift from domestic organisation of production to the factory system, radically changed the structural organisation of the textile industry and with it work practices as a whole. The implications for labour demand and supply will be considered in Chapter 3. Moreover, although the rise of the factory system was undoubtedly the most radical development within the economic structure during this period, the expansion of other areas of the economy, most notably the extraction and utilisation of natural mineral resources and the development of a communications infrastructure similarly created a demand for labour, and it is to this that I now turn.

The Growth of Heavy Industry and the Development of a Communications Infrastructure.

Economic expansion within manufacturing production also took place within other sectors of the economy, notably in mineral extraction and associated manufacturing industries. These sectors eventually surpassed the cotton industry in terms of capital investment and dominance within the Scottish economy. In this section, I consider the process of development within this area of the economy, and the factors which contributed to the concentration of heavy industry, particularly ship building and engineering, in and around the city of Glasgow.

The industrial development of Scotland's economy during the late 18th and 19th centuries is inextricably bound up with the extraction of natural mineral resources from the country's Central Lowland belt. The application of new technical discoveries, made possible by the increasing investment of capital, opened up new avenues of production and subsequently to the further concentration of investment. However, such developments were not a series of unconnected events which took place over a relatively short period of time; rather, they were the result of cumulative changes within the production process which resulted from the increasing investment of capital in new technological discoveries and more efficient production techniques and in the expansion of a more effective communications infrastructure. The building of canals, especially the Monkland and the Forth and Clyde, made possible the opening up of the Lanarkshire coal field and the development of the economy generally. However, with the growth of the railway network during the 1820s and 1830s much greater developments became possible for districts previously untouched by any adequate means of transport as they became connected to the industrial and shipping centres.

The foundation of such developments had already been laid, as we have seen, as early as the late 16th century with limited coal extraction which at this stage was closely tied up with the production of salt from sea water. By 1750 small pits were common throughout the Central Lowlands (Lythe and Butt, 1975: 40-41; Lenman, 1977: 37; Slaven, 1975: 111). As a result of the increased demand for coal for both domestic and commercial consumption at home and abroad, landowners, on whose land the coal seams were located, were given an opportunity to develop this expanding market. Although the area around the river Forth was an important mining and shipping centre for the export of coal south-wards to London (Hamilton, 1966: 169; Thompson, 1980: 70), coal mining also extended to Ayrshire and the immediate vicinity of Glasgow. The reasons for such a geographical concentration were largely the result of transportation costs which dictated both profit levels and that mining should be carried on near the coast or close to its market as in the case of Glasgow (Hamilton, 1966: 169; Slaven, 1975: 111). As a result, the inland coal fields around Lanarkshire were unexploited and it was not

until capital was invested in the improvement of existing transport networks, for example in the cutting of canals, that such coal fields could be opened up.

However, although the development of coal mining was initially hampered both by the absence of an efficient inland transport network and by technical difficulties, it was the social relations of production - expressed in feudal class relations legally bonded by legislative acts passed in in the early 17th century - which most severely retarded the development of the industry (Dickson, 1980: 144; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 40-41; see also Slaven, 1975: 112; Smout, 1969: 169).   In a period where technical innovation in the industry was almost non-existent, the abolition of the serf relationship and improvement of the wages and conditions of the colliers was thus the only way to meet the growing demands of the market by attracting an increase in the numbers of colliers.   This was not achieved, however, until the end of the 18th century with the introduction of legislation in 1799 which abolished serfdom. The association of the coal mining industry with conditions of serfdom made it an unpopular occupation, however, and mine owners continued to face the problems of securing a workforce. As I will go on to elaborate in more detail in Chapter 3, however, the abolition of serfdom coincided with the beginnings of Highland and Irish migration to the central lowlands and provided mine owners with an abundant labour supply.

By the last quarter of the 18th century, the coal mining industry increased in importance and there was a geographical shift from the east to the west of the country.   The reasons for this are to be found in the expansion of industry and the increase in domestic consumption. Overseas trading, particularly with the North American colonies, expanded rapidly and with it the increasing importance of the city of Glasgow as an industrial and commercial trading centre. A rapidly growing population and the development of small industries supplying the colonial trade stimulated domestic and industrial demands for coal, placing great strain on existing mines.

However, although the growth of domestic consumption, along with limited industrial consumption placed an increasing demand on coal reserves, it was with the iron industry that a new and important consumer of coal emerged. Structural changes which took place within the existing iron industry during this period, particularly with the application of coal as opposed to the traditional wood in the smelting process, signalled a major transition in the pattern of industry as a whole with the marrying of coal and iron industries (Hamilton, 1966: 150-5). Iron production moved from the remote rural areas of the country to the coalfields in the Lowland belt. This process took place for the first time in Scotland with the founding of the Carron Iron Works near Falkirk in 1759 (Hamilton, 1963: 193; Lenman, 1977: 98, 129; Slaven, 1975: 115). Here, production was concerned not only with the manufacture of farming and household implements for both domestic and colonial use (Hamilton, 1966: 159), but also the manufacture of armaments (Dickson, 1980: 144; Hamilton, 1966: 159; Slaven, 1975: 116, 161).

By the closing decades of the 18th century, the Scottish iron industry in conjunction with the increased output of coal, had steadily expanded, with the establishment of eighteen blast furnaces including the five at Carron (Hamilton, 1966: 168). However, growth was hampered by the immaturity of manufacturing development and in particular by the limited level of capital invested in the industry (Dickson, 1980: 144; Lenman, 1977: 130). The combination of four factors gave the Scottish iron, coal and related industries a major impetus for expansion during the 19th century: first, the discovery of black-band ironstone in abundance in the Central belt, particularly in Lanarkshire; second, investment in new production techniques following the invention of Neilson's hot blast furnace in 1828 allowed for the more economical use of blackband ironstone and raw coal (Hamilton, 1963: 173; Dickson, 1980: 144; Slaven, 1975: 116); third, the availability of Irish and Highland labour, as we will see in Chapter 3, enabled industrialists to cut costs; and fourth, the expansion of the communications network, in particular the cutting of canals and later with the advent of the railways, allowed for quicker and more efficient transportation of both raw materials and products.

As a result of these factors, iron production rapidly expanded, particularly in the Monkland area where rich and extensive resources of black-band ironstone were found. By the 1840s, the area had easy access to cheap bulk transport provided by canal. As the demand for coal and iron grew, the Monkland Canal emerged as the major axis of growth, linking up the Lanarkshire coalfields with Glasgow and its ports (Slaven, 1975: 118). The opening up of Lanarkshire by railway in the 1830s and 1840s assisted further prosperity, the first railways being built entirely with a view to the exploitation of mineral resources, particularly coal (Hamilton, 1966: 191). Railways penetrated into areas previously cut off from canal transport and provided a speedier and cheaper form of transit linking coal fields and iron works with canals, industrial towns and ports (Hamilton, 1966: 183; Lenman, 1977: 166).

Thus, by the middle of the 19th century, both profits and outputs of Scottish pig-iron increased rapidly (Slaven 1975: 120). The product could not fully be consumed by the Scottish economy and Scottish pig-iron thus featured prominently in exports (Lenman, 1977: 174). After 1830, also as a result of the new hot-blast techniques, the increase in the output of iron led to a further expansion in the production of coal (Slaven, 1975: 122). In addition to these developments, there were other changes within the Scottish economy during the 19th century which created a legacy which was to last well into the middle decades of the 20th century. The rise of shipbuilding and associated engineering, particularly the marine sector, was the foundation upon which both the prosperity and decline of the Scottish economy was ultimately rooted.

The Scottish economy, particularly around the Clydeside region, did not come to dominate the world share of the production of heavy engineering products, particularly ships and other marine-orientated commodities, until the latter decades of the 19th century. Prior to this time, the building of ships was carried on throughout Britain and was confined to the construction of timber vessels in which the Clyde area played a relatively minor, although stable, role (Slaven, 1975: 125). The building of timber vessels in the Clyde estuary was intimately tied up with the export trade, particularly trading links with the North American

colonies (Hamilton, 1966: 214), although ships were an important means of transporting goods along the coasts over short distances before the advent of canals and railways.

However, the most significant developments within shipbuilding and marine engineering came with the growth of new techniques of construction and propulsion and it was in the development and application of such innovative practices that the Scottish shipbuilding industry excelled (Slaven 1975: 125). The early foundations were laid in pioneering the development of steam which was increasingly applied to many sectors of the economy, particularly textiles during the 18th century (Hamilton, 1963: 210; Slaven, 1975: 125). Gradually, the engineering trades centred around the Glasgow area became concerned with the production of both land and marine steam engines. Bell's successful application of steam to ocean-going vessels, with the launching of the *Comet* in 1812, heralded a new era in shipbuilding history and with it the emergence of the Clyde as a famous shipbuilding and engineering centre. However, until the mid-19th century, steam ships were wooden vessels, and it was not until 1840 that iron slowly but steadily replaced wood as the main construction material. Although the Clyde made pioneering advances in these early developments of steam navigation, other shipbuilding areas soon adopted these methods which involved simple assembly methods of engines and boilers. However, by the 1830s, such methods were being replaced by rapid advances in techniques and efficiency in engineering combined with the skill of local engineers, the Clyde came to dominate the British shipbuilding industry (Gibb, 1983: 147; Robb, 1958: 171).

The rise of the Clyde shipbuilding yards as the chief seat of the industry during the latter part of the 19th century is the result of a number of factors. The iron industry in the area was booming, providing a ready supply of material for the construction process. Materials could be produced nearby in the blast furnaces and malleable iron works of Lanarkshire and quickly transported to the ship yards by canal and railway, thereby minimising transport costs. In addition, the foundries and engine workshops in and around Glasgow had a workforce skilled in metal work.

Therefore, a combination of factors contributed to the dominance and monopoly position of Glasgow in the heavy engineering sector, particularly in ship building but also in locomotive manufacture. The growth of the economic infrastructure within the West of Scotland during the 18th and 19th centuries led to a close alliance between metallurgical industries and shipbuilding (Dickson, 1980: 247; Slaven, 1975: 163). The Scottish economy, with its emphasis on the production of capital-intensive goods such as ships and locomotives quickly came to dominate the world share of the market in these sectors and as a result production became directed to export rather than for the home market (Cairncross, 1954: 4-5).

However, the orientation of economic activity towards an interdependent set of activities was a trend which was to underlie not only the country's prosperity but also its decline. With this in mind, I now briefly consider the development of the Scottish economy from the late 19th century to the mid 20th century as a means of introducing the focus of the next section on crisis within the Scottish economy in the post-1945 period. In particular, the discussion will emphasise those developments which took place in the inter-war period and which led to the continued dependence of the economy on those sectors of production which had formed the bedrock of prosperity in the 19th century but which now faced increasing competition from abroad.

(2) The Rise and Fall of Scottish Heavy Industry, c. 1870 - 1939.

The rise and development of Scottish heavy industry is closely associated with the imperial development of Britain as a whole before 1914 (Gollan, 1948: 1; Dickson, 1980: 253; Hobsbawn, 1969: 131). The period leading up to the "Great Depression" of 1873 was one of rapid growth in the coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and general engineering industries in which the Scottish economy had a special contribution. Thus, because the fortunes of these industries were, above all, linked to the export trade, they were most affected by the 1873 Crisis (Hobsbawn, 1969: 127). However, by the 1890s, the export position recovered,

principally as a result of the expansion of British imperialism (Gollan, 1948: 1; Hobsbawn, ibid).   Growing militarisation and the imperialist build-up of armaments benefited, for example, the Clydeside shipyards with orders for warships (Dickson, 1980: 253).

Although this situation continued, by the end of the First World War, however, Britain's position as a world industrial power progressively changed.   The War produced chaos in the export industries upon which Scotland and, in particular Clydeside, were so dependent.   The period after the War saw the rapid economic development of other countries and consequently British capital had to face acute competition from capital in the USA, France, Japan and later from Germany.   This had the effect of pressurising not only the position of the heavy industries internationally but also Scotland's economic base.   During the 1920s there was an additional decline in the traditional export markets caused partly by a general reduction in overseas trade and by a sharp increase in foreign competition (Orr, 1958: 209-225; Robb, 1958: 198).   As a result, those industries dependent on exports were seriously affected, and the Clydeside area, with a predominance of such industries, experienced large declines in employment.

The decline of the heavy industries within the world economy was more severe than in manufacturing industry as a whole, and during the Depression of the 1930s the position worsened.   The level of unemployment overall within Scotland was significantly higher throughout this period than the UK average: in 1924, unemployment in Scotland stood at 12.4 per cent, while for the rest of the UK it was 10.3 per cent; in 1932, the proportion was 27.7 per cent as against 22.1 per cent and in 1939 was 15.9 per cent compared to 10.8 per cent respectively (Lenman, 1977: 225; see also Gollan, 1948: 6).

While the problems facing the heavy capital goods industries affected the whole country, the English economy partly recovered by developing newer industries, for example light engineering and car manufacturing in the West Midlands (Carter, 1972: 19-20; Saville, 1985: 10).   Scotland, in contrast, was still highly dependent on the existing

industrial structure it had inherited from the 19th century (Gollan, 1948: 7). The consequences of this dependence can be seen in relation to the overall decline of Scotland's main industrial specialisms in comparison with England during this period. For example, although industrial employment in Scotland declined by nearly 8 per cent, with the factory trades showing a decrease of 4 per cent during the period 1924 and 1930, the non-factory trades (in which coal mining represented about one half of the total) declined by 16.5 per cent (Gollan, 1948: 7). In comparison, by the end of the same period total employment in England and Wales was down by only 1 per cent (ibid). The Fourth Census of Production indicated that the decline in the total industrial output of Scotland was due to the fact that, apart from shipbuilding and marine engineering, the principal Scottish industries – coalmining, jute, linen and other textiles, and the heavy iron and steel trades – were among those that were the most seriously affected by the depressed trade (ibid). In comparison, although production in England and Wales in these industries declined approximately to an equal degree, the effects of the decline were offset by a substantial improvement in other "newer" industries – for example, in electrical engineering and motor and cycle manufacturing which had not developed in any significant way in Scotland (ibid). In the newer fields of vehicles and electrical engineering, Scotland's production as a whole was 4.7 per cent in 1924 and 7 per cent in 1935, overshadowed by 24 per cent and 33 per cent in the UK as a whole (Gibb, 1983: 148).

In many respects, had Scotland's heavy industrial sectors been able to develop production orientated for the home rather than the export market, the fortunes of these sectors even today would no doubt have been rather different (Carter, 1972: 19). Various reasons have been given to account for why these newer industries developed in the Midlands, London and the south of England rather than in Scotland and the older centres of heavy industry. First, and perhaps of most importance, it would appear that industrialists were unwilling to invest in new industries in Scotland while the traditional sectors were still giving sufficient returns (Dickson, 1980: 257; Gollan, 1948: 7). During this period, the consensus was that the decline in the traditional industries associated with the Clydeside region was only a temporary trend and investment

therefore continued in them rather than in developing newer specialisms (Carter, 1972: 22). Second, the newer industries not only produced new types of goods but also used new methods of production which demanded a labour force with few skills. As we have seen, Scotland's industries were orientated towards traditional linkages connected with shipbuilding, boilers, locomotives and assorted specialised engineering work, with importance attached more to large custom-built commodities for the export market dependent on manual skills and less up-to-date equipment (Buxton, 1980: 549-50; Cairncross, 1954: 4; Carter, 1972: 20-1). Third, and closely connected to my second point, new mass production methods demanded proximity to large urban centres in order to provide a ready market for the vast quantities of goods produced and to cut transport costs to a minimum (Gollan, 1948: 8; Carter, 1972). As a result of these factors, the Glasgow area experienced little change in the basis structure of its industry by the end of the 1920s, and displayed instead all the signs of considerable structural weakness.

Thus, with the onset of the Depression in the 1930s, areas such as Clydeside were relatively weak and therefore unable to withstand the effects of further economic decline associated with crisis in the international export market. The virtual cessation of overseas trade caused the export orientated industries, already in decline, to become severely depressed and as a result unemployment on Clydeside during the 1930s reached excessive levels (Slaven, 1975: 185-6). In 1932, for instance, sectoral unemployment amongst shipbuilders had reached a level of 75 per cent (Butt, 1985: 224).

The uneven effects of the Depression were such that in 1934 Government policy was aimed at setting up a number of "Special Areas" in the depressed areas such as Clydeside in the hope of attracting new industry (Saville, 1985: 17). As a result, the Hillington Industrial Estate was set up near Glasgow, although by 1939 this had established less than 5,000 new jobs (Slaven, 1975: 204-5; Carter, 1972: 26; Gibb, 1983: 148). However, from the mid-1930s there was some revival in international trade and this was supplemented by government contracts, particularly for rearmament programmes, being placed with firms in the

Clydeside conurbation (Carter, 1972: 26). In addition, as production of the main industrial goods declined, more and more workers were employed in distribution and miscellaneous trades.

With the significant exceptions of coal and metal manufacturing, the outbreak of the Second World War reversed, at least for a time, the pre-war employment patterns. The war-time demands for products of the heavy industries was insatiable, and for a time at least, it appeared that prospects for the Scottish economy were at last improving. Moreover, demands made by the War necessitated a redistribution of labour within the Scottish economy which temporarily aided the employment situation. This included the withdrawal of over 400,000 men for the Forces and the entry into, or return to, industry of large numbers of men who were not normally employed or who had retired. In addition, an increase in the number of female workers was targeted and overall an emphasis on heavy industry was aimed for (Gollan, 1948: 9-10).

Although the war effort temporarily halted the inter-war trends, particularly in relation to the erosion of the heavy industrial base, the reality of decline soon returned with the cessation of war in 1945. And it is to the post-1945 period that I now turn and, in particular, to the implications for the Scottish economy of continued dependence on the heavy industrial sector in the relative absence of diversification into alternative sectors.

(3) The Post-1945 Scottish Economy in Crisis.

In contrast with the majority of Western European economies - which have undergone a period of rapid and sustained expansion since the end of the Second World War (Armstrong *et al*, 1984; Braverman, 1974; Mazier, 1982: 43-60), lasting approximately until the onset of the International Oil crisis of the early 1970s (Mandel, 1975) - the Scottish economy displays a rather different set of circumstances. With the exception of the immediate post-war period, the Scottish economy faced crisis and decay within its industrial structure at a much earlier stage than its European counterparts. The effects of this have therefore been longer-

lasting and more hard-hitting, evident in high levels of unemployment and in the severe decline of the heavy industrial sector. In addition, opportunities for economic development, for example in the establishment of new industrial specialisms geared for the production of consumer-orientated goods, have been few, and where they have occurred have been dependent upon foreign rather than domestic initiatives and investments.

The central objective of this section will be to assess why the Scottish economy suffered from the effects of economic crisis at an earlier stage than the rest of Western Europe and what implications this has had for the structure and condition of the economy overall during this period, particularly in relation to the development of sectoral labour shortages.

In the immediate post-war period, the Scottish economy in the short-term at least, maintained its position as one of the leading industrial, commercial and financial centres in Europe (Saville, 1985: 1). The industrial and trade reports of the 1940s confirmed that Scotland possessed a strong manufacturing base across most industrial classifications, especially in mechanical engineering, metal manufacture, shipbuilding and "other" manufacturing industries (ibid). Scottish industry at this time benefited not only from rearmament and the post-war export boom but also the increased demand from domestic sources (Slaven, 1975: 210-11; Lenman, 1977: 232-3; Harvie, 1981: 54-5; Gollan, 1948: 12-25). By 1948 it appeared that, compared with the UK as a whole, Scottish manufacturing industry had consolidated, and in some instances, strengthened its position in most of the sectors in which it had been heavily represented in the 1930s (Leser, 1954).

One of the effects of this immediate post-war boom was a shortage of labour power. Although this shortage was largely of skilled workers for the coal, iron and steel industries (Buxton, 1985: 56), there was a general demand for semi- and unskilled labour in other sectors. This shortage was most pronounced in agriculture and in the service sector where the demand was for female workers for domestic work in hospitals and other institutions (see for example, Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1950:

(81)

193-4). These shortages were met in a number of ways. For example, in the agricultural sector in 1949, emergency assistance was officially given to farmers on a large scale, including 960 men temporarily employed under the Emergency Harvest Scheme, over 6,000 persons under the Holiday Volunteer Scheme and 56,000 school children who assisted in gathering the potato crop. In the coal mining industry, 3,000 inexperienced men and 2,000 boys were recruited during 1949 and 700 ex-miners returned to the industry (Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1950: 193-4; see also 1951: 234). In addition, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, labour recruited under the European Volunteer Workers Scheme was also used to meet sectoral deficits within the Scottish economy during this period.

Gollan (1948: 13, 15) suggests that the labour shortages during this period were intensified by a history of bad working conditions and low wages and that this therefore rendered these sectors unattractive to many workers. Overall, the immediate post-war figures of numbers employed in such sectors show a short-fall in the 1939 level; for instance, numbers insured in coal-mining were 87,000 in 1947 compared with 105,000 in 1939; in steel the decline was not so great, the 1947 figure being 4,000 less than in 1939 (Gollan, 1948: 13). Nevertheless, in spite of the demand for labour in these sectors, numbers of unemployed grew rapidly. In August 1945, 28,236 were unemployed and by January 1946 this had risen to 63,681 (Gollan, 1948: 15). This represented a level in Scotland of approximately 4.6 per cent unemployed compared to 2.4 per cent in England during the same period (figures quoted in Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 11).

The effects of post-war reconstruction and recovery had important implications for the Clydeside area. The economic boom ensured that local production and employment in the capital goods industries were maintained at approximately war-time levels. The relative prosperity of these industries resulted in the continuing high level of demand in the home-market as well as re-expansion in international trade (Carter, 1972: 38). As a result, unemployment on Clydeside stood at a level of 3.8 per cent in 1948, which although it was more than twice the UK average at

the time was nevertheless only about one-tenth of what it had been in 1931 and was lower than the Scottish average (ibid).

In addition to the economic benefits of the high replacement demand after 1945 for capital goods and manufactures, the demands made by the Korean War in the early 1950s also benefited the Scottish economy. Nevertheless, by the middle of the decade the familiar problems of structural deficiencies - an industrial structure inherited from the 1930s with little new development and the inability of industrial output to grow at a rate commensurate with that of the rest of the UK - had re-emerged (Buxton, 1985: 56). Between 1954 and 1960 manufacturing output in Scotland grew by only 2.4 per cent per annum compared with 3.4 per cent in the UK as a whole. The prophecies of almost two decades before calling for a need to diversify the economy, were once more brought to the fore.

By the mid-1950s, therefore, the more persistent effects of decline began to take their toll once again on the Scottish economy. Nowhere was this more severe than in the heavy industrial sectors of coal mining, iron and steel and shipbuilding. The position of these interdependent industries had already been weakened, as we have seen, by developments which had taken place during the inter-war period. Their vulnerability in times of crisis was further intensified during this period by the continuing transfer of capital abroad and the absence of domestic investment (Dickson, 1980: 289). Therefore, in the long term, the basic structure of the Scottish economy remained unchanged by the Second World War, and it entered a period of expansion and change within the world economy not only with an industrial structure inherited from the 19th century but also with few new areas of development.

The fall in Scottish coal production and the contraction of the industry since the Second World War has been steeper than that of the rest of the UK. From consistently providing 13-14 per cent of British output between the Wars, Scotland's share fell to about 10 per cent by the late 1950s, averaged about 8.75 per cent during the 1970s and was only 6.7 per cent in 1981/82 (Payne, 1985: 79). The numbers employed in

the industry displayed a similar trend. The number of miners in Scottish coalfields stood at nearly 150,000 in 1920, one in eight of the industry's national labour force, dropping to 81,600 in 1933. Since the Second World War, numbers have dropped to 70,000 in 1961, to around 30,000 in the early 1970s and to an average of 21,000 in the late 1970s, falling to below 20,000 in the early 1980s (Payne, 1985: 79-80).

The reasons for this decline can be traced to developments which started as early as the inter-war period and which accelerated after 1945. The severe erosion of the export markets by foreign competition for the products of the Scottish iron and steel, shipbuilding and engineering industries, for which coal provided the major fuel, has severely undermined the Scottish coal industry (Slaven, 1975: 195-6). Further, the shift away from coal towards the use of alternative fuels - gas, electricity and oil - for industrial and domestic use brought an end to the dominant role coal had played in the economy since the 19th century (Payne, 1985: 88). Coal consumption fell by 25 per cent in the period 1955-1966 to 16 million tons which was approximately half the anticipated levels envisaged by the National Coal Board in the early post-war period (Payne, ibid). As demand continued to decline throughout the 1960s and 1970s and oil and gas increased their share of the national fuel consumption, the NCB accelerated the closure of "uneconomic" pits and with it the numbers employed in the industry. The coal industry in the west of Scotland was particularly hard hit, with the loss of over 100 mines in Lanarkshire alone and a decline in the workforce of 14,000 between 1940 and 1960 (Slaven, 1975: 215).

The second major sector of the Scottish economy which was affected by crisis and decline in the post-war period were the iron and steel industries. In quantitative terms, although the proportion of steel output in Scotland fell from about 15 per cent after the War to below 8 per cent in 1978, the volume of steel produced in Scotland has almost doubled between 1945 and 1970 (Payne, 1985: 80). Scotland's share of the steel industry's labour force fluctuated from around 20,000 in the early 1970s, falling to 10,000 in 1980, or 6.3 per cent of the Corporation's labour force (Payne, ibid).

The reasons for the decline of the iron and steel industries in the post-1945 period can, as in the case of the coal industry, be traced to developments in the inter-war period. The continued emphasis on production for heavy manufacturing industry and for export at the expense of production for lighter sectors, made the industry particularly vulnerable to the effects of international competition and crisis. Further, it was increasingly apparent that a major weakness in the Scottish steel industry was the lack of any modern facilities for the manufacture of light plates and sheet metal, essential materials for the manufacture of cars and consumer durables such as fridges and electric cookers. This weakness was recognised in 1948 by industrial planners who saw that *"the main future expansion of demand is likely to lie with the lighter products and sheets"* (Payne, 1985: 94).

Following intense government pressure in an attempt to overcome some of the anticipated problems of the industry and in the belief that the manufacture of high-quality steel strip would attract industrial development to the region, the Ravenscraig steel complex was opened by Colvilles in the late 1950s (Slaven, 1975: 216). In reality, however, these objectives were never fully realised. Competition was intensified by the development of another strip mill in South Wales. Further, financially, Ravenscraig proved to be a disaster; there was an insufficient demand for its products, despite the manufacture of cars and other vehicles at Linwood and Bathgate.

Following the nationalisation of the steel industry in 1967, the British Steel Corporation encouraged inter-regional competition. Further "rationalisation" within the British steel industry led to regional specialisation with the intention that *"Scotland would remain an attractive location for engineering and other steelmaking industries"* (Payne, 1985: 97). As a result, in 1973 work began on the building of an ore and coal terminal at Hunterston and was completed in 1978, with the accompanying belief that the steel industry in Scotland would be resurrected. In effect, however, Hunterston became solely a terminal for imported ores and transport costs from the coast to inland production sites reduced profitability. In addition, the collapse of the demand for

steel in the early 1970s hit the Scottish steel industry particularly hard, tolling the death knell of the industry as a whole.

The final sector of the heavy industries which has undergone severe contraction in the post-war period has been the shipbuilding industry. In the immediate post-war years, the replacement boom created tremendous potential for British and Scottish shipbuilders; between 1946 and 1948, Britain built and launched just over half the world tonnage of merchant vessels, over 50 per cent of it coming from the Clyde. However, as world production doubled in the following five year period, British and Scottish output remained stationary (Payne, 1985: 102-3; Slaven, 1975: 218). By the late 1970s, Scotland's contribution to British shipbuilding had fallen to less than 30 per cent. As a result, the labour force in Scottish shipbuilding and marine engineering has also declined, from just over 77,000 in 1950 to 44,400 in 1970, and to 41,000 by 1978. By 1983, the number employed in the industry in Scotland stood at less than 18,000 (all figures from Payne, 1985: 82-3). The effects of this decline have been particularly hard-hitting for traditional ship-building areas such as Glasgow where in the early 1960s between one-sixth and one-seventh of the total employment was within this sector (Dickson, 1980: 294).

This decline was the result of a number of factors. Historically, as we have seen, shipbuilding had been geared for the export market and was therefore particularly sensitive to fluctuations in world demand and from competition from other countries. In addition, industrialists in the shipbuilding industry were unwilling to raise the capital necessary for a restructuring programme which would have enabled yards to increase output, for example by increasing the individual capacity of the Clyde shipyards in line with an increase in the size of vessels ordered (Dickson, 1980: 291; Slaven, 1975: 219). The comparatively small size of Scottish yards rendered them unable to tender for the massive projects involved in constructing tankers and other bulk carriers. As a result of the combination of these factors, orders were increasingly lost to yards abroad which received both state and private capital investment necessary for efficient production (Slaven, 1975: 218). The decline was further intensified in the early 1960s when British shipowners transferred

contracts abroad to Continental and Japanese yards where production was more efficient as a result of higher long-term investment. Thereafter, the British shipbuilding industry was able to survive only with the assistance of the state.

In many respects, the decline of the triad of heavy industries, coal, iron and steel and shipbuilding, have been inextricably linked with fortunes of each individual industry. It is somewhat ironic that the very inter-dependence, which was established in the 19th century during the early phases of their development, and which led to their prosperity, has likewise led to their collapse in the post-war period (Johnston *et al*, 1971: 71). A combination of short-sightedness and lack of capital investment, particularly in shipbuilding, dwindling natural resources and the increasing costs of importing ores from abroad, in addition to increased foreign competition, has ensured that Scotland's traditional industrial base has been permanently eroded. The social implications of such developments have been acute and far reaching: the level of unemployment in Scotland during the post-war period has run at almost twice that of the UK as a whole, as **Table 2.1** and **Figure 2.1** indicate.

Table 2.1: Average numbers unemployed as percentage of those in civil work, Scotland and the UK, selected years 1950-1969.

Year	Scotland	UK	Year	Scotland	UK
1950	3,0	1,5	1964	3,6	1,8
1955	2,4	1,2	1965	3,0	1,5
1958	3,8	2,2	1966	2,9	1,6
1960	3,6	1,7	1967	3,9	2,5
1961	3,1	1,6	1968	3,8	2,5
1962	3,8	2,1	1969	3,8	2,3
1963	4,8	2,6			

[Source: Johnston *et al*, 1971: 58]

In addition to increasing the level of unemployment in the post-war period to a rate which was consistently above the UK average, whole communities have been destroyed as production has contracted in these sectors. With such considerations in mind I now outline a more general survey of the Scottish economy in the post-war period and, in particular discuss why, even with the development of new industrial specialisms,

UNEMPLOYED AS % OF TOTAL WORKFORCE
(Annual Average)
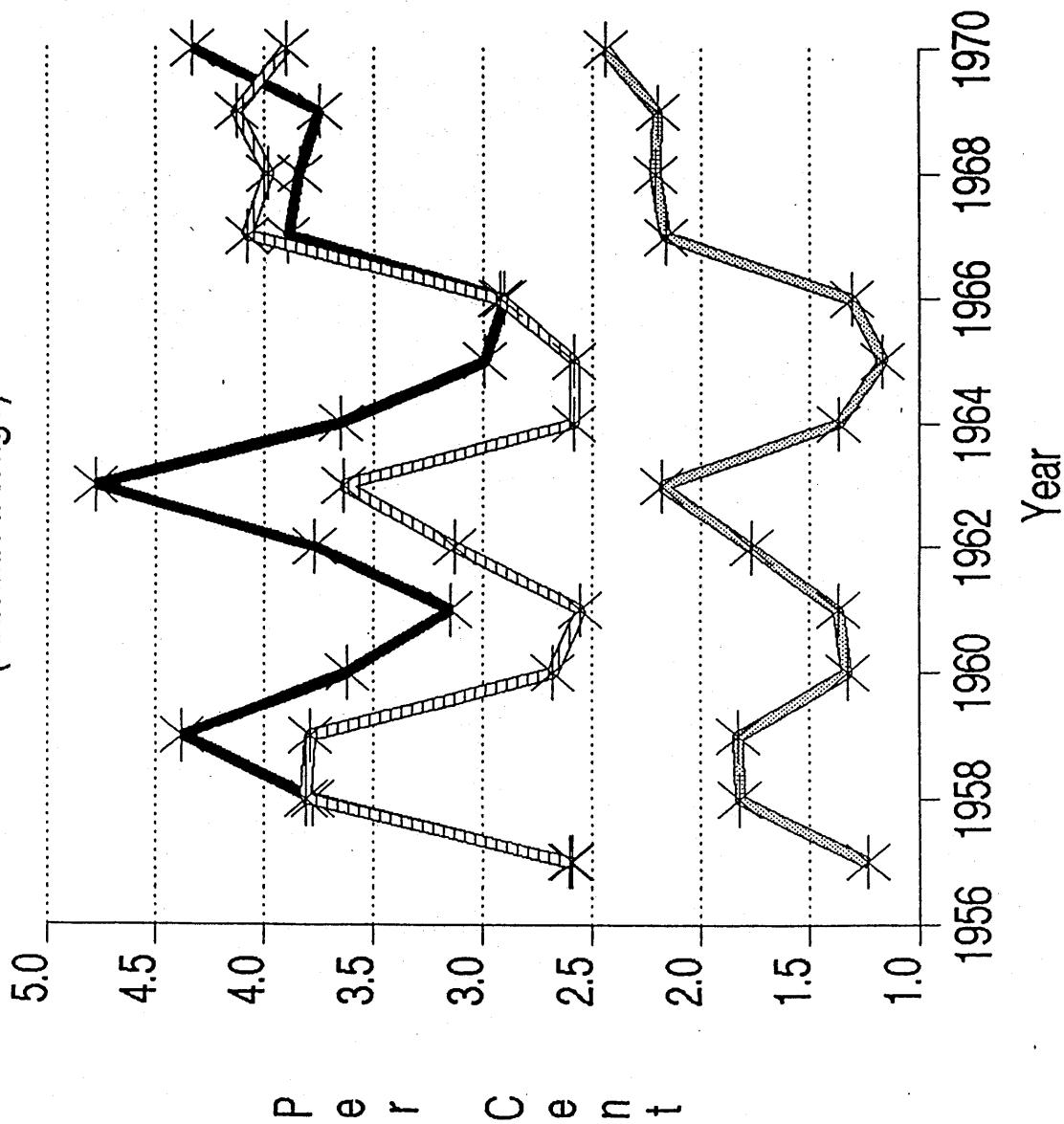
Figure 2.1

England
Scotland
Wales

Source: Abstracts
of Regional
Statistics.

Per Cent

Year

particularly in electronics, the post-1945 Scottish economy has continued to be characterised by persistently high levels of unemployment, low labour demands and general economic decline.

Buxton has suggested that Scotland has, since 1945, undergone a process of necessary structural change in industry, reducing the previous over-reliance on heavy staple industries and embracing, albeit with varying degrees of permanence, several new specialisms, particularly in electronics and lighter sectors of engineering (1985: 47; see also Kendrick et al, 1985). For example, in common with the UK as a whole, the distribution of employees in Scotland in the Primary Industries of agriculture, forestry and fishing, and mining and quarrying has steadily declined during the period 1954 to 1979: in 1954, 10 per cent of the workforce in Scotland were employed in the primary sector and by 1979 this had declined to 4 per cent (Buxton, 1985: 62). In effect this has been a reduction of over 50 per cent of the jobs in the primary sector during this period. There has also been a decline in numbers employed in the manufacturing sector in Scotland: in 1954, 36 per cent of those employed in Scotland were working in manufacturing industries but by 1979 this had decreased to 29 per cent (Hunter, 1985: 169).

By contrast, there has been an expansion in the service sector. In Scotland, as in the rest of the UK, the service sector has steadily expanded its share of the workforce, increasing from 47 per cent in 1954, to 59 per cent in 1979. By 1979, the share of the total Scottish labour force working in services was therefore double that of manufacturing. The net result of such changes has been that the production structure of the Scottish economy no longer suffers from the imbalance which retarded development between the Wars (Buxton, 1985: 47). However, despite such changes, during the 1951-1970 period, the structure of the Scottish economy has moved from having almost half of its labour force in primary and manufacturing industry to a situation where less than one-third are employed in these sectors (Hunter, 1985: 169).

In addition to changing the distribution of employment between sectors, changes in the industrial structure have also had implications

for the geographical distribution of employment and unemployment in Scotland. The West, particularly the Clydeside area, with its traditional employment in heavy engineering and extractive industries has suffered particularly, while the East and North-East have been the main beneficiaries in the expansion of the electronics and oil-related industries. The Grampian Region in particular benefited from the oil-related area, following the discovery of North Sea Oil in the early 1970s. Employment in companies wholly related to North Sea oil grew from 5,000 in 1973 to 55,000 by the end of 1981, two-thirds of which were located in Grampian Region (Hunter, 1985: 169).

The implications of this changing distribution of employment can also be seen in the regional unemployment figures. In 1964, with total unemployment around 68,000, the Glasgow Planning Region had a 62 per cent share of Scotland's unemployment while Edinburgh had 16 per cent, compared with employment shares of 51 per cent and 20 per cent respectively (Hunter, 1985: 170). In contrast, the North-East had 6 per cent of unemployment against a 7.5 per cent share of employment. By 1981, when total unemployment exceeded 300,000, Strathclyde Region accounted for 58 per cent of the total compared with an estimated 48 per cent of employment; Lothian's share of unemployment was 12 per cent (15 per cent of employment) and Grampian's was 4.5 per cent (9 per cent of employment) (all figures quoted from Hunter, ibid). These figures suggest the continuing disadvantaged position of the West of Scotland expressed in terms of unemployment, in spite of the fact that the unemployment position has worsened overall in Scotland. The effects of decline have been particularly severe on Clydeside as a result of the contraction of the heavy industrial sector, especially shipbuilding, coupled with a relative absence of the growth industries such as light engineering and vehicle production (Carter, 1974/5: 14; Welch, 1974/5).

In the early post-war years, the government was aware of the need to introduce diversification into areas such as Clydeside and to control the concentration of industry in certain areas of England (Carter, 1972: 33). In 1946, the **Clyde Valley Regional Plan** pointed once again to the potential problem of long-term decline in the traditional industries and

recommended modernisation and rationalisation as far as possible, particularly in the case of shipyards because of the wide-ranging influence of the shipbuilding industry over other industries (Carter, 1972: 35; Saville, 1985: 23). To assist redevelopment and reduce congestion in the central parts of the conurbation, a process of decentralisation of industry co-ordinated with an outward movement of population was recommended. These recommendations were coupled with an awareness of the need to attract new growth industries to the area. However, it was realised that in order to co-ordinate the provision of jobs with the relocation of population and to combat the unemployment problem, new jobs would have to be attracted into the conurbation from elsewhere. As a result, steps were taken to include Glasgow in a number of Development areas in order to attract new industry to the area (Gibb, 1983: 148). Shortly after, a further seven industrial estates were designated for Clydeside together with an extension of the existing site at Hillington.

As a result of such recommendations, a total of 81,000 new jobs were created on Clydeside between 1948 and 1964. Approximately 50 per cent of these were in Light Engineering and Vehicles, with the establishment of the Rolls-Royce aero-engine factories and the Rootes (Chrysler) Hillman plant at Linwood (Carter, 1974/5: 20). However, the converse of this was the total job loss in other manufacturing sectors during this period of 66,200. In particular, the traditional manufacturing industries experienced the severest employment declines, with the exception only of heavy engineering and, as a result, manufacturing employment declined by just over 25,000 employees between 1948 and 1964 (Carter, 1974/5: 15). These changes in the structure of manufacturing employment on Clydeside are illustrated in Table 2.2..

Table 2.3 gives a broader picture of the changes in the employment structure in the Clydeside conurbation over the period 1961 to 1981 and includes figures for the growth of the service sector. Insurance, banking, public administration and miscellaneous services expanded most rapidly in the 1961 to 1971 period, with transport and professional services showing a small increase. Professional services grew more

rapidly in the 1971 to 1981 period, with the other service sectors (with the exception of the miscellaneous service sector) showing either a decline, as in the case of transport, or a lower percentage increase than in the previous decade.

Table 2.2 : Manufacturing Employment Changes on Clydeside, 1948-1964.

Industry	Absolute Change, 1948-64	per cent change
Food, drink, tobacco	+ 3,700	+10.2
Chemicals	- 900	- 7.4
Heavy metals	- 8,300	-20.3
Heavy engineering	+ 5,800	+ 8.4
Light engineering	+13,500	+96.0
Shipbuilding	-22,900	-48.6
Heavy vehicles	-12,200	-70.8
Other metal goods	- 5,700	-30.1
Textiles	-10,800	-32.0
Leather goods	- 1,100	-28.7
Clothing and footwear	- 2,600	- 1.5
Bricks, pottery, etc.	+ 600	+ 6.5
Wood and furniture	- 1,300	-11.6
Paper, printing, etc.	+ 1,700	+ 8.0
Misc. Mfrs.	- 400	- 6.0
TOTAL	-25,300	-6.7

[Source: Carter, 1974/75: 15]

The process of structural change within the post-war Scottish economy has had additional implications for trends in employment and segmentation of the labour market. The contraction of the old basic industries, mining and quarrying, shipbuilding and textiles, resulted in a rapid decline in the workforce. Due to differences in skill requirements and in location, these workers could not be readily absorbed elsewhere, despite the growth of employment opportunities in such new trades as electronics, electrical engineering and scientific instruments (Buxton, 1985: 56; Johnston et al, 1971: 72). Moreover, many of the opportunities in new sectors were for female workers: while the number of male employees declined by 34,000 between 1954 and 1964, the number of females in employment increased by 52,000 over the same period (Scottish Office, 1966: 160). Over the longer period 1951-71, the male labour force

fell by 100,000, while the female labour force rose by 100,000 (Hunter, 1985: 167). Over the next decade, 1971-81, the male labour force declined more slowly, but the female labour force grew rapidly by 123,000 (Hunter, ibid). The shortfall in the total number of jobs available to men contributed to the consistently higher level of unemployment in Scotland during the 1960s, a process which was to intensify in the 1970s.

Table 2.3 : Employment change by sector, Clydeside conurbation,

	1961	% change	1971	% change	1981
Agriculture	3,629	-32.3	2,456	-14.9	2,090
Mining	15,037	-74.1	3,890	-6.9	3,622
Food,drink,tobacco	40,978	-8.7	37,433	-21.3	29,451
Chemicals	12,387	-25.5	9,238	-9.3	8,385
Metal manufacture	39,195	-18.5	31,948	-49.1	16,246
Mechanical engin/g	86,467	-32.7	58,225	-43.2	33,068
Instrument engin/g	6,158	+23.3	7,592	-24.1	5,761
Electrical engin/g	18,311	+33.6	24,465	-50.2	12,180
Shipbuilding	38,416	-48.3	19,874	-35.8	12,750
Vehicles	28,035	-6.3	26,256	-45.1	14,426
Other metal goods	14,559	-25.7	10,817	-37.8	6,731
Textiles	27,016	-46.1	14,553	-47.3	7,671
Leather	2,829	-28.0	2,039	-37.3	1,277
Clothing	22,292	-15.4	18,863	-37.3	11,743
Nonferrous minerals	9,871	-23.7	7,529	-46.8	4,004
Timber	10,486	-8.1	9,639	-32.4	6,517
Paper, printing	23,062	-7.8	21,256	-35.2	13,770
Other manufacture	7,143	-10.6	6,388	-44.2	3,563
Construction	67,632	-12.1	59,481	-11.9	52,389
Gas,electr/y,water	12,308	-13.8	10,605	-18.0	8,694
Transport	58,928	+6.4	62,687	-20.7	49,709
Distribution	113,976	-10.3	102,273	-16.0	84,929
Insurance, banking	16,302	+38.5	22,582	+20.8	27,273
Profess/al services	91,674	+9.6	100,516	+22.7	123,322
Misc, services	55,987	+34.2	75,160	+33.9	100,648
Public admin.	24,447	+78.1	43,459	+4.1	45,319
TOTAL	840,882	-6.1	789,514	-13.2	685,538

The reasons why the workforce is composed of increasing numbers of female workers are complex. This trend has been the end-product of a number of factors which are the result of the change in the industrial structure of the Scottish economy in the post-war period. The rapid growth of the service sector provided employment for an increasing

female workforce, opportunities, for example, being available in the "caring" professions and related sectors (Hunter, 1985). In addition, the growth of "new" science based industries such as electronics, have also provided employment opportunities for women. The reasons for this lie principally in the type of work practices such industries employ which rely on the "deskilling" of the production process and thus upon a flexible and disposable workforce (Mitter, 1986: 91-6). Such industries utilise mass-production techniques such as piece work and conveyor line production and women have come to form an important sector of the workforce (Breitenbach, 1982; Kendrick, 1986: 263; Mitchison, 1985; Mitter, 1986: 88-96; Watt, 1982: 212). For example, in the electronics sub-components section, 58.5 per cent of the workforce was female (Kendrick, 1986: 263). As a report by Scottish Education for Action and Development comments:

"The electronics companies have never sought their labour among redundant shipyard workers and coalminers. Their requirement for a manually dexterous and pliant workforce willing to accept long hours of repetitive work was most likely to be met by female workers with limited experience of manufacturing and of trade unions than by the craft skilled and militant workforce bred by Scotland's traditional industries" (Scottish Education and Action for Development, 1985: 21).

Another characteristic feature of such "new" industries is that many have been branch factories of multinational companies. As a result, enterprise in these areas has largely been the result of the investment of foreign, particularly United States-based capital (Buxton, 1985: 47; Dickson, 1980: 288, 295; Johnston et al, 1971: 86-89; Watt, 1982: 219). This is significant for a number of reasons. Foreign capital particularly since the 1970s, has come to own and control an increasing proportion of Scottish manufacturing industry, occupying a highly significant position in the Scottish economy as a whole (Buxton, 1985: 57; Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 153). Firn, for example, has shown that while over 70 per cent of manufacturing plants in Scotland were domestically owned in 1973, such plants provided only 41 per cent of employment leaving the remaining 59 per cent as the "branch factory" sector. In addition, external control was greatest in the fastest growing industrial sectors and was concentrated in the largest enterprises (1975: 158). Hood and Young

(1976) also point to the highly significant position of North American plants in the Scottish economy. The number of such plants doubled between 1963-1973, and by 1973 accounted for almost 15 per cent of manufacturing employment. It is significant to note that the relative importance of employment in the US-owned firms in total employment in Scotland started to rise in the 1960s. Out of the total new jobs in Scotland in manufacturing over the period 1961-69, 11.4 per cent were contributed by US companies and that this percentage varied for different manufacturing industries (Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 153).

Hood and Young (1976) point out that a principal consequence of this investment is its concentration in the highly scientific and technologically based industries. North American plants accounted for nearly one-third of employment in the mechanical and electrical engineering sectors and 60 per cent of employment in instrument engineering. As a result, the areas of major growth potential are placed under a very significant degree of American control. In addition to North American capital investment in Scotland, an increasing proportion has originated from European sources. In 1978, manufacturing firms from Continental Europe employed 14,000 workers and accounted for approximately 14 per cent in the foreign sector; this shows an increase from the 1973 level of 6,000 or 6.5 per cent employed in the European-based foreign sector in 1973 (Hood, Reeves and Young, 1981: 165).

One can conclude, therefore, that because an increasing proportion of new industrial development in the Scottish economy has been the result of the investment of foreign capital such a degree of dependence has made the economy particularly susceptible to the effects that the withdrawal of such capital might have. The implications of this are evident in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the spate of factory closures within this foreign sector and the transfer of capital to more profitable sites in other parts of the globe (for a related discussion of the latter issue see, for example, Elson and Pearson, 1981: 87-107; Ehrenreich and Fuentes, 1981: 58-9; Hancock, 1983; Mitter, 1986; Sassen-Koob, 1984: 1144-67).

Conclusion.

In this chapter I outlined and examined the characteristic structural features of the Scottish economy during periods of expansion and decline and the implications of this for potential labour demands. In the first part of the chapter, I analysed the late 18th and 19th centuries as a period of rapid economic change and growth arising from the penetration of capitalist relations of production into all sectors of the economy. In particular, I examined the structural changes which arose from the reorganisation of the agricultural sector and the transition from scattered domestic production to the centralised factory system. It was argued that as a result of the expansion of specific sectors of the economy, there was a concomitant increase in the demand for labour necessary for the continuation of production. Following this, I also briefly considered the transitionary period between the end of the 19th century and 1939 during which the Scottish economy displayed not only features of prosperity but also the beginnings of decline.

In the second part of this chapter, I located the period after 1945 as one of general contraction and decline within the Scottish economy and suggested reasons why, with the exception of the immediate post-war period, large-scale labour shortages did not develop. I argued that the crisis position of the Scottish economy contrasted, in both timing and scale, the situation of many Western European economies during the same period. I suggested that this decline was the result of a number of factors, principally, the inheritance of an industrial structure suited to the 19th century and the failure to develop new industrial specialisms during the 1930s which would have offset, to a large degree, the effects of economic contraction. These factors, I argued, explained why the Scottish economy did not experience the level of labour shortages, as for example, sectors of the English economy.

The structural economic developments which I outlined in this chapter and, in particular, the emergence of sectoral labour shortages, have important implications for the subsequent analysis of migration patterns within the Scottish context. In the following chapter I seek to

establish the strength of the link between the condition of the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period and the development of migration patterns both into and out of the country. In particular, I assess whether or not there is a connection between migration and demands for labour within the economy, and where this link does not appear to be present, I suggest alternative factors which may have structured the scale and dynamic of migration.

CHAPTER THREE

Scottish Migration History:
the link between migration and labour demand.

Introduction

This chapter aims, through historical reconstruction, to assess the extent of the link between population movements and the structural economic changes and conditions which were outlined in the previous chapter. In particular, I assess the extent of the role of labour demand within the Scottish economy in precipitating individual migratory movements and, in those cases where this factor appears not to have been central in determining the migration flow, I suggest additional factors which may have influenced the process.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first, I consider migration patterns within the Scottish context during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I then examine the period from the beginning of the twentieth century until the end of the Second World War. In the final section I discuss migratory movements in the period after 1945.

(1) Migration in 18th and 19th century Scotland.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century population movements can be divided into two broad categories. First, there are those migrations which were either the direct or indirect result of changes in the structure and organisation of production within the Scottish economy. Concerning the former, I focus upon internal rural-urban population movements, emigration flows, and the inward migration of the Irish. With respect to the latter, I also consider separately the smaller inward migrations from areas of the British Empire which, it will be maintained, can be indirectly linked to changes in the Scottish economy at this time, and in particular, to increasing Scottish involvement in British colonial activities. Second, I consider those migrations from areas of southern and eastern Europe which cannot be directly attributed to structural developments within the Scottish economy. These migrations were not precipitated by demands for labour within the Scottish economy, but were the result of a number of external social, political and economic changes which were sweeping across Europe during this period and which led to mass emigration in an attempt to escape poverty, religious and political persecution.

Existing evidence concerning the distribution of Scotland's population and its changing geographical concentration during this period clearly shows the shift from an overwhelmingly rural to an increasingly urbanised population from approximately the latter decades of the 18th century (see for example, Flinn, 1977: 28-9; 38-9; 301ff; 459ff; Hamilton, 1963: 10-11; MacDonald, 1937: 10-13). Prior to this period, over half the population lived in the north of Scotland, compared with 37 per cent who lived in the Central Belt and 11 per cent in the southern area of the country (Flinn, 1977: 39; Smout, 1969: 242). However, by 1821, this geographical distribution had changed significantly: 47 per cent of the population now lived in the Central Belt, compared to 41 per cent in the Highlands and 11 per cent in the south (Smout, 1969: 242).

This shifting pattern is also evident in the increasing growth of certain towns. In 1755 there were only four towns with over 10,000 inhabitants, containing 9 per cent of the population; however, by 1820, there were 13 such towns, containing 25 per cent of the population (Smout, 1969: 242). By 1841, this same proportion were resident in the eight largest towns, but the two largest urban centres accounted for 16 per cent of the population of Scotland (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138). Primarily as a result of the expansion of existing towns, the population in the Central Lowland belt grew more rapidly than in any other region, advancing between 1755 and 1820 from just over one-third of the Scottish population to almost one-half (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138). By 1821, the principal towns in the Central belt, particularly around the River Clyde, had increased their populations threefold since the mid-18th century (Smout, 1969: 243). For some towns in particular this growth was even more rapid; Paisley and Greenock, for example, increased their populations five or six fold, and the city of Glasgow increased the size of its population by four times (Smout, 1969: 242).

Explaining this growth is complex, and must to some degree take account of demographic changes taking place during this period. Undoubtedly, the increase was partly the result of the natural growth of the population as a whole, aided not only by medical advances which curbed the spread of diseases such as smallpox, but also improved agricultural techniques which increased both crop and livestock yields and helped to avoid or at least lessen the effects of the disasters of failed harvests which had ravaged the country in former years (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138; Flinn, 1977: 39; Hamilton, 1963: 9; MacDonald, 1937: 6-9; Smout, 1969: 256ff).

However, these factors alone do not help to explain the shifting geographical distribution of the population between regions, nor wholly to explain the rapid increase in the size of certain towns. Following Dickson and Clarke (1980: 138), Flinn (1977: 39), MacDonald (1937: 9-13), and also to some extent the work of Redford (1964) and Slaven (1975: 140-5) - the former being largely concerned with the changing population distribution during the 19th century within the English context - this

shifting population distribution was primarily the result of migration precipitated by changes in the structure and organisation of production in both agriculture and industry.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the penetration of capitalist relations of production into agriculture was a gradual process which did not occur simultaneously in all regions of Scotland. For example, in the southern areas of the country - where agricultural change was underway by the mid-18th century - the enclosure movement and the introduction of commercial sheep farming led to the displacement of small tenants and agricultural labourers (Dodgshon, 1983: 53-7; Gray, 1983: 104-117; MacDonald, 1937: 17-45; 151; Redford, 1964: 78). Many of those displaced by this process, and now dependent solely upon the sale of their labour power for survival, migrated to the nearby towns in search of employment and better wages (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138; Gray, ibid; Hamilton, 1963: 16; MacDonald, 1937: 29-30; Marx, 1977: 668-9). In addition, many of the dispossessed Lowland peasantry emigrated to North America; for example, Knox, writing in 1787, commented that as a direct consequence of the introduction of sheep farming in the Lowlands, *"seven thousand families transported themselves to the north of Ireland, America and other parts"* (quoted in MacDonald, 1937: 31; 9, 150; see also Lamond, 1821; Wood, 1964: 168-9). A significant number also migrated across the border to England in search of employment opportunities (MacDonald, 1937: 9-10; 150-1; Smout, 1969: 246; Wood, 1964: 165).

One consequence of this process during the early stages of agricultural change was an overall reduction in the rural labour supply which was most acute during harvest time (MacDonald, 1937: 29-30). The problem of labour shortage was further intensified during this early period by the introduction of labour-intensive crops in the absence of mechanised harvesting techniques (Collins, 1976: 38-9; Kerr, 1942-3: 366). From the early 18th century this vacuum was filled by the temporary seasonal migration of labour from the Highlands and also from Ireland to those areas which were undergoing early commercialisation (see for example, Collins, 1976: 47ff; Gallagher, 1987: 11; Hamilton, 1963: 11-12; Handley, 1945: 36ff; Jackson, 1963: 6-7; 72-9; Kerr, 1942-3; MacDonald,

1937: 29-30; 77-8; 125ff; Mason, 1971-2; Morgan, 1982: 82). Nevertheless, it was not until the end of the 18th century and, in particular, the early 19th century, when the acceleration of agricultural change led to an increased and widespread demand for labour during harvest time, that this seasonal migration took on any significant proportions (Handley, 1945: 36ff; 1947: 164ff; Irvine, 1960: 239; Slaven, 1975: 144). By 1790, for example, it was estimated that approximately two-thirds of Wigtownshire's population in the south-west was of Irish origin (Slaven, 1975: 144). However, it was not until capitalist relations of production had extensively penetrated the Highland area of Scotland and the south and west of Ireland that these temporary and seasonal population movements took on a more permanent and significant form.

The means and ferocity by which the goal of profit-orientated production was achieved in the Highlands compared to the Lowlands was considerably different and therefore significant in its consequences. The Highland Clearances associated with the expansion of sheep farming did not start the trend of out-migration from the Highlands to the Lowlands and to the colonies of North America (MacDonald, 1937: 141; Prebble, 1963: 19; Richards, 1982: 7; 141). On the contrary, the structural origins of migration from the Highlands date back to the 1745 Rebellion, if not before (Hamilton, 1963: 13; see also Graham, 1956; Johnston, 1972: 6). The combined effects of the social and economic disintegration of the clan system and the transition to a money economy, had dramatic implications for the Highland region as we have seen in Chapter 2. However, it was not until the latter decades of the 18th century that tacksmen and their sub-tenants emigrated in any significant numbers to the colonies of North America (Adam, 1920; see also Flinn, 1977: 443ff; Graham, 1956: 188-9; Hamilton, 1963: 14; MacDonald, 1937: 141-2; Prebble, 1963: 19; 187; Wood, 1964: 164).

Towards the end of the 18th century the movement out of the Highland region was given further impetus when tenants were increasingly evicted as landowners consolidated their estates to create sheep-runs (Prebble, 1963; Richards, 1982). As we have seen in the previous chapter, the introduction of sheep farming diffused northwards from Perthshire

around 1770 and did not reach Caithness until the early 1790s while Sutherland appears to be the last area of the Highlands to be affected during the early 19th century (MacDonald, 1937: 36-7). With the introduction of sheep farming, there was a concomitant increase in the desire to remove tenants. Many tenants were forcibly and often violently evicted; in these instances landowners made no provision for the displaced tenantry, who had to choose between migration to the Lowland towns or emigration to North America (MacDonald, 1937: 35-8).

However, despite many landowners' disinterest in the future of their evicted tenants, emigration in the period prior to 1815 was regarded unfavourably by some Highland landowners and sections of the British state (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 151; Prebble, 1963: 190; Richards, 1982: 145). In an effort to control emigration, for example, the British state passed the Passenger Act of 1803 which laid down a number of restrictive guidelines for vessels designed to "protect" would-be emigrants (Prebble, 1963: 249; Wood, 1964: 167). However, the real reasons for this concern were primarily political (Prebble, 1963: 249; Wood, 1964: 167). The region had traditionally supplied military forces: *"a consideration which loomed large during the Napoleonic War. By raising regiments - relying on economic hardship and even the threat of eviction to accomplish this end - landlords could augment their revenue from the coffers of the State"* (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 151). Not surprisingly, emigration was thus viewed as a serious drain on this pool of manpower (Flinn, 1977: 92; Prebble, 1963: 22; 296; Richards, 1982: 147-9).

Further, landowners who were dependent upon rent payments from their tenants were anxious to maintain this income. Thus, with the introduction of sheep farming, many tenants were resettled near coastal areas where the population could subsist on incomes drawn from fishing and at the same time continue to pay an increased rent to the landowner (Flinn, 1977: 32; Hunter, 1976; MacDonald, 1937: 38; Mitchison, 1981: 11; Prebble, 1963: 61; 68). In addition, some landowners transferred their tenants to coastal and island areas to provide labour for the kelping industry (Flinn, 1977: 31-2; MacDonald, 1937: 38; Prebble, 1963: 248-9). In many respects, these were temporary and inadequate solutions: the

eventual contraction of the kelping industry in the early 1820s and the failure of the small fishing vessels to compete with the large southern fleets signalled the decline of many coastal and island crofting communities and posed once again the alternatives of migration to the Lowlands or emigration to North America (MacDonald, 1937: 41; Prebble, 1963: 253; 264).

Despite such efforts to retain the Highland population in the region, however, increasing numbers emigrated overseas or travelled southwards to the Lowland region. Gray argues that the Highlands displayed divergent emigration patterns; more left the south and east because they were closer to the southern industrial towns: *"the role of emigration seems to have been most affected by the degree of propinquity to the centres likely to attract labour"* (1957: 59-65). Thus, in a period of poor or even non-existent roads, and in the absence of railways, it would appear that people living in those areas furthest away from the Central Lowlands, for example, would be more likely to emigrate than attempt the long and arduous journey southwards. Various estimates exist as to the extent of the movement to America and Canada during this period; Walker, for example estimated that between 1771 and 1794, at least 5,814 people left the Highlands and Islands, although Knox, writing in 1786, places a somewhat higher estimate of at least 30,000 people during the period from 1763 to 1775 (quoted in Hamilton, 1963: 13). Adam (1920) estimates that between 1782 and 1803 numbers emigrating from the Highlands could not have been less than 12,000, and was probably significantly higher (MacDonald, 1937: 142-3). Indeed, Prebble suggests that between 1800 and 1803, 10,000 Highlanders left for Nova Scotia and Upper Canada (1963: 189).

With the development of the Scottish economy in other sectors towards the end of the 18th century, what was initially a temporary seasonal migration from the Highlands and Ireland now became more permanent and extensive. As we have seen in Chapter 2, changes in the structure and organisation of manufacturing, and in particular the transition to factory production, necessitated an increase in the size of the labour force. For those industries based in rural areas, particularly

textiles and coal mining, this was especially problematic. For example, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the expansion of the coal industry in the latter decades of the 18th century was hampered to a large extent by the continuation of the enserfment of colliers and their families which increased the unattractiveness of an already dangerous occupation (Campbell, 1979; Duckham, 1969; 1970; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 40-1; Smout, 1969: 169; Thompson, 1980: 70). Even after the final abolition of serfdom in 1799, the stigma of employment in this sector lingered and mineowners were still faced with the problem of recruiting and maintaining a labour force. However, the final abolition of serfdom coincided with the migration of both Highland and Irish labour to the Lowlands and it was these migrants, attracted by the availability of work in this sector, who once again met the demand for labour (Campbell, 1979: 178-201; Duckham, 1969: 198; 1970: 304, 309; Handley, 1945: 118-127).

Similarly, the rural textile mills faced problems of labour shortage during the early period of industrialisation (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 139; Lythe and Butt, 1975: 186; Smout, 1969: 379ff) and as a solution the labour of Highland and Irish migrants was used. For example, in New Lanark, David Dale utilised the labour of Edinburgh orphans and recruited a group of ship-wrecked emigrants to work in the mills and thereafter actively recruited labour directly from the Highlands (Dickson and Clarke, ibid; MacDonald, 1937: 64). However, it was in the urban areas that the highest concentration of Highland and Irish migrants settled.

Although migrants from the Lowlands formed the largest proportion of the urban labour force during the 19th century (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138), increasing numbers of migrants from the Highlands and Ireland flocked to the growing industrial centres of the Central Lowlands in search of employment in the textile factories and mills, in the mines and foundries and in the construction of a communications infrastructure of canals, railways and roads (Handley, 1945: 80-140; MacDonald, 1937: 50-73). The extent of the both local and long-distance immigration to the region can be seen if we consider that in the west of Scotland approximately 40 per cent of the total population increase between 1801 and 1841 was the result of inward migration (Slaven, 1975: 141). Indeed,

in Glasgow and Lanarkshire alone almost 50 per cent of the increase between 1801 and 1861 was due to immigration (Slaven, ibid). Although in the period 1851 to 1871 almost half of all the immigrants in the west of Scotland were from the surrounding Lowland counties in the south and east, Highland migrants made up a significant proportion, particularly in Lanarkshire and Glasgow: the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton and Ayr attracted 58 per cent of all Highland emigration (Dickson and Clarke, 1980: 138; see also Slaven, 1975: 143).

However, these internal migration flows were overshadowed by the rapidly increasing influx of Irish migrants to the Lowlands in the 19th century. Like the internal migration flows within Scotland, Irish migration was precipitated by paralleled changes in the structure and organisation of the Irish economy which led to the poverty and degradation of large sections of the population (Cousens, 1965: 15-29; Cullen: 1972; Handley, 1945; Jackson, 1963: 24-6; Lees, 1979: 22-31). As we have seen, Irish migration to Scotland was initially a temporary seasonal response to increased demands for agricultural labour. However, with the development and expansion of other sectors of the Scottish economy, this temporary migration became more permanent and extensive. That Irish immigration was a direct response to increased demands for labour in the Scottish economy during this period is evident in the patterns and concentration of Irish settlement in Scotland. Although the Irish made up 5 per cent of the total population of Scotland in 1841, they did not settle in any significant numbers in the north west and far north east and in the south east of the country where the demand for labour was minimal (Handley, 1945: 89). Rather, they settled in increasing numbers from the early decades of the 19th century in the Central Lowland belt in those counties where the demand for labour was highest. In 1841, for example, the Irish made up 11 per cent of the population of Dumbarton, 13 per cent in Lanark, 13 per cent in Renfrew and 14.7 per cent in Wigtown (Handley, 1945: 89; MacDonald, 1937: 78). In the cities of Glasgow and Paisley alone they accounted for 16 per cent and 10 per cent of the urban population respectively (Handley, 1945: 90).

The occupations that the Irish migrants moved into within the Scottish economy further reflects the relationship between industrial concentration and migration. Irish labour came to form an increasing and important proportion of the workforce in a wide variety of occupations, particularly those associated with poor and arduous working conditions; indeed, in some areas the Irish became an integral part of the labour force (see for example, Handley, 1945; 1947; MacDonald, 1937: 78). As Jackson indicates, the migration of Irish labour was of particular significance for the development of capitalism in Scotland during the 19th century: *"the existence of a large pool of cheap labour at a time of national expansion proved to be an essential ingredient to the rapid industrial advance"* (1963: 82). For example, Irish workers played a prominent role in the construction of harbours, canals and in the building of roads and railways (Handley, 1945: 57-79; Treble, 1972: 43-4). In Greenock Irish workers were employed in a variety of unskilled occupations; for example, in one sugar refining plant in the town, 350 out of the total of 400 employees were Irish (MacDonald, 1937: 80; see also Lobban, 1971). Irish workers also figured prominently as dock labourers, accounting for 65 per cent of the town's workforce in 1851 (Lobban, 1971: 271).

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the rapid expansion of the coal mining and related iron industries during the 19th century required a ready supply of labour and these industries became increasingly dependent upon Irish workers (Campbell, 1979; Duckham, 1969; 1970; Handley, 1945: 118-125; Jackson, 1963: 87; MacDonald, 1937: 66). In the town of Coatbridge in Lanarkshire, for example, the proportion of Irish rose from 13 per cent to 49 per cent in the period between 1841 and 1851, coinciding with the rapid and intensive development of collieries and iron works in the area (Campbell, 1979: 178-80). In the unskilled metal sector in the area Irish workers constituted 60 per cent of the labour force and just over 44 per cent of all mineworkers (Campbell, ibid).

The settlement patterns of the Irish also coincided closely with the distribution of textile manufacturing throughout the country (Handley,

1945: 97-105; 111-119; Jackson, 1963: 87-8; MacDonald, 1937: 82; Murray, 1978: 33-4). Irish workers increasingly made up numbers employed in handloom weaving in the early part of the 19th century, having previously been employed within the Irish linen industry; in 1820, 25 per cent of handloom weavers were Irish, and by 1838 this had risen to approximately 30 per cent (Murray, 1978: 33; see also MacDonald, 1937: 82). However, with the decline of handloom weaving in the period from 1812 to 1840, and the growth of factory based manufacturing, Irish workers flocked into the cotton mills in and around Glasgow and Paisley (Handley, 1945: 112). Women and children constituted an important part of the labour force, particularly in the cotton mills (Handley, 1945: 112; Jackson, 1963: 87-8); indeed, as one cotton manufacturer in Paisley commented:

> *"It is my decided opinion that our manufacturers never would have extended as rapidly if we had not had large importations of Irish families, for the work of this town requires women and children as well as men. Sufficient hands for the manufacturers of this neighbourhood would not have been procured from Scotland" (quoted in Jackson, 1963: 88).*

Nevertheless, although Irish migrant labour made up an increasingly important and indispensable element of the labour force in Scotland during the 19th century, its significance should not obscure the large-scale rural-urban migrations which took place within the country, nor the significant emigration of sections of the population overseas. Further, such migrations, in turn, should not overshadow other smaller, but nevertheless significant population movements which took place during this period and it is to these that I now turn.

Migration flows into Scotland during the 18th and 19th centuries were not determined solely by changes in the internal organisation of production which resulted in increased demands for labour. In addition, there were a number of smaller inward migrations, principally from areas of the Indian subcontinent and to a lesser degree parts of Africa and the Caribbean, which can be connected to factors indirectly associated with changes within the Scottish economy during this period. As I indicated in Chapter 1, writers such as Fryer (1984) and others fail to recognise

the implications of Scottish colonial involvement in shaping and determining such a presence and therefore this section is concerned with establishing the role of these factors in structuring the scale and dynamic of this migration.

Evidence of a Black presence in Scotland prior to Scottish involvement in British colonial activities during the 18th century is scant and poorly documented. Although Fryer (1984: 2-4) refers to the presence of a group of Africans attached as servants and entertainers to the court of King James IV of Scotland during the early part of the 16th century, it was not until the 18th century, with the increasing involvement of Scots in British colonial activities following the Union of 1707, that Black people came in any numbers to Scotland. Initially, their presence was as servants and slaves but as the 19th century progressed they came as lascar seamen and students.

The expansion of the British Empire during the late 18th and 19th centuries brought Scottish merchants, administrators, missionaries and military personnel into increasing contact with areas of the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent and parts of Africa (Bryant, 1985; Cain, 1986; Devine, 1973; 1974; 1976; 1978; Hamilton, 1963; National Library of Scotland, 1982; Parker, 1985; Sheridan, 1977; for an overview, see for example, Miles and Muirhead, 1986). Although evidence of the extent to which Scottish merchants and colonial administrators would return home with servants for their estates is limited, extant material does suggest that sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie enjoyed the services of African and Indian servants (see, for example, Shyllon, 1977: 26-7, 30; Smout, 1969: 406; Visram, 1986: 55). Visram (1986: 55, 58, 60-1, 64) suggests that the roots of the early Asian community lay in the servant and lascar class, of which a large proportion were women (1986: 70), although there is no available material relating to Indian ayahs being brought specifically to Scotland. Strictly speaking, such a presence was not the result of free migration: such servants were brought as unfree labour at their master's request and thereafter tied to their master's households as chattels and were restricted in their movements within the country.

There is evidence, although limited, to suggest that a Black presence in Scotland during the late 18th century was not confined to the servant class but that there were at least some people living as "free" citizens within the country. For example, Jenkinson (1985: 60) makes reference to an entry in the Glasgow Public Records of Baptisms (12 Oct 1782) which reads *"Anthony Cunningham, Labourer (Negro) and Margaret Pollok, a lawful son, David, born 19th, witnesses James Smith, John Finlay and John Aitken"*. However, the extent to which the presence of such people was the result of the declaration that slavery was illegal in Scotland in 1778 and upon their subsequent freedom, remains to be ascertained. Nevertheless, it is through the medium of trade that links between Scotland and the colonies can be most clearly traced.

The growth of Scotland's ports and increasing involvement in colonial activity during the late 18th and 19th centuries strengthened trading links with the colonies of North America, the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. However, there is little evidence to suggest that Scottish shipping engaged in extensive slave trading to the same degree as, for example the English ports of Bristol and Liverpool. Fryer (1984: 51-2) is the only contemporary writer who cites the existence of a slave trading firm, Alexander Grant Junior & Co based in Glasgow which went bankrupt in 1807 following the passing of the Abolition of Slavery Act. It would appear, however, that with the exception of this, Scottish ports were primarily concerned with the tobacco trade (Devine, 1973: 50; 1978).

The growth of world trade and shipping, and the increasing importance of Glasgow as a major port during the 19th century, led to the settlement of Indian lascar seamen as it did in all the major ports throughout Britain. Visram cites that the earliest Indian settlers living in the seaport cities of Britain such as Glasgow, *"were the lascars, employed by British merchant lines like P&O for their cheapness"* (1986: 190). Salter, writing in 1873, found;

> *",,,,, at this period about 250 Asiatics,,,, were constantly visiting the provincial towns ,,,, These disciples of the prophet of Mecca wander from Plymouth to Ben Lomond and from Aberdeen to Hastings", (1873: 221)*

Salter (1873: 221) also notes that some of these men were to be found in Glasgow as early as 1869 (see also Visram, 1986: 55). Hammerton, writing in 1893, also makes reference to the presence of lascar seamen in the city;

"..... *close on the heels .... come several swarthy sons of India. They are members of the crew of some of the East Indiamen lying in the docks. The evening being warm their usually shivering aspect has disappeared and their sable faces glisten with delight........ they are weak creatures, these coolies, working for a miserable pittance". (1893: 138)*

A further contemporary account of a Black presence in Glasgow during the late 19th century is cited by Jenkinson (1985: 59) in the form of Lobogola's (1930) *"An African Savage's Own Story"*, the autobiography of an African boy who found his way to the Glasgow docks in 1896;

"..... *Instead of a policeman's picking me up, someone else did; and, according to what that gentleman said before he died, he merely did it out of pity. He said that he saw me in that rude crowd, and he knew that I was cold, and he saw that none of those rough uncouth people showed any pity at all for a poor wee black creature from the African bush".*

Documentary evidence concerning the occupations of migrants from the Indian subcontinent living in Scotland during the 19th century is also scant. Visram (1986: 62, 239) cites employment of some Asians as small entrepreneurs, "eye specialists" who came to Britain in the 1890s and were based in various towns including Edinburgh. What little material there is, however, would suggest that such migrants from the Indian subcontinent, in common with European migrants, were relatively marginal to the factory production, economic activity being focussed within the petit bourgeois sector.

Another group of migrants from the Indian subcontinent who came to Scotland at the end of the 19th century, if only on a temporary basis, were students to study in the universities. As early as 1883 the Edinburgh Indian Association was founded to meet the social and cultural needs of students at the University, and although initially the Association had only 6 members, by the turn of the 20th century the number had risen to 200 (Visram, 1986: 181).

Thus, it would appear that by the end of the 19th century as a result of the expansion of Scottish trade overseas and increasing colonial activities there was a small, but significant Black presence in Scotland. However, during this period there were also a number of smaller migrations into Scotland which cannot easily be explained in terms of structural changes taking place within the Scottish economy and it is to these that I now turn.

During the latter decades of the 19th century, as a result of the social, economic and political changes which were taking place throughout Europe, there were a number of migrations from areas of Italy and Eastern Europe to Scotland (Flinn, 1977: 455, 458). Numerically, such groups were small, although after 1890 the numbers of "foreign born" within the Scottish population showed a 50 per cent increase compared with the previous decade, reaching about 10,000 European-born immigrants (Flinn, 1977: 457-8). About one quarter of the increase of "foreign born" between 1891 and 1901 came from Italy, the remainder coming from Russia and Poland the majority of whom were probably Jews fleeing the pogroms of the 1880s and 1890s (Flinn, 1977: 457-8).

Although an Italian presence in Scotland dates back to the Renaissance period of the 16th century, when court musicians and minstrels entertained the royal courts of King James IV and VI (Rodgers, 1982: 13), it was not until the middle of the 19th century that Italians settled in Scotland in any significant numbers (Colpi, 1986; Rodgers, 1982: 13). Colpi (1986) cites the period between 1861 and 1871 as the beginning of the increase in the numbers of Italians migrating and settling in Scotland; in 1861, the Census recorded 119 persons of Italian birth in Scotland but by 1871 this number had increased twofold (Colpi, 1986: 7). Between 1890 and 1914, the Italian-born population increased from 750 to 4,500 (Rodgers, 1982: 13).

It is difficult to locate the precise reasons for Italian migration and settlement in Scotland during this period, although their migration - in contrast to that of, for example, the Irish - does not appear to be

directly connected with increased demand for labour within the Scottish economy. Both Sereni (1974) and Rodgers (1982) cite the reasons for migration from these areas of Italy to other parts of Europe, including Scotland, as being the direct result of increasing economic pressure brought upon a rural economy by the growth of the population. Areas such as Ciociaria, Lucca and Frosinone had a tradition of seasonal migration during the harvest season, and later this extended into emigration to other parts of Europe as the growth of the population and further subdivision of land led to increasing economic pressures (Rodgers, 1982). The growth of the Italian community in Scotland towards the end of the 19th century and during the early decades of the 20th century was shaped by the chain migration system of *padroni* (see Rodgers, 1982: 14; Colpi, 1986; Farrell, 1983: 1). This is evident in the fact that the majority of the Italian communities in Glasgow and Paisley, for example, originated from the town of Barga in the province of Lucca in Tuscany (Colpi, 1986: 4; Sereni, 1974).

That Italians did not migrate in direct response to demands for labour within the Scottish economy is also evident if we consider the pattern of employment of Italian migrants during this period. The majority were engaged in petty trading as ice cream sellers, itinerant pedlars and hawkers, *figurinai* (who were both makers and travelling sellers of statuettes or figurines: Colpi, 1986: 23), itinerant street musicians, entertainers, organ grinders and chestnut sellers (Rodgers, 1982: 13; see also Colpi, 1986: 23-31; Sereni, 1974: 3). Later, some moved into the catering trade as shop-owners (Colpi, 1986: 29). Although there is no evidence of large-scale employment of Italian migrants in Scottish factories during this period, Farrell does however suggest tentative links between Scottish industry and its expansion abroad and the migration of Italians to Scotland. The textile manufacturers, Coats of Paisley, set a subsidiary branch in the province of Lucca in Tuscany in Italy during the 19th century. This area is one of the two major sending areas for Italian migrants to Scotland (1983: 1).

As in the case of migration from Italy, there were also a number of other European migrations which were not initially stimulated by labour

demands within the Scottish economy. These migrations, largely from areas of Eastern Europe, resulted primarily from religious and political persecution, although this is not to ignore the important role played by economic factors (Holmes, 1984: 7-22; Lunn, 1980: 308-10; Porter, 1984: 23-45; Rodgers, 1984: 141-156). For example, although the migration of the Jews and Lithuanian Catholics from East European countries was the result of a combination of both political and economic factors (Gainer, 1972: 1; Holmes, ibid; Gartner, 1973: 21-2; Lunn, ibid; Pollins, 1982: 134; Rodgers, ibid), the migration of Jews is best regarded primarily as a migration of political refugees (Slatter, 1984).

The emancipation of serfs in 1865 in Eastern Europe created a large landless proletariat and the problem was intensified by an increase in the size of the population which put additional pressures on existing land resources (Lunn, 1980: 310; Rodgers, 1980: 19) In the period 1870-1914 about one and a quarter million people left Russian Poland (i.e. Lithuania and certain areas of Poland), the majority of whom headed for North America (Lunn, 1980: 310). Most of those who left were peasants or agricultural labourers, although some, particularly Jewish emigrants, had been employed in various workshop trades (Lunn, ibid; Pollins, 1982: 133; Rodgers, 1984: 141; Zubrzycki, 1956: 10-47).

The necessity to leave was further intensified during the 1880s and 1890s with the restrictive "May Laws" in Russia and brutal pogroms throughout Eastern Europe which produced a forced emigration of a large number of Jewish refugees (Collins, 1987: 4; Gainer, 1972: 1-3; Rodgers, 1982: 113). Although many emigrants hoped to settle in America, a great many arrived in Britain, some of whom settled in Scotland. The prior existence of small Jewish and Lithuanian communities in Scotland laid the foundation for the settlement of these refugees. There was a small Jewish presence in the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh as early as the 17th century (Levy, 1958; Pollins, 1982: 74). However, it was not until the 19th century that a Jewish presence in Scotland was established in any formal manner and even between 1823 and 1831 the Jewish population in Glasgow was just 47 (Collins, 1987: 3; Levy, 1958; see also Pollins, 1982: 244). This community grew in the latter part of the 19th century,

with the settlement of Eastern European Jews fleeing religious persecution. As a result, the total Jewish population in Scotland reached 4,000 in 1897 and increased to between 6,500 and 8000 in 1902 (Collins, 1987: 6; see also Rodgers, 1982: 113).

Initially, the community was made up of Lithuanian Jews. The close proximity of the Baltic ports to Scotland made it relatively easy to enter through the ports of Leith and Dundee in times of hardship (Collins, 1987: 3-4). The increase in the Jewish community in Scotland was also the result of internal migration from other parts of Britain in search of employment (Collins, 1987: 8). However, this internal migration does not appear to have been directly stimulated by the demand for labour within the Scottish economy at this time: Collins, for example, cites the example of Jacob Kamrisch, who in 1888 established a cigarette factory in Glasgow and brought 300 workers who were mostly Jews, to the city from parts of England (1987: 8; cited also in Gartner, 1973: 74 and Pollins, 1982: 145).

That the Jews, like the Italians, did not migrate in direct response to demands for labour within the Scottish economy is further evident in the types of occupations they were subsequently engaged in. There is some evidence to suggest that the early Jewish migrants were engaged as itinerant pedlars and hawkers, although this seems to have diminished in importance as an occupation towards the end of the 19th century (Pollins, 1982: 75-8). There is, however, no evidence to suggest any large-scale entry into, for example, textile production where Irish workers provided the necessary labour for semi- and unskilled work in the factories and other sectors of the economy. Rather, the Jewish migrants became engaged in similar occupations as they had been prior to emigration, in the petit-bourgeois sector of small-scale workshop trades such as tailoring, dressmaking, and furniture production where they worked either as small merchant capitalists employing a number of workers or as individual producers (Gartner, 1973: 60; 74; 92; Levy, 1958: 16; 19; Lipman, 1954: 102; Miles and Solomos, 1987: 79-80; Pollins, 1982: 75; Rodgers, 1982: 113).

Another group of East Europeans who settled in Scotland during this period were Lithuanian Catholics (Lunn, 1980: 308). The migration and settlement of this group of Lithuanians in Scotland was precipitated primarily by changing economic circumstances in Eastern Europe, although in some instances political persecution was a contributory factor in the process (Rodgers, 1980: 19; also 1984: 141; Lunn, 1980: 309-10). Increasing economic pressures arising out of the subdivision of land and subsistence levels of production prompted large-scale emigration from Lithuania during the 1890s (Lunn, 1980: 310; Rodgers, 1980: 19; see also Zubrzycki, 1956: 26). As with the Jews and Italians who settled in Scotland during this period, the Lithuanian Catholics' ultimate destination was America, Scotland being a convenient port of call en-route on their journey across the Atlantic.

Although the majority of Lithuanians did not initially migrate to Scotland in direct response to labour demands during the 19th century, there is limited - although conflicting - evidence to suggest that the migration of some Lithuanians, at least, may have been precipitated indirectly by sectoral labour shortages in the Scottish economy. Rodgers (1980: 19) suggests - using only oral evidence - that the settlement of Lithuanians in Scotland during this period was not the result of chance, but rather the result of direct recruitment by ironmasters in Lanarkshire of labour from Lithuania to work in the mines and blast furnaces (see also Lunn, 1980: 310, 312). This is not to suggest, however, that such workers possessed the skills necessary for industrial work, as has been suggested by Flinn (1977: 458), for the majority came from a rural agricultural background (Lunn, 1980: 310). The reasons for this possible recruitment, therefore, are not clear, given the large pool of Irish and Highland labour which was present in the country at this time. However, it would appear that the presence of some **may** have been linked to the recruitment of Lithuanian workers, possibly as strike-breakers, by some Lanarkshire and Ayrshire iron and coal masters - not directly from Lithuania as Rodgers suggests - but from those already settled in parts of England.

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Lunn (1980: 310) cites the example of a furnace in Ayrshire where Lithuanians began to work as "spare furnacemen" in 1884 and some then went into the mining industry in the area. Local labour alleged that the employment of Lithuanian labour was the beginning of an "invasion", although Lunn mentions that the owners of the furnaces, Merry and Cunningham, had introduced some Lithuanian labour into their works in Lanarkshire earlier in 1880 (1980: 310). The owners themselves denied that there was any organised recruitment of foreign labour although their statement suggests that labour had possibly been recruited from areas of England:

> *"Some of them come to us from the sugar works at Liverpool, and the salt works in Cheshire, and those who come direct have in many cases, we believe, fled the army. Long before we had any of them they were employed in railway work ..... for the Fairlie Tunnel on the Glasgow and South Western Railway near Largs, and now they are to be found at most of the iron works around Coatbridge" (Lunn, 1980: 312-3).*

. That some Lithuanian workers were recruited directly from other areas of England, possibly as strike-breakers, is further evident during a dispute in the furnaces in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire during 1891. During the dispute it was claimed by a member of the furnacemen's trade union that the employers had introduced additional foreign labour not previously employed in the industry (Lunn, 1980: 312). This claim is partly borne out if we consider the census figures quoted by Lunn (1980: 312) which were issued at the time of the dispute in 1891. These Census figures show that of a total of 323 male Russian Poles (foreign born) and 63 naturalised British male subjects born in Russian Poland (i.e. Lithuania and parts of Poland), only 8 of the former are recorded as being employed in coal mining, 36 in iron manufacturing and 2 in steel. However, by the time of the 1901 census for Scotland of the total male population of Russian birth (including Lithuanians and Poles) of 4,929, 1,135 of this total were recorded as working in coal mining and 624 in iron and steel, the majority of these being based in Lanarkshire (Lunn, 1980: 313). By 1914, the Lithuanian population in Scotland numbered between 5,000 and 6,000 (Rodgers, 1980: 19).

By the turn of the century, therefore, the Scottish population was made up of a number of diverse and varied migrant communities whose reasons for migration and settlement in Scotland were dependent, as we have seen, upon a variety of factors. The largest and most well-established of these groups was the Irish. The census returns for Scotland in 1891 gave the number of Irish born as 194,807, or 4.84 per cent of the total population. By the census of 1901, this number had risen to 205,064, or 4.58 per cent of the total Scottish population (all figures from Handley, 1947: 247). In contrast, the numbers of "foreign-born" residents in Scotland, who were largely from Europe, totalled 17,645 at the time of the 1901 census, which amounted to only 0.4 per cent of the total population (Flinn, 1977: 458). Although figures for the number of Black people resident in Scotland during this period are not available, one can assume that the community was still very small.

(2) Migration in the 20th Century - 1900-1944

In this section I consider Scottish migration history during the period 1900 to 1944. This period was characterised by two features: first, there was limited new inward migration, although emigration overseas continued to be important; second, with the exception of the use of contract migrant labour during the Second World War, there is little evidence to suggest that any inward migrations were directly connected to demands for labour within the Scottish economy.

Demographically, the overall emphasis during the early decades of the 20th century was upon the continuation of emigration to the colonies as a means of escaping the poverty and unemployment of the time (Donaldson, 1966: 194-200; Harvie, 1981: 66; Smout, 1986: 114). The peak loss of population through emigration abroad occurred between 1921 and 1930 when net out-migration as a percentage of the natural increase reached 110.5 per cent, a total of 415,768 people (Flinn, 1977: 441).

During this period, immigration from Ireland was significantly less than it had been during the 19th century (Garvey, 1983: 23). In the

Census of 1911, the number of Irish-born had decreased to 174,715, or 3.67 per cent of the total population (Handley, 1947: 247; see also Jackson, 1963: 11). Although precise figures are not available, it can be suggested that prior to the First World War - which interrupted any large-scale international population movements - many Irish migrants emigrated to the United States (Jackson, 1963: 11).

The growth of existing European communities in Scotland through new inward migration during the early decades of the 20th century was likewise limited. New growth was primarily the result of the birth of children in Scotland and they were therefore not enumerated in census returns as "foreign born" (Flinn, 1977: 96-7). Migration from European countries in particular tapered off after 1911, having increased by only 7,000 people since the census of 1901 (Flinn, 1977: 458). Explanations for the decline in the flow of immigration from Europe during this period must take account of the British State's introduction of legislative measures which, as we have seen in Chapter 1, were designed to control the flow of European immigrants into Britain. As a result, there were no new large-scale migrations into Scotland, particularly of people from Europe who were now considered in law to be "aliens", that is non-British subjects (Colpi, 1986: 7-8). Entry was, however, still granted under conditions of political and religious persecution, a factor which, as we will see shortly, was important in the period leading up to the Second World War (Kölmel, 1984: 251-83).

Although inward migration from areas of Europe declined during this period, migration and settlement from areas of the British Empire, particularly from the Indian subcontinent, continued, albeit on a small but increasing scale. As we have seen in Chapter 1, people from the British Empire were legally British subjects and were therefore not subject to the restrictions imposed by the British state in the early 20th century to regulate European immigration. This is not to suggest, as I have already noted in Chapter 1, that attempts were not made to restrict the entry of certain categories of migrants from the British Empire; indeed such restrictions had particular implications for the entry

and settlement of Indian lascar seamen in Scotland as I will demonstrate shortly (see also **Appendix 3**).

An Asian presence in Scotland during the 19th century appears to provide the basis for further migration and settlement both before and after the First World War. Prior to the First World War, small numbers of migrants from the Indian subcontinent settled in Scotland's city ports. The founding of a Sikh temple in Glasgow in 1911, for example, confirms the presence of an Indian community, albeit on a small scale, in the city at this time (Dickinson *et al*, 1975: 115; see also Maan, 1967). However, it appears that it was not until the end of the First World War in 1918 that the number of Asian migrants in Scotland became significant. The growth of world trade and shipping during the early 20th century, in which Glasgow and Edinburgh played an important role as major international seaports, appears to have consolidated the existing links established in the 19th century with the Indian subcontinent and other areas of the globe. The limited information available relating to this early period traces the origin of migrants from the Indian subcontinent to lascar seamen who appear to have jumped ship while in dock in Scottish ports or who had been stranded unable to find a ship upon which to return (Jones and Davenport, 1972: 75). In addition, information which I have drawn from my own fieldwork further confirms an Asian presence in Glasgow during this period. Several informants mentioned that one Indian migrant living in the city of Glasgow during this period came around 1919, having jumped ship while in port:

> *"When I came to Glasgow in 1940 there were some people living here, but I didn't know very many particularly well. Someone came as a seaman, he came in 1919, he jumped ship, so I was not the first here. He was staying in Brown Street before I came. When I came some people staying in Nicholson Street in the Gorbals ..... they were Sikhs, 4 or 5 of them, living 3 or 4 miles from our village in India. I got to know them and stay with them. Some of them stayed here and some of them went back to India .... they were mostly going door-to-door, some had a stall, then started up in business....."*,

During the 1920s and 1930s, evidence suggests that further migrants arrived in Scotland from the Indian subcontinent in sufficient numbers to cause official "concern". This "concern" arose most significantly after

1919 from a national bid throughout Britain to regulate the entry of Black seamen following a series of "riots" in Britain's major seaports, including Glasgow (see, for example, Evans, 1980, 1985; Griffith, 1960: 56; May and Cohen, 1974; see also Jenkinson, 1985 for a specific discussion of events in Glasgow). Black seamen involved in the disturbances in Glasgow's Broomielaw area appear all to have been from Sierra Leone and there is no mention of the involvement of Lascar seamen (Jenkinson, 1985: 43). The longer-term significance of the 1919 disturbances, however, was to be found in the official responses thereafter which effectively problematised Black seamen (Ramdin, 1987: 76-82; Rich, 1986: 121). Official reactions to this series of events culminated in 1925 with the *Special Restrictions (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order* as we have seen in Chapter 1.

In Glasgow, there was pressure from the police to have the city included in the list of areas under the 1925 Order. In doing so, it was hoped to register a number of Lascar seamen who, it was claimed, had come there as "deserters" from ships in order to become pedlars. It was reported that some 100 Lascar "deserters" from steam ships trading with India were living in Glasgow and Lanarkshire (Rich, 1986: 126). However, the Glasgow Indian Union, which had been in existence for several years, pointed out that the Lascar seamen in question had not recently arrived in the country but had been living in Glasgow for a period of 3 to 14 years. Many of them had been employed as labourers during the War, an occupation which the Union said some were still engaged in. The Union further pointed out that since all possessed British nationality, the restrictions of the Order were unwarranted (Rich, 1986: 127).

However, pressure to restrict the entry and activities of Lascar seamen in Glasgow, as in the rest of Britain, continued during the late 1920s and 1930s. For example, with the publication of the "Fletcher Report" (*Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports*) in 1930, there is mention of the presence of Lascar seamen in Scotland during this period. In visits made to the major city ports in Scotland, the investigation found the total number of "coloured aliens" resident in Glasgow to be 100 and in Edinburgh to be 39

(Fletcher, 1930: 48). In the Report, it was considered that such a number constituted a "problem";

"........ a Lascar problem appears to be growing up in Liverpool and in the Scottish ports, for as the men only earn £3 10s per month, there is considerable inducement for them to desert their ships in this country,....." (Fletcher, 1930: 11).

Official concern regarding the presence of Lascar seamen in Scotland, particularly in relation to the possibility of illegal peddling activities being conducted on shore, continued well into the 1930s and is evident in correspondence between the Scottish Office and the Chief Constable of Glasgow Police (see **Appendix 3**). However, despite such attempts to restrict the settlement and activities of lascar seamen, it would appear that in the absence of alternative employment opportunities itinerant peddling continued to be the primary occupation of the Indian community in Scotland during this period. Evidence drawn from my own fieldwork, however, suggests that although peddling continued to be the dominant occupation during the inter-war period, some were employed as labourers in road construction and in building sites.

During the inter-war period, with the exception of the settlement of German and Austrian Jewish refugees from the rise of National Socialism and anti-semitic sentiment in Germany in the 1930s (Kölmel, 1984; Rodgers, 1982: 119), there appears to have been little new inward migration from Europe to Scotland. Rather, emigration out of Scotland continued to be the major population movement during the period, although it too showed a significant decline. In the decade 1931-1939, net out-migration dropped from 415,768 of the previous decade to 47,973, which was 22.2 per cent of the natural increase (Flinn, 1977: 441). This was the lowest level of net out-migration as a percentage of natural increase since 1861 (Flinn, 1977: 441). Explanations for the low level of emigration at this time must take account of the International Depression of the 1930s which rendered all parts unattractive to would-be emigrants. In addition, for many the effects of the Depression and unemployment ensured that there was little available money for the fares abroad. Until the Depression of the 1930s, emigration rates fluctuated and could not be

said to easily correlate with the economic conditions which prevailed at the time. Thus, in times of both prosperity and decline, emigration was a prominent feature of Scottish population history (Harvie, 1981; Flinn, 1977).

With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the flow of "free" migrants was effectively halted throughout Europe. During this period in Britain, however, additional labour supplies were recruited directly from Ireland and parts of the Colonies to help with the war effort, some of whom were placed in Scotland (see for example, Ford, 1985; Fryer, 1984: 358-63; Jackson, 1963: 98-104; Ramdin, 1987: 86-90; Sherwood, 1985a; 1985b). I consider these two examples in turn.

First, during the War, the Ministry of Labour issued permits and actively recruited Irish labour for civilian work in Britain as a means of meeting the acute labour shortage faced during this period (Jackson, 1963: 14; 98-104; Isaac, 1954: 194). By the end of the War (June 1945) nearly 100,000 Irish workers, recruited shortly after the outbreak of the War, had arrived in Britain;

> *"In the main the men were unskilled workers. Besides agriculture, the recruitment schemes covered many other industries such as building and civil engineering, the metal trades, shipyards and canals. Women were recruited for nursing, domestic work in hospitals, bus conducting and other occupations". (Isaac, 1954: 194)*

Under this scheme, the only specific reference made to the role of recruited Irish labour in Scotland during this period relates to the need for labour to help lift the potato crop in 1940 (Jackson, 1963: 98). Private contractors recruited labour in Ireland for the job, and workers were restricted to a visa of 3 months with a possible extension to 6 months (Jackson, 1963: 99). Initially, Irish workers were encouraged to avoid industrial areas, apparently for reasons of "national security", although as labour shortages quickly developed in a number of industries many were eventually employed in these sectors (Jackson, ibid).

Second, there is more detailed evidence concerning the recruitment of Commonwealth labour to help in essential war-time industries. In

particular, a significant number of Honduran forestry workers were recruited between 1941 and 1943 and settled temporarily in Scotland for the duration of the War (Ford, 1985; Richmond, 1954: 23; Sherwood, 1985a; 1985b). The production of timber was essential for the war effort and in a drive to meet increased targets Britain embarked upon a recruitment drive to obtain labour for forestry work in Scotland (Ford, 1985: 7-8). Initially, 20 Canadian forestry companies were to be brought to Britain although this figure was subsequently increased to 30 companies (Ford, 1985: 8). By 1940, some 2,000 loggers from Newfoundland were working in Scotland on contracts (Sherwood, 1985a: 101). Later, labour was recruited from other parts of the Commonwealth, notably Australia and New Zealand, to aid timber production (Ford, 1985: 8). However, additional labour was needed and as a result the first contingent of approximately 500 British Hondurans from the islands of Belize were recruited by the Ministries of Supply and Labour and brought to Britain during 1941 to work in the Forestry Units located in the south-west and the south-east of Scotland (Sherwood, 1985a: 103; see also Ford, 1985). By the end of 1942, a second contingent of 333 Hondurans had been recruited and sent to work in Sutherland and Ross in the north of the country (Ford, 1985: 48; 57-8).

From early 1943, informal steps were taken to disband the British Honduran Forestry Unit although a number of men had deserted the camps in anticipation of possible repatriation (Ford, 1985: 76-7). By the end of 1943, however, it was officially announced by the Colonial Office and the Ministry of Supply that the men had the option of either being repatriated or found employment in Scotland (Ford, 1985: 78). By the end of 1943, the majority of the men had been repatriated, although some 260 were still in Scotland (Sherwood, 1985a: 121). Some found employment with small local firms; others, who turned to the Ministry of Labour for assistance, faced considerable delays in obtaining positions, despite labour shortages. For instance, Rolls-Royce, a large local employer, informed the MOL that "they expected 'home labour' would shortly be available" (Sherwood, 1985a: 121; see also Ford, 1985: 79), although they did eventually employ some of the Hondurans. Attempts were also made to place some of the men with the Royal Navy, but without success; the elicited response from the Admiralty was that they felt that *"coloured*

volunteers were rather an embarrassment and difficult to place in this country" (Ford, 1985: 79). However, some of the men were eventually placed with British Aluminium, with the Edinburgh Railway Company and with the Scottish Motor Transport Company in Edinburgh (Ford, 1985: 80; see also Sherwood, 1985a: 121).

There appears to be no documentary evidence relating to the use of other sources of labour from the Colonies to help with the war effort in Scotland. However, during my own fieldwork, several informants told of friends and relatives who had been in Glasgow during the War. For example,

> *"Our uncle came in 1942, in the Second World War, I think. He came off the ships to Glasgow, but he was not working in the Navy. Some relative was working in the Navy and he came through him and stop in Glasgow".*

Several informants told me that their relatives who had been resident in Glasgow during the Second World War had actively helped with the war effort, working in munitions factories. Such war-time experiences were confirmed by the oldest migrant in the sample who had arrived in Glasgow in 1940, and who himself worked in a munitions factory, William Beardmores in Glasgow, as a toolsetter during the War. This informant also referred to the work done by several Asian men at the Ordnance factory in Bishopton on the periphery of Glasgow. However, in contrast to Irish agricultural workers and Honduran forestry workers, the presence of Asian workers in Scotland at this time does not appear to be the result of direct recruitment by the British state.

It would appear, therefore, from the limited amount of available information concerning the recruitment of additional labour for civilian employment in Scotland during the War, that with the exception of the recruitment of Irish labour to help with the lifting of the potato crop in 1940 and the recruitment of the British Honduran Forestry Unit, contract migrant labour was not extensively used within the Scottish economy during this period. It could therefore be concluded that there was a sufficient *internal* reserve of labour available to meet the increased demands imposed by the war effort. This is confirmed by

extracts from the Ministry of Labour Gazette for the period which make reference to female labour in the Women's Land Army and the employment of school children during harvest time under the Scottish Harvesting Scheme.

(3) The Pattern of Migration in the Post-1945 Period.

The role of migrant labour within the Scottish economy after 1945 is somewhat different from that of previous periods. With the exception of the immediate post-war period - when pressures for additional labour for the reconstruction programme led to the official recruitment of foreign labour from Europe - any direct pre-existing correlation between migration and large-scale demands for labour within the Scottish economy appears to break down. In light of this, I now consider in more detail the migration flows which did take place both into and out of Scotland in the post-1945 period in order to assess the extent to which the structural economic factors outlined in the previous chapter have influenced and shaped migration within the Scottish context. First, I consider the post-1945 trend in emigration and the inward migration of the Irish. Second, I discuss the role of European workers recruited under the European Volunteer Workers Scheme in the period between 1946 and 1951. Finally, I consider migrations from the New Commonwealth.

Scotland's experience of post-1945 migration is shared with Ireland during this period (Flinn, 1977: 448; Garvey, 1983: 22-30). Emigration from Scotland has continued on an increasing scale throughout the post-war period - between 1951 and 1961, 182,000 people left the country, which accounted for 83 per cent of the natural increase; figures for the following decade increased substantially, with 327,000 people leaving during the period 1961-1971, 95 per cent of the natural increase; the figure dropped, however, during 1971-1979, with 37,000 leaving the country, 82 per cent of the natural increase (Lythe and Majmudar, 1982: 11). This contemporary flow was precipitated by the decline in economic conditions after the War which gave rise, as we have seen in Chapter 2, to general economic decline and increased levels of unemployment (Donaldson, 1966: 194-200; Harvie, 1981: 66).

Irish migration to and settlement in Scotland has declined in the post-war period. After the War, the numbers coming to Britain from the Irish Republic remained high as opportunities for work expanded with the development of the post-war reconstruction programme. Between 1946 and 1951, about 100,000 persons are estimated to have entered mainland Britain from Southern Ireland (Jackson, 1963: 14). Net annual emigration from Southern Ireland to the United Kingdom was at a level of approximately 6,000 in 1946, rising to 30,000 in 1951 (Jackson, ibid). However, despite this, Jackson (1963: 17; 21) comments that unlike England and Wales, Scotland has not shared in this "second wave" of Irish immigration; indeed it would appear that the general decline in numbers *"reflects the lack of widespread economic opportunity in Scotland which is further illustrated by the heavy emigration which Scotland has experienced in the post-war period"* (1963: 17). In 1951, there were 35,289 fewer Irish-born persons in Scotland than in 1931 and they formed only 1.75 per cent of the total population (Jackson, 1963: 17).

The extent to which European workers, recruited by the British state after 1945, were placed within the Scottish economy differs from that of the English economy during this period. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the British state actively recruited European Volunteer Workers for employment in a number of essential industries and services which faced labour shortage in the immediate post-war period. However, from the limited secondary sources available, it would appear that in contrast with England, the role of European Volunteer Workers in the Scottish economy between 1946 and 1951 was comparatively limited and that although the official recruitment schemes included Scotland, they were not used extensively. The geographical distribution of foreign workers in Britain admitted under all government schemes by mid-1950 further confirms the comparatively minor role such labour has played in the Scottish economy in the immediate post-war period. This is evident in the regional figures in **Table 3.1.**

From **Table 3.1**, it is clear that of the 213,000 alien immigrants admitted under all government recruitment schemes, only 7.6 per cent (approximately 16,000) were located in Scotland. Of this number, nearly

8,470 persons were Polish, mainly ex-members of the Polish Resettlement Corps and their dependants who had been dispersed throughout Britain (Isaac, 1954: 175; see also Sherwood, 1985a: 101; Tannahill, 1958: 70).

Table 3.1: Geographical distribution in the United Kingdom, mid-1950, of 213,000 alien immigrants admitted under all government schemes.

Region	Per Cent	Per Cent of Population.
Northern	2.7	6.3
North Eastern	11.4	8.2
North Midlands	12.5	6.7
Eastern	5.1	6.0
London	21.3	21.9
Southern	6.3	5.1
South Western	6.2	5.9
Midlands	10.0	8.8
North Western	12.7	12.9
Wales	4.3	5.2
Scotland	7.6	10.4
N. Ireland	----	2.7

[Source: Isaac, 1954; 199]

Note: these figures include European Volunteer Workers, ex-members of the Polish Forces, and ex-prisoners of war.

A further 2,000 German and 1,100 Ukranian ex-prisoners of war settled in Scotland (Isaac, 1954: 184, 185; see also Tannahill, 1958: 62; Zubrzycki, 1956: 70). Of the remainder, approximately 4,430 were EVWs (Isaac, 1954: 183). The cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen received 20 per cent of these foreign workers (Isaac, 1954: 201).

There is little material relating specifically to the sectoral employment of migrant workers within the Scottish economy who came under these schemes. The majority of German and Ukranian ex-prisoners of war worked with farmers as agricultural labourers (Isaac, 1954: 184, 185; see also Tannahill, 1958: 62; Zubrzycki, 1956: 70). Between 1946 and 1951, small numbers of the Polish Recruitment Corps and of European Volunteer Workers were placed in essential industries such as agriculture, mining and forestry (Ministry of Labour Gazette, June 1951: 234; Tannahill, 1958: 62; Zubrzycki, 1956: 70). Indeed, in 1951 it appears that there were 800 European Volunteer Workers still employed by the Department of

Agriculture (Ministry of Labour Gazette, 1952: 204). In the Third Statistical Account (Glasgow), reference is made to the shortages of labour which caused many firms to employ "foreign" workers in the mid-1950s, the majority of whom were ex-members of the Polish Military Forces who had been stationed in Scotland during the War (Cunnison and Gilfillan, 1958: 150). In addition to the state recruitment programme, there is also some evidence of a private recruitment scheme operated by the Duke of Argyle in 1952. He recruited 200 woodcutters and foresters from Barga in Italy to work on his estate around Inverary (Sereni, 1974: 42).

Inward migrations to Scotland in the post-1945 period have not been confined solely to the Irish and Europeans who migrated under various labour recruitment programmes. On the contrary, a number of groups, principally from parts of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan have migrated to Scotland, increasing both the size and the composition of the existing pre-war communities. Numerically, the most significant of these migrations has been from the Indian subcontinent, from areas of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and therefore the discussion will focus on these groups. However, this should not obscure the number of smaller settlements from, for example, Hong Kong, East Africa and to a lesser extent from the Caribbean (Dalton, 1983-4; Scottish Office, 1983; Strathclyde Community Relations Council, 1983). The vast majority of the NCWP population lives in the major urban conurbations of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee (Scottish Office, 1983), although there is a small, but well-established Pakistani community living in Stornoway on the Outer Hebridean island of Lewis (Alexander, 1987: 28-31; Hunter, 1963: 3; Faux, 1980; SCRE, 1980).

As I noted in the general Introduction, in comparison with England, numbers settling in Scotland from New Commonwealth countries after 1945 have been relatively low (see for example, Peach, 1968: 67). Although I suggested that this is principally because of low labour demands resulting from the structural condition of the post-war Scottish economy, this does not explain the migrations which manifestly **did** occur. And it

is to a preliminary explanation of this that the remainder of this chapter is devoted.

Secondary material which deals directly with factors structuring the scale and dynamic of NCWP migration to Scotland after 1945 is both scant and fragmented. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 1, this matter has not been dealt with in any satisfactory or systematic fashion within the extant literature. One has, therefore, to rely upon the limited material which deals principally with the local employment of NCWP workers in specific sectors of the Scottish economy and from passing comments made in other works. Nevertheless, despite such limitations, it is possible to piece together the beginnings of a somewhat sketchy, although incomplete, explanation of contemporary migration flows to Scotland from the Indian subcontinent. The evidence which can be drawn from the literature would suggest that some, but not all, migrations were partly economically determined and can be divided first, into those who migrated to Scotland directly from the Indian subcontinent, and second, those who migrated indirectly via England. I deal with each in turn, although as will become evident, the factors underlying each process are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Finally, I also consider factors which may have precipitated both processes of direct and indirect migration.

The most cogent material which illustrates the dichotomy between those who came to Scotland directly from the Indian subcontinent and those who arrived indirectly via England is to be found in an unpublished report by Watson (1984). This report summarises the results of a survey carried out on the South Asian community living in the Crosshill area of Glasgow. The breakdown of the figures for direct and indirect migration are summarised in **Figure 3.1**. It is evident from **Figure 3.1**, that the majority of migrants who arrived in Glasgow during the 1950s and 1960s came directly from the Indian subcontinent; only a small proportion migrated indirectly to Glasgow, having first settled in England. However, during the 1970s and 1980s, the pattern radically changes. Increasingly, migrants who arrived in Glasgow migrated indirectly via England. Watson has calculated that after 1970, 40 families out of a total of 65, that is 62 per cent, had previously lived in England before moving to Glasgow; of

Figure 3.1

AREA OF RESIDENCE AND YEAR OF MIGRATION
TO GLASGOW

Source: Watson, 1984

131
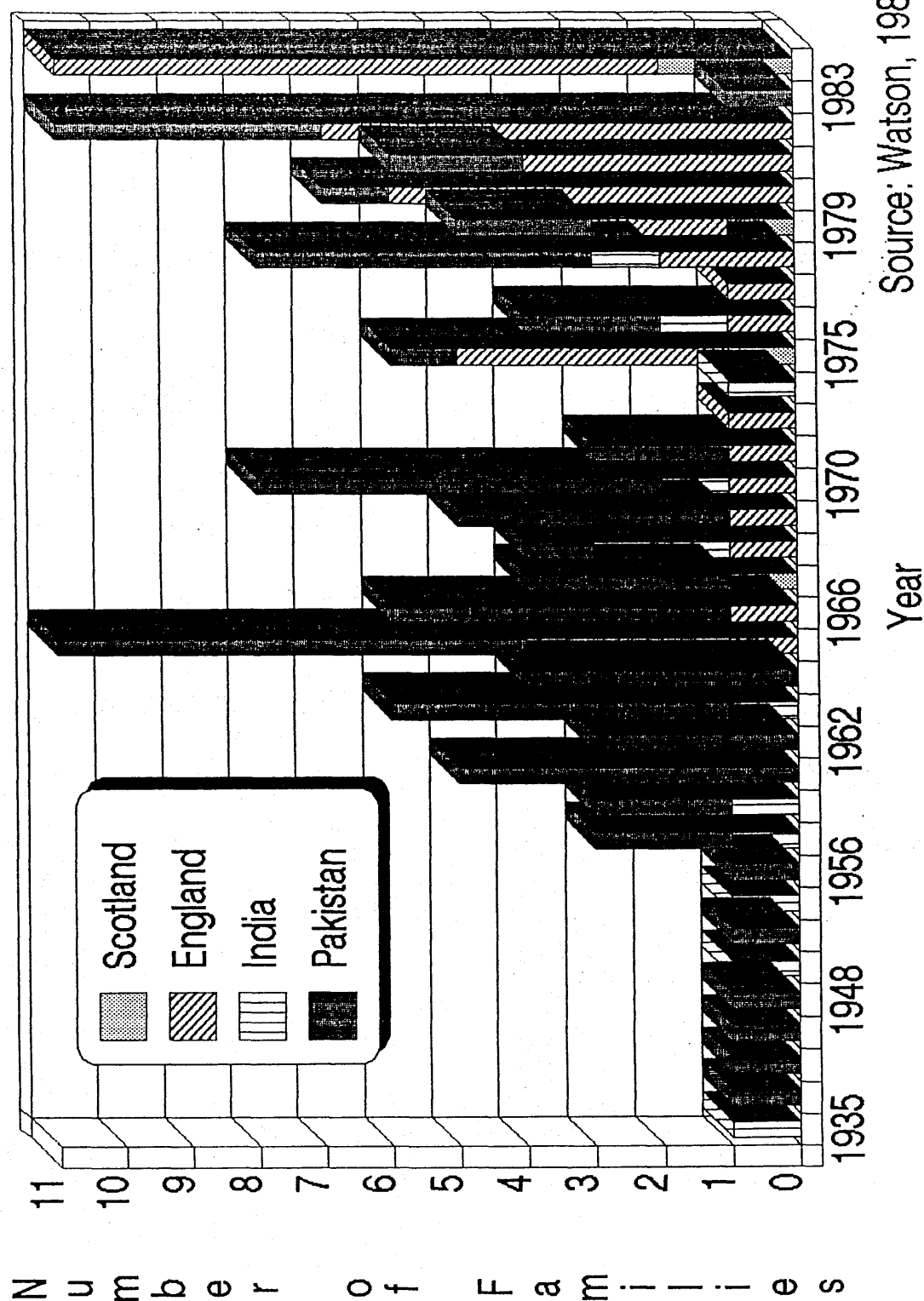
these, 36 moved to Glasgow during the 1970s, the remaining 4 during the
1980s.   There was a further regional concentration in the areas of
England where these families had originally settled: of the 40 families,
11 had come from Huddersfield, 8 from Birmingham and 4 from Walsall. A
total of 9 of the families who migrated from Huddersfield originally came
from Faisalabad in Pakistan, suggesting the existence and maintenence of
kin-ship ties within the group (Watson, 1984; see also Shaw, 1984: 41-2;
Srivastava, 1975: 169-71).

Material which is available on factors structuring migration to
Scotland **directly** from the Indian subcontinent is particularly limited
and is dependent largely upon "myth" rather than concrete fact.
Unfortunately, in the study carried out by Watson (1984) there is no
information which locates the factors involved in this process. However,
evidence which can be drawn from other sources suggests that migration
directly to Scotland from the Subcontinent **may** partly have been
determined by economic factors. It has been suggested by a number of
sources that Glasgow Corporation Transport Department operated a
recruitment campaign directly in the Punjab area of the Indian
subcontinent during the late 1950s and early 1960s to obtain labour for
its understaffed Transport services and that this led to migration to
Glasgow directly from the Subcontinent (Srivastava, 1975: 176; see also
Strathclyde Community Relations Council, 1983).   Although Srivastava
makes detailed reference to this "recruitment campaign", she does not,
however, identify the sources of her information:

> *"The Corporation of Glasgow began to send representatives to these areas
> [of the Punjab] to recruit workers for their under-staffed transport
> services. It was discovered that in the 1950s recruitment was going on
> from Glasgow Transport to these Indian and Pakistani parts, to get labour.
> Before going to India and Pakistan Glasgow Transport Managers met the
> appropriate High Commissioners who directed them to these parts of India
> and Pakistan. For these reasons people from the Punjab, particularly those
> from the regions nearest the border, migrated to Glasgow". (Srivastava,
> 1975: 176)*

However, although Glasgow Corporation did run an extensive
advertising campaign in the late 1950s in a number of Scottish news-

papers[1] to attract labour into the service (see **Figures 3.2 and 3.3**) there is no official documentary evidence to confirm that a recruitment campaign was operated directly in the Indian subcontinent. Information I have received from a number of official sources, including the Department of Employment, Glasgow District Council, Strathclyde Regional Archives and Strathclyde Buses (formerly Glasgow Corporation Transport Department), in addition to informal material collected from my own interviews, would confirm that no recruitment campaign was operated to attract labour in this way.

It would appear, however, that Glasgow Corporation Transport Department did face a considerable shortage of labour in the late 1950s and early 1960s as confirmed not only by this advertising campaign, but also by the significant numbers of Indian and Pakistani workers who found employment in this sector. This is verified by a number of secondary sources. For example, in a study carried out by the Institute of Race Relations during the early 1960s on various areas of Britain with a "substantial immigrant settlement", reference is made to the employment of New Commonwealth migrants in this sector;

> *"Some of the newer immigrants have gone into the Transport Department, and most of the Caribbeans go onto the buses or into the Cleansing Department........ There is local unemployment in Glasgow, but the fact that the immigrants take on work where there is a labour shortage (Cleansing and Transport) or else set up their own businesses removes the major grounds for hostility".* (I.R.R., September, 1965).

Beharrell, writing in 1965, also points to the shortage of labour in Glasgow's Transport Department and to the employment of Indian and Pakistani workers in the sector:

> *"On the staff of Glasgow Transport Department the figures are: Indians 102; Pakistanis 405, a total of 507, nearly all of whom are drivers or conductors. They represent about 12 per cent of the drivers and conductors*

---

[1] See *The Daily Mail*: 5/10/57, 15/10/57, 22/10/57, 2/11/57; *Evening Times*: 3/10/57, 6/10/57, 23/10/57; *Daily Express*: 4/10/57, 15/10/57, 23/10/57; *Citizen*: 4/10/57, 15/10/57, 22/10/57; *Daily Mail*: 14/2/58, 15/2/58, 9/4/58, 15/4/58; *Daily Express*: 1/3/58, 14/3/58, 9/4/58, 16/4/58; *Daily Record*: 14/2/58, 17/2/58, 8/4/58, 14/4/58; *Evening Times*: 20/2/58, 21/2/58; *Citizen*: 1/3/58-3/3/58, 11/4/58, 15/4/58.

total, which is 4174, and about six-and-three-quarters per cent of the
total Transport Department staff, which is 7516.

As the transport service is chronically short of staff - for a full
establishment of drivers and conductors there would have to be a total of
nearly 5000 - it would seem that there are few immigrants wanting jobs on
the buses who would not have got them" (Beharrell, 1965)

In a survey carried out be Elahi also during the mid-1960s on the
economic participation of 7000 Pakistani migrants settled in Glasgow, it
was found that 2000 men in the sample, that is nearly 30 per cent, were
employed as bus conductors and drivers by the two major motor transport
companies in the area at the time, Glasgow Corporation Transport and
S.M.T., Scottish Motor Transport (1967: 32). Although Elahi's findings
should be treated with reservation - the figures were collected from oral
information rather than from statistical evidence - it does, however, give
some indication of the significance of the Transport sector as a major
employer.

Despite the absence of further evidence, I suggest that the
availability of work in the transport services during the late 1950s and
1960s may have encouraged migration to and settlement in Scotland of at
least a proportion of Asian migrants. In particular, I hypothesise that
information regarding the availability of work was relayed by some
migrants already employed in this sector to friends and relatives living
in the Subcontinent, and that this encouraged further migration and
settlement directly to Glasgow. This would in part explain the high
numbers of Asian migrants in the Transport sector in Glasgow during this
period in the absence of a direct recruitment programme.

Although one can speculate that the availability of work in Glasgow
Transport may have also precipitated an internal migration, there is more
concrete evidence to support a process of internal migration to Scotland
of migrants who have, in the first instance, settled in England. Jones
and Davenport (1972: 80) argue that the origin of Dundee's Pakistani
community can be traced to the dispersal of Pakistanis from points of
arrival in England which were unable to accommodate in terms of housing
and employment with the influx of migrants from the Indian subcontinent

(134)

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● CONDUCTORS
● CONDUCTRESSES

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CONDUCTORS }
CONDUCTRESSES } 193/-rising to 196/- after one year

These rates include Good Timekeeping Bonus of 11/- per Week

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Previous experience not essential.

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★ CANTEEN AND RECREATION FACILITIES.

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October 15, 1957

PROOF

EVENING TIMES

65 Buchanan St., Glasgow, C.1
56 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4

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To appear on ......

OK.
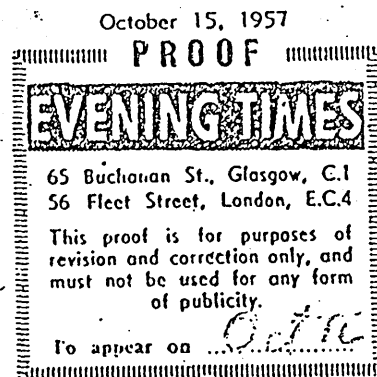
Figure 3.2: Evening Times, October 15, 1957

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Men with experience of driving lorries or other commercial vehicles or ex-drivers of Army vehicles.

MINIMUM AGE - 21

Driver's Average Earnings *(Including Good Timekeeping bonus of 11/- per week)* 199/- rising to 202/- per week. *Excluding Overtime.*

Conductors:— AGE 19-50 years of age

Average Earnings *(Including Good Timekeeping bonus of 11/- per week)* 193/- rising to 196/- per week. *Excluding Overtime.*

Other Conditions : FREE UNIFORM, SICK PAY, 3 WEEKS HOLIDAY with PAY and SUPERANNUATION SCHEME.

Apply in Person at your Local Employment Exchange. Week-days—9 a.m.-4 p.m. Saturdays 9 a.m.-12 noon.

GLASGOW CORPORATION TRANSPORT

Figure 3.3: Scottish Daily Express, April 9, 1958

in 1961 and the first half of 1962 in anticipation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act.   It appears that a number of Pakistani migrants were attracted to Dundee by the availability of work in the local jute mills (Jones and Davenport, 1972: 81).

The process of internal migration is not confined solely to Pakistani settlement in Dundee.   As I have already indicated, Watson (1984) has also demonstrated a process of internal migration from England to Glasgow at a later period during the 1970s and 1980s. However, explaining why this internal migration occurred during this period is problematic.   There are no reasons offered by the individual households interviewed as to why they migrated to Scotland from England. Watson (1984) himself suggests that there may be some connection between this phenomenon and the introduction of the 1971 Immigration Bill. However, it is difficult to verify this given the absence of information on the length of residence in England before migration to Scotland.   I would suggest that this internal migration may, in part, have been precipitated by ideological/political factors.   As I have indicated in Chapter 1, the widespread - although erroneous - belief that racism was not a problem in Scotland coupled with the increasing importance of political developments within English cities, and in particular the increase in racist attacks, may have led to the internal migration of some families to Scotland.   If this were a contributory factor, it would add another dimension to the migration process, and confirm my assertion in Chapter 1 that not all migrations are solely economically determined.

There is further evidence - although it is again fragmentary and inconclusive - which suggests a number of factors may have produced or played an important role in either direct migration from the Indian subcontinent or indirectly from England: first, the prior settlement of kin; second, the availability of employment in sectors other than those indicated above; and third, opportunities for self-employment.   I deal with each in turn.

The central role of the process of "chain migration", whereby an existing settler will sponsor the migration and settlement of close

friends and relatives, has been cited by a number of authors as an important pre-condition in the process of Pakistani and Indian migration and settlement in England (see, for example, Anwar, 1979, 1985; Jeffery, 1976; Shaw, 1984; Watson, 1977). By acting as sponsors, these original migrants help not only with information and advice, but also, in many instances finance the journey of the new migrant to Britain. Further, on arrival, the sponsor invariably provides accommodation for the migrant, and may also help in the search for work (concerning the latter see for example, Brooks and Singh, 1979: 95-100). This process has led to the regional concentration of migrants, both by area of origin in the Indian subcontinent and the area of destination in Britain.

Existing evidence would suggest a strong correlation between contemporary migration to Scotland and the prior settlement of an Asian community. As I have already indicated in this chapter, there is evidence confirming the early settlement of migrants from the Indian subcontinent in Scotland's city ports during the 19th and early 20th centuries and the subsequent concentration of communities in these areas in the post-1945 period. Although the prior settlement of kin encourages further migration and settlement, it is also an important subjective reason given by individuals to account for their migration. Srivastava (1975), for example, in discussing the reasons why the migrants in her sample came specifically to Glasgow, indicates that the main reason is kinship ties within the community; 96 per cent in the sample said that they had come to Glasgow because they had friends or relatives already in the city (1975: 171). Only 3.6 per cent gave other reasons for their migration to Glasgow, ranging from "jobs available/came through the church/better people" (1975: 171). Srivastava, however, does not elaborate in any detail on these explanations.

· Although the prior settlement of kin appears to be an essential pre-condition underlying contemporary migration and settlement in Scotland, both directly from the Indian subcontinent or indirectly from England, there is also some evidence to suggest that limited labour shortages in other sectors may have also been a contributory determinant of migration. I have mentioned that the availability of work in Glasgow Transport

during the late 1950s and 1960s appears to have attracted migrants to Glasgow either directly from the Subcontinent or indirectly from England. From the limited amount of information available on the occupational distribution of Asian workers during this period, it would appear that some were also employed in unskilled sectors traditionally associated with unpleasant working conditions[1]. For example, Elahi (1967: 32), in a breakdown of the employment distribution of 7000 Pakistani workers in Glasgow during the mid-1960s, shows that 100 men worked in rubber factories, 30 in the chemical industry, and 30 in brick factories. Although these numbers are small when compared with those employed in Glasgow Tranport, nevertheless it gives some tentative indications that these sectors may have been short of labour and that this may have led to the employment of migrant labour. In addition, the availability of work may, as in the case of the transport sector, have encouraged the migration of friends and relatives of those already employed in these sectors.

The third, and final, potential determinant of direct and indirect migration can be located in possibilities for self-employment. As we have seen in the previous section (see also **Appendix 3**), small but increasing numbers of migrants from the Indian subcontinent entered self-employment as itinerant pedlars and traders during the 1930s and 1940s. One can deduce that both the reports of relative success and the sponsorship of kin may have led to further migration and settlement. A succinct illustration of this relationship can be found in the settlement of Pakistani migrants in Stornoway in the Outer Hebrides. The origins of this community can be traced back to the itinerant pedlars who used to make the long journey from Glasgow to remote parts of the Highlands, some of whom travelled as far as Orkney (Mackay Brown, 1972) and the Hebridean Islands (Alexander, 1987; Faux, 1980; SCRE, 1980). It appears that the earliest migrant on the Island arrived in 1935 as a pedlar and

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[1] The concentration of migrant workers in sectors associated with poor working conditions has been established within the English context (see, for example, Braham, *et al*, 1981; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Fevre, 1984; Harris, 1987; Patterson, 1968; Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977; Wright, 1968).

was later joined by a number of relatives (SCRE, 1980). With the growth of the community, both through natural increase and the further inward migration of kin, the employment of the Pakistani community made a transition from peddling to the establishment of small retail businesses (Alexander, 1987; Faux, 1980; SCRE, 1980).

Evidence confirms that peddling remained an important occupation during the 1950s in other areas of the country. For example, reference has been made in the Third Statistical Account published in 1958 to the continuing engagement of sections of Glasgow's Indian and Pakistani communities not only in peddling activities but also in small retail shops during the late 1950s (Cunnison and Gillfillan, 1958: 743; see also Forester, 1978: 420-3). In the survey carried out by Griffith *et al*, the concentration of migrants from the Indian subcontinent in itinerant peddling activities during the late 1950s is further emphasised. Of the 271 Pedlars' Certificates issued by the City of Glasgow Police Department in 1957, 90 per cent were issued to "coloured men" (Griffith *et al*, 1960: 27). Self-employment - either as itinerant pedlars or as small shop keepers - also remained an important focus of economic activity during the 1960s. For example, in the survey of the Asian community living in Glasgow carried out by the Institute of Race Relations in 1965, it was noted that in general Indian migrants tended to be employed as pedlars and Pakistani migrants as shopkeepers (I.R.R, September 1965). Figures from Elahi (1967: 32) also show that a significant proportion were engaged in a wide range of businesses during the 1960s. Of the sample, 100 were engaged as retail grocers, and 51 in a variety of retail outlets and services.

I suggest that the apparent increase in numbers migrating internally from England to Scotland during the 1970s and 1980s may in part have been precipitated not only by political developments within English cities, as already indicated, but also by changing economic circumstances within both the English and Scottish economies. The rise in unemployment in both England and Scotland and the apparent opportunity for the establishment of small businesses in Scotland, may have precipitated an internal migration. Although this cannot be ascertained conclusively

from the available evidence, it does appear that self-employment has become increasingly important. For example, the results of Srivastava's survey carried out in the early 1970s show that a significant proportion of her sample were self-employed; 42.3 per cent of the sample had their own businesses, again showing a diversity of trade: wholesale and retail grocers, clothing outlets, restaurants and factories (Srivastava, 1975: 298). In a study carried out in the early 1980s on the structure of Asian businesses in Glasgow, more than 540 Asian-owned businesses were identified in the city covering a diverse range of services (Islam, 1985: 6). Indeed, Islam has calculated that between 16 and 26.5 per cent of the total Asian population in Glasgow is self-employed compared to the national UK average of 14 per cent (Islam, 1985: 6-7).

It would appear, therefore, that although the material I have discussed cannot conclusively confirm all the determinants of Asian migration to and settlement in, Scotland in the post-1945 period, there is some limited evidence to suggest that some may in part be structured and determined by a number of economic factors. This is not to suggest, however, that all such migrations from the Indian subcontinent to Scotland were economically determined. In the light of the absence of large-scale and widespread labour shortages, one cannot assume that economic factors alone precipitated all instances of New Commonwealth and Pakistani migration to Scotland. We are thus presented with the problem of explaining additional determinants of NCWP migration to Scotland, although as we will see in Chapter 4, these migrations have been structured and determined by a number of economic and non-economic factors.

Conclusion.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that Scotland has a diverse and complex migration history. It was argued that the process of emigration overseas has been a characteristic feature of Scottish population history in periods of both economic prosperity and decline. Further, it is apparent that a number of these migrations were clearly the result of demands for labour within the Scottish economy arising from changes in the structure and organisation of production discussed in Chapter 2. I illustrated the dynamics of this process with reference to the internal rural-urban migration and the inward migration of the Irish during the late 18th and 19th centuries. In the contemporary period, the recruitment of labour from, for example, British Honduras during the Second World War, and the limited placement of European workers in sectors of the Scottish economy in the immediate post-war period further illustrates the connection between migration and labour demand.

In contrast, however, there were a number of migration flows which cannot be so clearly linked to demands for labour within the Scottish economy. In this category I included the migration of various European groups during the 19th century, and, to a lesser extent, from areas of the Indian subcontinent in the post-1945 period. Concerning the latter group, it was argued that this migration was the result of a number of complex and inter-related factors. Although there is some limited evidence to suggest that sectoral labour shortages may have precipitated some movement - either directly to Scotland from the Indian subcontinent or indirectly via England - we cannot assume that demands for labour within the Scottish economy were extensive enough to precipitate a migration on the scale witnessed in England during the same period. Thus, additional factors must underpin this migration. Although it is not possible to isolate conclusively the structure of these factors from the extant literature, I suggested a number of potential factors which may have produced or played an important role in migration to Scotland either directly from the Indian subcontinent or indirectly via England.

First, I suggested that the pre-existence of Indian and Pakistani communities in Scotland was an important pre-condition for future migration and settlement. Second, the role of ideological factors - in which Scotland was perceived as being 'free' of racism - in combination with political and social developments in many English cities during the 1970s and 1980s, may have precipitated an internal migration from England to Scotland. Third, the inter-relationship of the Scottish and English economies - particularly shared experiences of increasing unemployment - in addition to possibilities of establishing small businesses may also have prompted an internal migration. However, these factors cannot be satisfactorily ascertained from the extant literature and therefore Chapter 4 will address the currency of these and other possible factors in the process of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migration to Scotland.

CHAPTER FOUR

Factors Affecting Migration to and Settlement in Scotland:
a contemporary experience.

Introduction.

The aim of this chapter is to locate the central factors which have structured the scale and dynamic of migration and settlement within Scotland with reference to data collected from a sample of male Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants now settled in Glasgow. The chapter is in three main sections. In the first, I briefly consider the background characteristics of migrants in the sample before migration to the UK. In the second section, I consider what I shall term the process of **primary migration**. Here I will be principally concerned with locating the central factors which have structured migrants' decisions to leave the Subcontinent and migrate to the UK and the mechanisms by which this was achieved. Finally, I locate those factors which have structured the process of **secondary** or **internal** migration within the UK and which have precipitated settlement specifically in Glasgow. In doing so, I highlight not only the complexity of the migration process, but also that existing studies of migration to Britain have failed to take account of the specific characteristics of the migration process within the Scottish context.

(1) The Background of Migrants in Pakistan and Bangladesh.

In this section, I consider the social and economic backgrounds of informants in Pakistan and Bangladesh prior to their migration to the UK. Such information is important in highlighting not only the **diversity** of the migrants' positions in terms of area of origin, class, education and occupational background, but it also demonstrates that the majority of migrants are not rural, uneducated peasant farmers as is sometimes assumed. On the contrary, informants occupied a wide variety of social, economic and class positions within Pakistan and Bangladesh societies. Further, information relating to education and occupation is also important in the subsequent analysis of the position of migrants in British society.

Area of Origin in Pakistan and Bangladesh

As **Figure 4.1** illustrates, informants were living in a number of different areas of Pakistan and Bangladesh before coming to the UK. Of the 4 informants who came from Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), 3 were living in the city of Dacca and 1 in the district of Sylhet. Of those informants who were living in Pakistan before migration, 8 (23 per cent) came from the city of Lahore in the Punjab and five (14 per cent) were living in the city of Karachi. The remainder came from Faisalabad and Gujrat Districts and from districts throughout the Punjab, such as Jhellum, Rawalpindi and Multan and also from Peshawar in the North West Frontier Province and from Azad Kashmir. Four informants did not specify exactly where they were living before migration, although they did state that they were living in the Pakistan Punjab (see Saifullah-Khan, 1977: 75).

The areas lived in before migration, however, did not necessarily correspond to the place of birth. For instance, during the Partition in 1947 and the division of India into India and East and West Pakistan (Ahmad, 1968; Hodson, 1969; Moon, 1961; Pandy, 1969; Philips and Wainwright, 1970), 10 of the informants and their families had been forced to move from the Indian side of the Punjab to what is now

FIG. 4.1

Area of Origin of Migrants in Pakistan and Bangladesh

INDIA

PAKISTAN
PESHAWAR
RAWALPINDI
JHELUM
GUJRAT
LAHORE
FAISALABAD
SAMUNDRI
MULTAN
KARACHI

BANGLADESH
SYLHET
DACCA
FARIDPUR
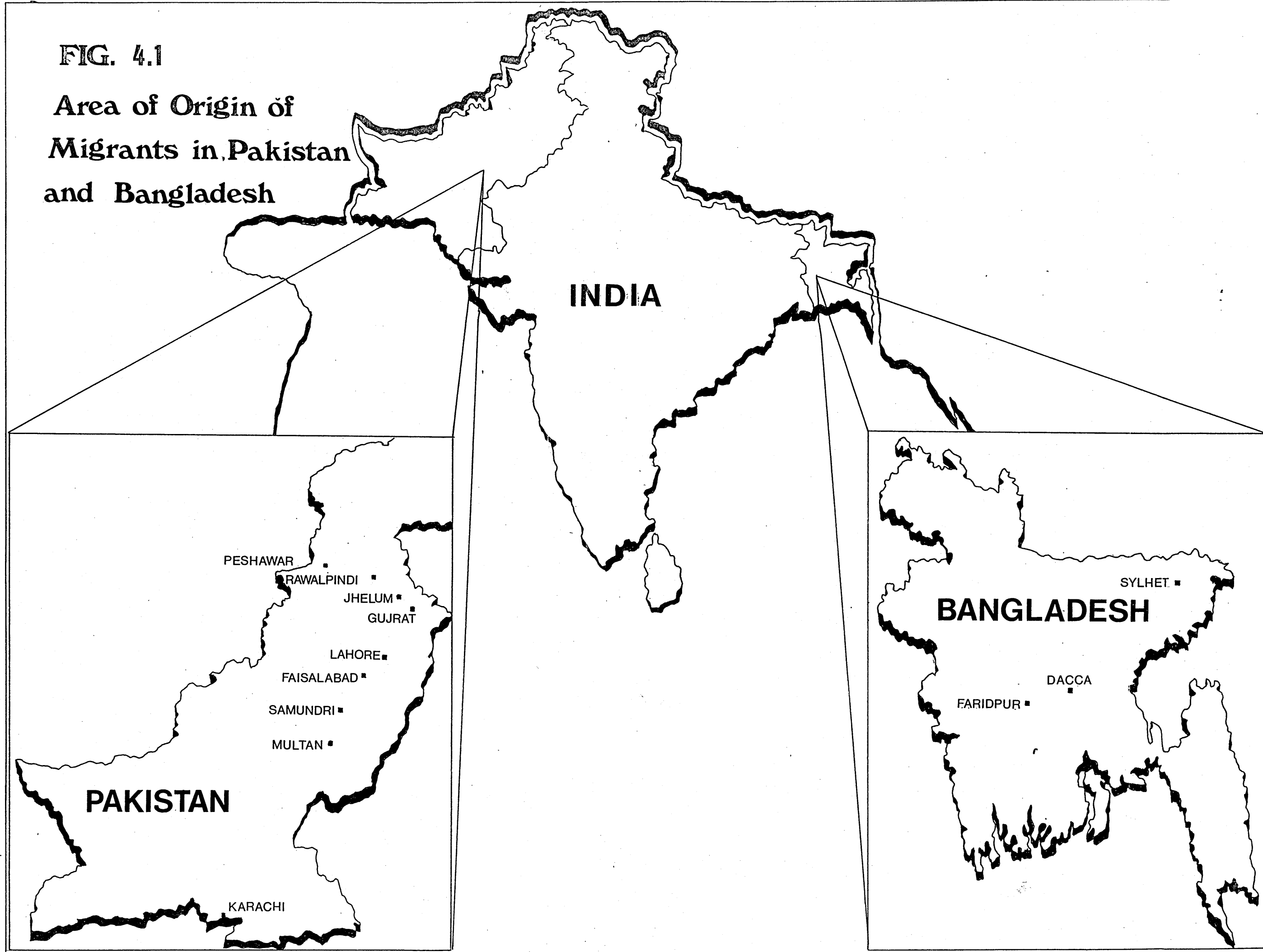
Pakistan (formerly West Pakistan). The majority of these families had been living in the District of Jullunder in India before the Partition and had subsequently moved to a number of different districts in newly-created Pakistan. In addition, other informants in the sample had left their place of birth to seek employment in the city or to continue their education in a college or university.

In terms of the type of area lived in before migration to the UK, there was roughly an equal divide between rural and urban areas, particularly in the case of migrants from Pakistan. Of the 31 informants in the sample who came from Pakistan, 16 were living in an urban area and 15 in a rural district before migration. Of the 4 informants who came from Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), 3 were living in the urban area of Dacca and 1 in the semi-rural area of Sylhet. This contrasts the overall rural-urban distribution of the population in Pakistan: the majority of the population lives in rural areas, although increasing numbers are moving to the cities in search of employment (see, for example Jeffery, 1976: 23).

Family Background

Religion: The majority of informants from Pakistan and Bangladesh were Muslim (33/35, 94 per cent). However, two informants, both from Pakistan, were Christians (see, for example, Jeffery, 1976: 38-43). One Christian informant, for example, was born in Multan to parents who were Sikh converts. His father became a Presbyterian church minister and his mother taught the bible in local villages.

Land Ownership: Information regarding land ownership within the family was often vague, and in some instances, reluctantly given. When asked about this, I was often told that they had land and it was "enough to keep the family". In other instances, informants were quite open about land held; migrants either used the opportunity to tell me that they had a lot of land, and then to specify number of acres, or alternatively I was told that because the land had been sub-divided between several brothers on the death of a grandfather, the land the family owned was insufficient

(147)

to meet the needs of the whole family and that as a result the family was very poor. Given the central importance of land ownership in the Indian subcontinent (see, for example, Brooks and Singh, 1978-9: 20-21; Dahya, 1973: 245; Pettigrew, 1972; see also for example, Aurora, 1967; Helweg, 1979), and its importance as an indicator of status and honour ('izzet'), it is not surprising that many informants in the sample were vague in revealing the total acreage of land held, or were, at the other extreme, keen to tell me the large areas of land held by the family.

In relation to the often vague information given, I was able to ascertain that the majority of migrants (15/35, 43 per cent), came from family backgrounds where small-scale subsistence farming was the only source of income: the amount of land held varied from small plots of land, maybe two or three acres divided between several family members, to larger areas of land which were farmed on a cash-crop basis to provide additional income. In several instances, larger areas of land were divided between, for example, several brothers. 5 informants (14 per cent) came from backgrounds where land-ownership was on a much larger scale, where land was leased out to tenants, or where land was farmed on a large-scale commercial basis and where additional labour was required, for example, during harvest time.

Employment of Family: Of the remaining 15 informants interviewed, 7 (20 per cent) came from self-employed business families who also held some land. Types of business ranged from import/export businesses, a hotelier, and building contractors. The remainder came from families where there was a trade or profession, for example, joiner, foreman; civil servant, bank clerk, merchant seamen and one Presbyterian minister.

Informants were also asked whether or not their mothers had been involved in any way either with the family farm or business. The majority said that "women don't work and that they are just housewives". However, in several instances, I was told that although generally women were not engaged in paid labour, they were actively involved in the running of the family farm, in planting crops, gathering in the harvests in addition to their domestic work within the home. As one man who was

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interviewed told me: *"My mother had to help on the farm. She did a lot of the work everyday, lifting, carrying things. In our country it is expected that women do not do such things, but the truth is that many women have to work on the farms, for instance, on top of their household work"* (see also, for example, Ballard, 1983: 127; Jeffery, 1976: 20; 26-31).

Colonial Contact: Experience of British colonial involvement, either directly or through family members, or indirectly through education or stories related by relatives, was an important source of information about Britain for some migrants as we will see shortly. The extent of British involvement in the Indian subcontinent (Cambridge History of the British Empire, vols. 4 and 5, 1929 and 1932; Carrington, 1950; Christopher, 1988; Hobsbawn, 1969; Lloyd, 1984) was such that the vast majority of men interviewed had at least some vague knowledge about British and even Scottish colonial involvement which had been gained either through personal experience in the army, through education at school, or through stories related by older family members. As one man – whose experiences are fairly typical of the majority of those interviewed – told me:

"We were told at school that Britain was very famous, Britain we know in the history. For many years in my country I did the history,...... Scottish history,...... they teach us. I know how the people lived because they rule our country...."

Another man gave a similar story:

"Well, I knew about Glasgow. Great Britain ruled our country. This is the thing about India, although I am from Pakistan myself,....... the British were rulers of India and Pakistan, in the continent for over a hundred years. Most of the people knew plenty of things as the British were in the Subcontinent, they are still there. They talk about these things, have some idea of the life here,...."

One particular informant interviewed, who had been born and brought up in the District of Rawalpindi, had more direct experience of British colonial rule through family contacts:

"My elder brother was in the Indian Navy and had come to Glasgow. He used to come home and tell us stories about the places he had seen,...... My

older brother and his younger brother (who was older than me) were in the British Navy during the War. My older brother joined the Navy in 1932 and he was in it all his life. My uncle was in the cavalry when the British were in India before the War. My father fought during the first war under the British, he had fought the French. He had told some stories about those French!"

Although the majority of informants came from families with no direct colonial involvement, a significant number had some degree of contact. Twelve men interviewed (34 per cent) came from families with some form of colonial involvement, either within the immediate family (for example, father, brother, grandfather), or within the close kin network. Colonial participation was dependent upon the area lived in, either before or after the Partition. As one informant told me:

"Where I come from in Jhellum, seventy five per cent of people in the British army have come from. Entire families in the Punjab, most come from three cities, Rawalpindi, Gujrat and Jhellum, all three districts, they were in the army. That's the only place they happy!"

Occupations Before Migration

Informants were engaged in a wide variety of occupations before coming to the UK. Four informants were still at school and had not yet reached matriculation level and six were at F.A. college or university. One man interviewed had just completed his education at university in Bangladesh and came to the UK for post-graduate study. One other informant had just completed college and had set up in business with a friend a few months prior to coming to the UK. In these instances, however, informants had had no direct experience of wage labour. A further six men interviewed in the sample were working within what can be classified as the family economy: of these, 3 were helping on the family farm, and 3 were employed in a supervisory/clerical capacity within the family business which included commercial farming, building contraction, and an export jewellery business.

The other informants in the sample, however, were employed in a wide variety of wage labour occupations before coming to the UK. Of the remaining 16 informants (46 per cent), employment patterns were in a

number of different occupations ranging from labouring, to skilled manual work, clerical, and professional occupations; 7 men were professionally qualified - two were working as engineers, one was a university lecturer, a school teacher, lawyer, banker, and doctor (see also Nowikowski and Ward, 1978-9: 5). Of the remainder, a joiner, a building contractor; a hotel worker; various civil occupations - tool designer in Government Department, wireless operator in the army, supervisor in government maintenance department; clerical officer on the railways, a civil servant, driver in naval dockyard. Only two informants interviewed were unemployed before coming to the UK.

Several men in the sample pointed out that they were in good employment positions before migration and that in retrospect they had made a mistake giving up their jobs and coming to this country. As one man told me, who had been a tool designer in a government department before coming to the UK in 1963 from Pakistan, he regretted giving up a secure job:

> *"When I came here I was an engineer, and I was a Class I Official there, I was working in the government department there, my friend was in the employment exchange, he was manager; he just asked "why don't you go over there? They are taking this voucher system", So I got a voucher.......*
> *Then I came, I thought I'd get work and more qualifications and it would be fine, But I didn't! I found it very difficult to get a job because I didn't have the British Diploma, I did have a design diploma from over there, machine and tool design, but I didn't have British, that was the difficulty actually......., So I started on the buses, But I didn't have any plan to stay, I never knew about the situation over here, I was actually with qualifications there and was a Class I official, I had a good job there, a good government job, But when I came things were very different,"*

Education

The majority of migrants had at least some basic level of education. Only one man interviewed said he had had no formal education. 11 informants (31 per cent) left school with basic primary education, or education to matriculation level. 10 informants had received intermediate education to F.A. college level (approximately equal to A levels in the UK). Of the remainder, 8 of those interviewed (23 per cent) had

completed a degree course at college or university and 5 (14 per cent) had attended college, but had not completed the course to graduation.

When asked about knowledge of the English language before migration, 18 informants in the sample stated that they could speak English "well", and 8 said that they had a "fair knowledge" of the language. The remaining 9 informants said that they had either a "poor knowledge" or "no knowledge" of the English language before coming to the UK.

It would appear, therefore, that the informants interviewed came from a variety of social and economic backgrounds in the Subcontinent before coming to the UK. Nevertheless, despite this heterogeneity, there were a number of important similarities in the position of the informants prior to migration: for example, the majority of the sample were Muslim, many had some knowledge or experience of British colonial involvement in the Subcontinent, the majority had at least basic education and had some knowledge of the English language before coming to the UK. For many in the sample, however, the social and economic experiences once settled in the UK both cut across and cemented such backgrounds, resulting in a common shared situation and it is to this that I now turn in the following and subsequent sections.

As I indicated briefly in the Introduction, the process of migration from Pakistan and Bangladesh to the UK can be divided into two phases which I consider separately. As will become apparent, these phases are quite distinct and subjective perceptions and experiences of them vary considerably.

(2) Primary Migration: intention and reality

"Actually, when I came I didn't have anything in my mind really. One of my friends, he told me 'let's go to England, better jobs over there' - at that time we were being told there were were quite a few jobs in Britain. I thought I'd be able to earn more money over there, that's why I came here. I thought maybe I would work here for a few years, save money and then go back to Pakistan. But when I came here I found that there weren't many jobs. I tried to find a job but I couldnae get one........ When we came here we found there wasnae many jobs because everywhere you go there are no vacancies you know.,,,, Before I came I thought I would go back after a few years in this country, after I had made some money, but things change,,,,,".

The above extract, taken from an interview with a Pakistani man who was a joiner in the District of Gujrat in the Punjab and who came to the UK in the early part of 1962, represents one subjective perception of the migration process. In many respects, however, his statement is typical of the responses given not only by all migrants in the sample but also by migrants from the Subcontinent in other parts of Britain: the perceptions before migration of Britain as a place to live and work - a country of opportunities (see, for example, Anwar, 1979; 1985; Aurora, 1967; Brooks and Singh, 1978-9; Dahya, 1973: 264; Jeffery, 1976); the aspirations - to find employment with better wages so that he could save and improve his position upon return to Pakistan (Ballard, 1983; Brooks, 1969; 1975; Dahya, 1973; Desai, 1963; Helweg, 1979; Jeffery, 1976; Robinson, 1981; 1986; Watson, 1977); and the reality - Britain was not the country it was imagined to be and in particular, the prospect of returning was remote (Brooks and Singh, 1978-9; Dahya, 1973; Helweg, 1979; Jeffery, 1976; Watson, 1977).

As I indicated in Chapter 3, there has been an Asian presence in Scotland dating back to the 19th century if not before; however, the

dates of arrival in the UK of informants in the sample span the period of the last 50 years. Although the earliest arrival was a Muslim man who came from the Punjab in India in 1929 (and who regards himself as Pakistani), the majority of informants arrived in the UK after 1945. Of these, 7 arrived during the 1950s, and the remaining 27 during the 1960s and 1970s. Of these, 12 migrated to the UK between 1960 and mid-1962 prior to the introduction of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act (see Chapter 1; also Deakin, 1970; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984; Patterson, 1969). A further 10 informants migrated after the introduction of the Act but before the end of 1968. Of the remainder, 5 informants migrated during the 1970s, the latest arriving in 1977; of these, 2 informants had come to the UK in 1970 from East Pakistan prior to its independence as Bangladesh in 1971 (Feldman, 1975).

The migration of single men is a characteristic feature of migration patterns from the Indian subcontinent during its early stages (see, for example, Anwar, 1985: 38-40; Aurora, 1967; Ballard and Ballard, 1977: 31; Dahya, 1973: 245; 253; Desai, 1963: 7; Jeffery, 1976: 47-9; Robinson, 1981: 149; Werbner, 1977: 377). The reason for this can be traced to the migrants' goals. In the majority of instances, it was initially intended that the migration was a temporary measure and that they would therefore return to the Subcontinent after a relatively short period in the UK (Ballard, 1983: 132). However, as we will see in a later section, the reality was very different: the migrants' initial intentions to return became more difficult to realise for a number of reasons, and settlement on a long-term basis became the only alternative. As a result of changes in the migrants' positions, both economically, socially and in relation to the ever-tightening legislation designed to limit the entry of both them and their families, migrants increasingly brought their families over to this country (see Ballard and Ballard, 1977: 33-5; Brooks and Singh, 1978-9: 21; Castles *et al*, 1984: 13-14; Helweg, 1979; Werbner, 1979: 379). In the instance of those informants who arrived as single men, it was found that they married Pakistani or British women living in this country, or returned to the Subcontinent to marry. In this latter instance, they did not return immediately with their spouses, either spending a period with them in the Subcontinent before coming together to

the UK, or returning alone after the wedding and later bringing their wives to this country.

Although initially wives did not generally accompany their husbands, in several instances I found that migrants' wives played a central role in influencing their husband's decision to migrate to the UK. As one man told me: *"I wasn't keen to go at first, but my wife said it would be better if I did, that it would be a good thing"*. In other instances, the wife also played an important part in their husband's decision to stay in the UK. For example, one man who had come to this country in 1963 intended to return to Pakistan because he was finding it difficult to obtain employment in his field of engineering. His wife however, announced that she was coming to the UK:

> *"After 2 months I intended going back! But my wife stuck with me. She came - her parents paid the fare - and said that we had to face these things together. Otherwise I would have been back there by now."*

Informants were asked why they had decided to leave Pakistan or Bangladesh and migrate to the UK. The distribution of the responses is shown in **Table 4.1** below. It should be noted that because many of the informants gave a combination of different and often conflicting reasons for migration, that the figures in the Table reflect this complexity.

The majority of informants, with the exception of those who came for medical treatment and to some degree those who entered as dependants, had a number of very clear-cut economic motivations and goals which they envisaged would be achieved through the process of migration. However, as we will see shortly, the influence of immigration legislation and, in particular the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, played an important role in precipitating migrants' decisions to come at the time that they did. Of the five informants who came as students and had secured a place at university before arrival, migration to the UK was seen as a means of economic advancement: it was conveyed in all instances that further study would enhance their job prospects when they returned to the Subcontinent. Reasons for coming in all these instances were relatively similar; as one informant told me, who had come from East Pakistan (now

Table 4.1: Subjective reasons for Migration to the UK,

(1) Came as a student (university/college place secured);   5
(2) Came with the intention of studying;   5
(3) Came as a dependant;   5
(4) Called by sponsor;   7
(5) Economic reasons: to work (speculative);   11
                     to work (job to come to);   2
                     to study and work part-time;   3
                     to make money/ better opportunities/
                     better way of life;   13
(6) To visit;   2
(7) To join friends already in UK;   7
(8) Others coming to UK so came also;   4
(9) Medical reasons;   2
                                                                   --
Total number of responses: 66

Total number of informants: 35

[Source: Interview Data,]

Bangladesh) in 1970 to study for a PhD:

> *"I had been teaching in Dacca University for five years before coming
> here..... I came to this country to study at Strathclyde University in
> Glasgow, to do my PhD there. I never intended to work, rather I intended
> to get my PhD and then return to Bangladesh to become a professor at the
> university."*

Another informant who had come here as a student in 1967,
emphasised the status that qualifications obtained in this country could
bring:

> *"Well, I was a school teacher over there, and some of my friends, quite a
> few friends, came here, so I thought I'd just come here to improve my
> qualifications. I was interested in chartered accountancy so I applied for
> that and I came here as a student,...... if you are educated here, get your
> qualifications here, you are well-recognised in Pakistan."*

For many informants their intentions, as we will see shortly, were
based on information which was often vague and in some cases inaccurate
and even "romanticised" (see also, for example, Dahya, 1973: 264).
Overall, 29 of the 35 informants came to Britain with the intention of
working for a few years, saving as much money as possible, before

returning to the Subcontinent to re-establish themselves. The following extract, from a man who came from a poor rural farming background in Pakistan in 1953, sums up this over-riding intention:

"I came looking for money, to make a good living, although I never intended to stay here. My brother was here before me, he sent money over to Pakistan to bring me here. He said there was a good living to be made in Scotland and maybe I should go. Our family was poor, and there was not enough for us on the farm. That was one of the reasons why we came to work here, to make money so that our family could live a better life in Pakistan. I just intended to work and save for a few years, send money to my family and then go back and try to improve things for myself there".

Another informant, who had come to the UK in early 1962 shortly before the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, also gave a response which is fairly typical of those interviewed:

"I was quite happy there in Pakistan. This guy I was telling you about, and another man, we were together, three best pals in college. He was the one who said 'all my relatives are there, it is quite good!'. You know the way you dream up that life is quite good in another place, wages are pretty good, you know, you think of another country, freedom, a lot of people are earning a lot of money there.... It was put in my mind. I had another friend in Glasgow and you know you are young and he tells you what it is like and you want to go there. He was here three years before us, he had 7 or 8 uncles, cousins, all telling him 'a lot of money to be made', and here you were only at college. So I thought, 'oh, something might be better you know'. I think, to be honest, money played a major part, more wages in this country, I thought I could make more money. Because everyone's thinking and telling you there's a lot of money to be made. People who'd been here would come back and tell us stories of what it was like there. They said life is good there, you can have a good job and everything. Basically, when you leave your country, you think you'll come back in 2 or 3 years, when you've enough money. Everyone came like that. We never intended to stay here. Everyone had it in their minds, look, we'll go there, make some money and come back rich men".

In the majority of instances, the economic dimension predominated, with informants leaving the Subcontinent in order to find work in the UK and with the hope of achieving financial "success" before returning to Pakistan or Bangladesh. This desire for "success" was often articulated within what I regard as a "dual goal" of migration, that is, with the intention of not only advancing themselves financially through work but also through education at college or night school. The following is a fairly typical response of the subjective perception of this "dual goal" from a Pakistani man who came to the UK at the end of 1961:

"I heard a rumour that there were better opportunities here if you come, that you can work part-time and that also you can study. There was a rumour going round about education, about living standards. Also the British ruled our country for some time and we thought it would be better if we could go there and see what is happening. We thought we could come here and meet the people who had been ruling our country and coming over here......... Some older person they used to come here for further study. After studying they were going back there to Pakistan and saying 'good opportunity, good jobs', and that is the reason I come here, better things, better standard of living".

However, in all instances where it was anticipated that they could work and study part-time, it was found that it was not possible to do so, as one informant told me:

"I came originally to study and work, but circumstances were not in my favour and I couldn't study as well. I thought I could work during the day and study at night, but it is hard work being in the factory all day, you are tired and then try to read books at night."

In several instances, however, subjective explanations for the migration were articulated in what would appear to be "non-economic" and often contradictory terms; for example, in some cases, although informants stated that there had been no "economic motivation" in their decision to come to this country, they did refer to the possibility of working. This is explicit in the following extract of an interview with a Pakistani man who had been working in the family business before migration and who had arrived in Britain in 1958;

"I really don't know why I came. But it was no economic reason, just to see the world really, to see how things were here. I thought I might study here, but I didn't come to work. When I came to this country I just expected to live here for one year, maybe work part-time, and then go back to Pakistan. But I never intended working".

Some informants were not always as clear about their intentions and accounted for their migration in terms of visiting or joining relatives or friends already in this country and then subsequently settling here. The following is a fairly typical response:

"Well, I don't know why I came really. My friends were here who were classmates, they were here too. So they wrote to me saying would you like to come over here for a holiday. So I just came here and stayed. I didn't

have work on my mind at that time... I never thought about going back to Pakistan to work, I just stayed here and got a job, that's all!"

Although the majority of migrants stated, in a variety of overt and covert ways, that one of the main reasons for coming to the UK was primarily economic, there is, however, another important, if hidden dimension to the migration process. As I have already discussed in Chapter 1, ideological and political factors articulated through, for example, state immigration controls, have played a major part in structuring the scale and dynamic of migration flows. As we have seen, this was evident in the "beat-the-ban-rush" which was precipitated in the months preceding the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. During this time, the number of migrants entering the UK from India and Pakistan was almost double that of the 1955 to 1960 period (Patterson, 1968: xii).

In connection with this, it would appear that although many migrants stated that their reasons for coming to the UK were primarily economic, 12/35 or 34 per cent came in the 18 month period between 1960 and the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in July 1962. Although most of these men did not explicitly state that a reason for coming to the UK at this time was directly connected to the introduction of the 1962 Act, 5 indicated that it had prompted them to come earlier than they had intended. For example, one man who had come to the UK in late 1961 told me:

"My friends who were here kept writing to me and telling me to come, they had been here from early 1960. They said that I could get work easily and make more money than I was in Pakistan. I kept thinking that maybe I would, but somehow I never did. Then I heard about this Act the British government were bringing in, and they told me I better come soon before it was a law. So although that wasn't the real reason why I did come, I suppose it made me come when I did. I think a lot of people come at that time because of the immigration law, although I think they had other things in their minds, so maybe they wouldn't have come when they did if it hadn't been for that law".

It would appear, therefore, that informants gave a number of reasons for migrating to the UK in the first instance. Although economic concerns predominated, the role of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act

was of some importance in precipitating the migration of several informants in the sample at a specific time. However, a further factor which is of considerable importance in the primary migration process is the role of kinship networks and it is to this that I now turn.

Facilitation and Consolidation: the role of kin networks in the process of primary migration.

As I have mentioned in Chapters 1 and 3, a number of writers have emphasised the importance of the role of close friends and relatives in facilitating and consolidating the process of migration from the Indian subcontinent[1]. With respect to my own findings, kin and close friends played an important part in the dissemination of information to the potential migrant in the first instance. Information was relayed either directly through the visits or permanent settlement of kin and close friends in the Subcontinent, or indirectly through letters. The role of relatives as both sources of information and as consolidators of the migration process is evident in the following extract of an interview with a man who came to Britain from Pakistan in 1965:

> *"I came with my uncle ... you see, before anyone come to Britain we read in the books that Britain is a different country, it's a rich country. In other words, this is heaven, you know! And naturally everyone wants to see it, to see if it is true. And when I come to this country with my uncle, I found that this country was just like our country. When they go back from Britain they brought news, plus they dress in a way which shows they are better-off than the people in Pakistan, trying to show they have been working abroad, making money. But they never tell us if there is any racialist person in this country......"*

In addition, kin already settled in Britain often acted as sponsors and this played a central role in the "chain migration" process. In these instances, kin often financed - in full or in part - the new migrant's journey to the UK, providing them with accommodation and often

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[1] For the significance of this in the Pakistani context see, for example, Anwar, 1979; 1985, Brooks and Singh, 1978-9; 21, Dahya, 1973; 244-5, Jeffery, 1976; see, for example, Ballard and Ballard, 1977 and Helweg, 1979 for its significance in the context of Sikh migration.

helping them to find a job on arrival. In connection with this, a number of writers have emphasised the importance of the system of *Biraderi* -the structuring of kinship networks beyond the confines of the joint-extended family - in the process of migration (Anwar, 1979: 62-7; 1985: 62-4; Jeffery, 1976: 31-5; 119-20; 133-6). According to the definition of *Biraderi* offered by Jeffery (1976: 32-4; 183), the term refers broadly to "connection" or "relatives", and in particular extends to include: *"people in the same patrilineage, and also people related through marriage (one's own marriage, the marriage of one's father and the marriages of both parents' siblings)"* (Jeffery, 1976: 33). Anwar (1985: 63) indicates that it is often difficult to locate the exact boundaries of the *Biraderi* network as they are dependent upon who defines its members.

For migrants in the sample, the *Biraderi* network was a central mechanism in sponsoring members to come to the UK. Friends and relatives not only acted as important sources of information, as we have seen, but in many instances facilitated the migration process in a number of different ways. In several instances, migrants were brought to this country as dependants either by fathers or close relatives already living in the UK. In other cases, migrants were sponsored by kin here, who paid not only for their journey but also provided accommodation and in some instances employment. The following extracts clearly show the central role played by kin networks and, in particular, the role of *Biraderi*, in facilitating the migration process: the first from a Pakistani man who was "called" by his brother-in-law to Glasgow in 1959, and the second from a man who was sponsored by kin in the UK and who arrived in 1963;

> *"My brother-in-law, he called me because they needed some help; he had a warehouse at that time. They gave me my responsibility. He said 'come over and help me'. He tried to send me travelling door-to-door but I no like the work....."*

> *"Before me there were plenty of people here,..... I've got a few friends here you know. They told me about it, about work, the facilities, this and that. I just wanted to come here, there was no special reason. So I came to England to stay with friends and work.... my uncle sent me some money for my fare. My relatives, they were telling me about work in the factories. I had my cousin here in Bradford at that time, he applied for a voucher for me so he got it for me. In the beginning, when I came here to make some money, to buy a house. In the beginning nobody wanted to stay*

*here you know. They were just coming for work and then they'd go back
home. When I came I had no idea I was going to stay. I intended to work
and go back after 2 or 3 years. But after the family came, and now it's
hard to go back......"*

In a number of instances, informants in their turn acted as sponsor
for friends and relatives following their own settlement. As we have
seen, the majority of migrants were eventually joined by their wives and
families in this country. In addition, a total of 15 migrants in the
sample also sponsored, for example, brothers or cousins, thereby
continuing the process of chain migration.

In summary, the existence of kin networks is a vital facilitating
mechanism in the migration process, providing not only information but
also the means and support by which the object of migration could be
realised. However, up to this point, I have talked mainly in terms of the
goals and aspirations which informants encapsulated in their "scheme" of
migration, and which in the majority of instances were, broadly speaking,
based on economic considerations. Such aspirations, as we have seen,
were, in many cases, built upon information received from kin who had
already been to this country. However, in the vast majority of cases,
initial aspirations and perceptions of life in this country were vastly
different from actual experiences. As Dahya writes:

> *"The villagers in the areas of origin consider Britain as the most
> desirable country in the world to go to and they explain this attitude by
> pointing to the economic success the migrants have achieved within a short
> space of time. Their image of Britain has no place for racial
> discrimination........ This image is no doubt derived from information
> which the migrants transmit to their families and fellow-villagers, and it
> is in turn based on the migrants' experiences and perceptions in which
> discrimination and hostility are less obviously encountered.......", (1973:
> 264),*

In some instances, there was an acute bitterness expressed about the
level of "mis-information" which they had received, either indirectly
through formal channels of information, or directly through friends and
relatives. This bitterness is clearly expressed by the following man who
came to the UK in 1977 on the "advice" of his uncle:

"I came here because my uncle wrote to me many times saying 'come over here to Great Britain'. I asked if I could study or not. He said to come and I could do it, but his letters were very vague, 'when you come to this country you can get what you want',...... But when I got here I realised I couldn't study because I had no support,.... I had no money so I decided to work. People going back to Pakistan don't give you the true picture of Britain, they tell you none of the difficulties. They just say they are earning a lot to persuade people to come here. But life is difficult here, it is not an easy life."

Such discrepancies operated at a number of levels. For some, Britain was simply not the country it was made out to be. For others, their experiences, often very different from what they had been led to believe initially, were the result of a complex of both overt and covert racism and discrimination: they had difficulties securing employment, or had to take work which was well-below their level of ability and experience; they experienced racism and discrimination in many areas of their every day life which effectively blocked those opportunities which they believed were open to them before migration. As one man succinctly put it:

"To them we were immigrants, just another black face. But they forget that many of us came here with skills and an education, skills which they gave us vouchers for......."

I shall return to the reality of this in more detail when I consider the experiences of racism in Scotland later in this chapter.

The "Myth of Return"

Another area of discrepancy between the initial goals of the migration and the actual reality is in relation to expectations about the length of stay in the UK. This phenomenon - the dichotomy between the desire to return to the Subcontinent and the actual reality of residence in Britain - has been identified by Dahya (1973) as the "myth of return" (see also Robinson, 1981: 151). As Brooks and Singh have explained it:

"It is that, whilst 'first generation' Asian immigrants in Britain still see themselves as transients, imbued with what Dahya termed as the 'myth of return', to their native lands, their situation in the British economic and

(163)

social structure, combined with developments in their countries of origin,
will ensure that most do not return to those countries" (1978-9; 19)

In all instances, informants said that initially they had migrated on a temporary basis and had never anticipated staying in the UK for more than a few years. This was closely tied to individual migratory goals. For those who came as students, for example, the period of residence was fixed – all expected to return after the completion of their course. For others, the period of residence was more indefinite and flexible: length of residence was broadly defined with the intention that they would find employment, work for a few years and save money before returning to the Subcontinent.

The reality, was, however, very different. Although all informants had made regular visits to the Subcontinent (or as often as possible) to be with family and friends, the majority expressed a certain degree of regret that this had never been on a permanent basis. For a number of reasons, informants had not realised their goal to return to Pakistan or Bangladesh, and what initially had been viewed as a temporary migration had shifted to long-term or permanent residence. For some, for example, the establishment of business here had prevented their return. For others, they felt that they had lived here for too long to make re-settlement possible, that Pakistani or Bangladeshi society would have changed too dramatically since their departure, and that for them Britain was now their home. For those who had come from Bangladesh, the political disturbances surrounding Independence in 1971 had halted plans to return at that stage.

For the majority of informants, however, the single most important reason for not returning was the establishment of their families in this country, particularly with the birth of their children. Many informants felt that because their children had been born and/or educated here they would find it difficult to settle in Pakistan or Bangladesh. As one man told me:

"Our children have been born here and educated in this country. Yet they
are treated as immigrants. In Pakistan they would be treated as alien as

well because they have not been brought up there! It really is very
difficult for them, wherever they go they are treated as different."

On the other hand, several informants felt that their children's education should best be carried out in Pakistan, otherwise it would be affected by Western values - one man had already sent all his children to Pakistan for education and another intended to send his children there when they reached school age.

Regardless of the reasons for not returning as originally intended, in the majority of cases, informants still regarded themselves as "transients" and expressed a strong desire to re-settle in the Subcontinent at some stage. In several cases and at various stages, informants had returned to the Subcontinent with the intention of settling there, but had been unable to settle and had subsequently returned to the UK. As one man who had come from Pakistan in 1960 expressed it:

"I was working on the buses until 1965. Then I just packed up the job....
I made good money, enough for my flight to go back. I bought a small car
as well to take back with me. I had a little bit of cash. In 1965 I had
the intention of going back there and staying in Pakistan. I went back to
Pakistan for one year. While I was here I thought Pakistan was better but
again, when I went back there I thought it was better here! So in 1966 I
came back here...."

(3) The Process of Secondary Migration.

Up to this point, I have considered the process of **primary migration**, in particular the reasons given by informants for migrating in the first instance to the UK and the means by which that process was achieved and consolidated. For migrants in the sample, however, the migration process did not end here, but involved a further process of internal migration before coming to Glasgow. In relation to this, I now consider the process of **secondary** or **internal migration** to, and settlement in, Glasgow and the central factors which have structured the scale and the dynamic of this stage of migration. It will be argued that in contrast to reasons given for migration to the UK generally, informants' reasons for coming specifically to Glasgow were very different and often contrasting, further highlighting not only the specificity of the Scottish case but also the complexity of the migration process.

In terms of internal or secondary migration, there is a dichotomy between those informants who came immediately to Glasgow following their arrival in the UK and those who first settled in England for a period before coming to Glasgow. As I have already discussed in Chapter 3, there is some limited evidence to confirm that this process of internal migration had occurred in other contexts (Jones and Davenport, 1972; Watson, 1984; refer also to **Figure 3.1**). With reference to the present study, the majority of informants in the sample - that is 54 per cent or 19 out of 35 - came immediately to Glasgow upon arrival in the UK. Of these, 7 informants have lived in other parts of the country or have gone abroad (excluding short visits to the Subcontinent) before settling at present in the city. The remaining 12 informants have lived only in Glasgow since they arrived in this country (again excluding short visits to the Subcontinent).

However, 46 per cent of informants interviewed, that is 16 out of 35, lived in one or more areas of England for varying lengths of time before coming to Glasgow. These areas of initial settlement included, for example, London, Manchester, Blackburn, Liverpool, Huddersfield, Birmingham

and Rochdale. In addition, a number of informants subsequently left Glasgow and returned after a period of residence in England. The length of stay before coming to Glasgow ranged from a few months to a period of nearly 20 years. Although the majority of those informants who had lived in England for a period before coming to Glasgow came during the late 1950s and 1960s (i.e. 11 informants), 5 informants in the sample arrived during the 1970s and 1980s. This latter group, although comparatively small, is particularly interesting: not only had they spent a longer period in England before coming to Glasgow than those who had arrived in the 1950s and 1960s (who on average had spent a period of a few months to a year in England), but their reasons for coming specifically to Scotland also differed.

As we have seen in the previous section (see **Table 4.1**), the major reasons cited by informants for migration to the UK were economic, although the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962 also played an important role in the decision of some to migrate. However, if we consider the reasons given by informants for coming specifically to Glasgow, we are presented with a different set of explanatory criteria (see **Table 4.2**). Further, there is also a significant division in terms of reasons given for coming specifically to Glasgow between those who came directly to Glasgow upon arrival from the Subcontinent and those who settled via England (see **Table 4.3**).

Table 4.2: Reasons for coming to Glasgow.

(1)	To study;	4
(2)	To join relatives/friends/ called by sponsor;	30
(3)	For employment;	15
(4)	To set up in business;	4
(5)	Heard there was less racism in Scotland than in England;	12
(6)	Other;	3

Total number of reasons;		68
Total number of respondents;		35.

[Source: interview data]

Table 4.3: reasons given for coming to Glasgow by those
who came direct and those who came via England

		Direct settlement in Glasgow	Via England
(1)	To study;	4	0
(2)	To join relatives/ friends/called by sponsor;	19	11
(3)	For employment;	4	11
(4)	To set up in business;	0	4
(5)	Heard there was less racism in Scotland than in England;	2	10
(6)	Other reasons;	1	2

Total number of reasons;   68

Total number of respondents;   35.

[Source: Interview Data]

From the breakdown of informants' reasons for coming specifically to Glasgow (Tables 4.2 and 4.3), it is evident that migration to, and settlement in the city is governed by three main factors: first, the prior existence of kin in the city; second, by the structural condition of the Scottish economy and the changing structure of the English economy which not only precipitated an internal migration from England to Scotland but also defined the parameters and subsequent employment patterns of migrants in Scotland; and third, by changing ideological and political factors in Scotland and England. The importance of each factor in the migration process and its effects upon the subsequent experiences of migrants in Scotland varied according to the period of arrival and settlement in Scotland and upon whether or not the migrant came directly from the Subcontinent to Scotland or migrated internally after a period of settlement in England. I address each of these three factors in turn.

The Role of Kinship Networks in the Process of Secondary Migration.

In relation to the process of secondary, internal migration, the role of kin and the operation of the *Biraderi* system is particularly important, not only in individual migrations but also in the maintenance of links in the migratory "chain". From the information in **Table 4.2**, it is evident that the most recurrent reason cited by informants for coming specifically to Glasgow was the presence of kin and existing social networks in the city prior to their own arrival: of the 35 informants, 30 stated that the only reason, or one of a combination of reasons for coming to Glasgow, was the presence of close friends and/or relatives in the city.

In a number of instances, informants' friends and relatives had been living in Glasgow for only a short period before their arrival in the city. This ranged from a few months to several years. For others, however, friends and relatives were well-established in the city and had been living there for long periods, as I have already mentioned in some detail in Chapter 3. One of the earliest settlers in the sample, who had arrived in Glasgow in 1940, acted as one of the key sponsors within his particular *Biraderi* network, bringing kin directly from the Subcontinent or from parts of England to the city. Several informants, who were not directly linked to him through the extended family system, mentioned that they had been given his address before coming to Glasgow (either from the Subcontinent or from England) and told to contact him on arrival.

The role of kinship networks in the process of secondary migration was an important factor not only for those who came directly to Glasgow upon arrival in the UK but also for those who settled first in England and who subsequently came to Scotland: of the 30 informants who cited the presence of kin in Glasgow as a factor in their decision to come to the city, 19 came immediately to Glasgow upon arrival and 11 came via England (see **Table 4.3**). It would appear, however, that the prior arrival of kin in Glasgow was of more significance in influencing the settlement of those who came directly to the city from the Subcontinent than it was for those who migrated internally following initial settlement in England:

in the former instances, the presence of kin in the city was cited as the sole reason governing their decision to come to Glasgow, whereas in the latter instance informants placed the presence of kin in the city alongside additional factors such as employment opportunities. I will return to this in more detail shortly.

The central role of *Biraderi* in facilitating secondary migration and settlement is evident in a number of ways. First, kin already settled in Glasgow acted as important sources of information. This was particularly important for those migrants who were initially living in England before coming to Glasgow. In terms of specific knowledge about Glasgow prior to settlement in the city, those migrants who came directly to Glasgow from the Subcontinent knew far less about the city and of Scotland generally than those who had first settled in England before coming to Glasgow. It appeared that information relayed directly back to the Subcontinent by kin already living in Scotland was generally vague and rarely mentioned conditions specifically in Scotland. In contrast, information relayed by kin settled in Scotland to informants living in England was in many instances very detailed, and made reference to, for example, living conditions, employment vacancies and incidents of racism. Such knowledge played a crucial role in influencing individual migrant's decisions to come to Scotland, particularly in relation to internal migration from England to Scotland.

Second, kin already settled in Glasgow sponsored *Biraderi* members. This varied from direct and extensive sponsorship of dependant children and close relatives - through, for example, financing the journey from the Subcontinent, providing accommodation on arrival and arranging employment - to simply providing accommodation and support for the migrant until he became established.

Third, and finally, the migrant himself very often played a central role in the maintenance of the migratory "chain" by sponsoring close family and other *Biraderi* members either directly from the Subcontinent or from parts of England.

Although the role of kin networks, and in particular, the *Biraderi* system, were important in precipitating and aiding migration to, and settlement in, Glasgow, it is not the only factor in the process of secondary migration. In addition, economic factors have played an important role in the secondary migration process.

The Role of Economic Factors in the Process of Secondary Migration.

In comparison to the key role played by economic factors in the process of primary migration, the influence upon the process of secondary migration is somewhat different. Empirically, those economic factors which come into play in the process of secondary migration to Scotland can be seen to operate in four distinct contexts: first, those who came to Glasgow to set up in business; second, those who had a specific job to come to in Glasgow; third, those who came with the intention of finding work as bus conductors for Glasgow Corporation Transport Department; and finally, those who came speculatively to Glasgow with the more general intention of finding employment in a number of different occupations. I deal with each factor in turn.

As is evident in **Table 4.3**, 4 informants stated that the reason, or one in a combination of reasons for coming specifically to Glasgow, was with the intention of setting up in business. In all four instances, informants had previously been living and working in various parts of England before they came to the city. Two informants had previously been employed as semi- or unskilled manual labourers and had been working in various manufacturing sectors in the Midlands and South-East of England, principally in textiles, foundries and in car production. The other two informants had both been self-employed in England before coming to Scotland. Three of the four informants migrated from England to Scotland during the 1970s, the other informant having arrived in Glasgow in the pre-1945 period. This man, who was the earliest arrival in the UK of the sample, had come to Glasgow during the 2nd World War and his particular case is somewhat unique:

"I came to Glasgow during the War, that was in 1940. My reason for coming here was that my business was bombed out in London. When I came to Glasgow

I wanted to start in business again, but I didn't get permission, they told me national work was more important. We had been very frightened from the bombing in London, and we thought it was safer here in Glasgow, but when we came here Clydeside was bombed on our second night!",

For the remaining three men who came to Glasgow to set up in business, it would appear that in two cases the development of worsening economic conditions in England throughout the 1970s, particularly in those manufacturing sectors which were large-scale employers of migrant labour (Duffield, 1985: 142; Fevre, 1984: 136-7; Newnham, 1986: 12-13ff; Phizacklea, 1988: 21; Smith, 1981; Unit for Manpower Studies, 1977: 27-8, 34, 39), led them to seek alternative employment opportunities in Scotland. Ironically, in an economy which, as we have seen in Chapter 2, was itself undergoing systematic and widespread contraction during the 1970s, it was nevertheless believed that there was room for expansion in the petit-bourgeois business sector.

This can be explained in part by the growth of the south Asian community in Glasgow during this period and the increased demand for related services which the "ethnic economy" could provide (see for example, Aldrich *et al*, 1981: 178; Jones, 1981-82: 473; Mars and Ward, 1984: 14-16). One man, who had come from Azad Kashmir in 1967 to England as a dependant and who had been working in various factories in the Birmingham area before coming to Glasgow in 1979 specifically to set up in business, explained how this process operated:

"I was working in West Bromwich, as a machine operator... then my uncle, my partner, he said you'd better start a business in Glasgow, because there are no jobs here, factories are closing down. He said there are more chances in Glasgow, businesses open, more than where we are living, because our relatives are already here before us, they live in Glasgow and they tell us that there are more opportunities because our community is here. So I came to Glasgow with my uncle and we opened a grocers shop with a halal butchers. Now we just have this one shop, supplying meat to restaurants......."

This process was further confirmed by another informant who arrived in Glasgow in 1970 after working for 10 years in various factory jobs in England:

"I was fed up with working in the factories, and also work there was not very secure with the economy going down hill, I wanted to start a business because I thought it would be more secure. I had friends already in Glasgow who had their own business. They had come from England and were doing quite well. I came to Glasgow only for the sake of business. There was no work at all in Glasgow so we had no choice to open business to survive. There was a lot of factories in Rochdale where I was, cotton and wool, but none here in Glasgow. So I never came up to Glasgow for a job, just to set up in business. We need an alternative up here, that is why I have my shop."

The transition was not made solely from wage labour to self-employment; in another case, one informant was running a well-established restaurant business in England, but decided to set up business in Glasgow in partnership with relatives already living in the city. He had a number of reasons for coming to Glasgow, which included specific business interests;

"One reason was, money-wise, business-wise, because it was more prosperous. We had some friends who lived and worked here, and through their influence that's how I bought the restaurant, we went into partnership with them. That was the way we moved up to Glasgow, they actually influenced us because they had that business......."

Although each of the above instances illustrates personal experiences of those who came specifically to Scotland to set up in business, there is evidence that this process was more widespread during the 1970s, at least within informants' networks (but see also Werbner, 1980: 89). For example, one man, who had also been living and working in England and who had come to Glasgow in 1966 specifically to work as a bus driver for Glasgow Corporation Transport Department and who had later set up in business, told of how some of his friends had come from England specifically to set up in market trading;

"In 1974, 1975, a few markets open around Glasgow, Airdrie, Bathgate,.... at that time the markets were good and people who were working in the factories in England would come up here. I found that I could earn more money working in the markets for a couple of days a week than I could working every day on the buses! I started doing very good on the markets and by then I'd given up the buses. Like myself, if I told one of my friends in England to come here and work in the markets, they told other people, you come to Glasgow and get better opportunities. In factories they were working 7 days a week, here they were working three or four days and getting enough....."

The role of economic factors in the process of internal migration was not confined solely to those who came with the intention of setting up in business in Scotland. On the contrary, two informants arrived in Scotland with specific jobs to come to. One man was transferred by the Bank of Pakistan directly to Glasgow as a bank manager in 1975, although he subsequently left his job in 1979 to become self-employed. The other man had initially arrived in Britain in 1962 to train as a doctor and, after working at several hospitals in England came to Glasgow in 1976 to work as a general practitioner.

However, an economic factor which is of particular significance in the process of internal migration, especially for those informants who had initially settled in England, was the availability of work as bus conductors and drivers for Glasgow Corporation Transport Department during the late 1950s and 1960s. In Chapter 3 I discussed evidence which suggests that the Transport authorities in Glasgow faced a shortage of labour during this period and that a significant number of Pakistani (and Indian) migrants found employment in this sector (Beharrell, 1965; Elahi, 1967: 32; Srivastava, 1975: 298). Although there is no evidence in the extant literature to confirm whether or not this precipitated an internal migration from England along the lines of Pakistani migration to Dundee (Jones and Davenport, 1972), evidence drawn from my own research confirms that this process did take place.

Eight informants, seven of whom had first settled in England, said that vacancies in the Transport Department in Glasgow had played a major role in their decision to come to the city. The availability of work in this sector in Glasgow was particularly attractive to those men who had been previously working in factories throughout England and who saw opportunities in what was regarded as a cleaner and more pleasant working environment with the added bonus of overtime work. This was expressed by one man who had arrived in the UK at the end of 1960 and had lived in Blackburn for several months before coming to Glasgow at the beginning of 1961;

"I came to Glasgow just for a job, I had heard there were jobs on the buses, I didn't like the work in the factories and someone told me there

was more work in the buses......... they were all saying in England 'go to Glasgow, there are jobs there on the Transport'. At that time Glasgow Corporation started taking Pakistani people....... But when my cousin came over, he didn't work on the buses because he was too shy, so we went down to England and I tried to get him a job. We settled in Darwin, ten miles from Blackburn, we both got jobs as spinners. We hated that work, so after a couple of weeks we came back to Glasgow... I went on the buses. After looking about, sometimes you get a job and you don't realise how good it is. I'd been in England and seen the sort of work our people were being offered at that time, really bad jobs, the dirtiest work, being offered to our people there. So when I came back I decided buses wasn't so bad after all! That was all there was for our people then in Glasgow, but buses was much better than factory work, cleaner and better paid......"

It appears that the shortage of labour faced by Glasgow Corporation for the transport services in the city during the 1960s was well-known throughout several parts of England. However, there is again no evidence to confirm that a formal recruitment drive was operated directly in the Indian subcontinent; as one man commented on this suggestion: *"There was no need for them to go out to Pakistan to get people to work here! There were plenty people here already, to get the jobs, so there was no need to go over there 7000 miles to look for them!"*. Although several informants mentioned that they had seen advertisements for vacancies on the buses in Glasgow while living in England, the major source of information regarding employment in this sector was through informal networks via word-of-mouth (for the role of this in other contexts see, for example, Brooks and Singh, 1979: 93-112). As one man told me – who himself had been working for the Corporation as a bus conductor since he arrived in Glasgow in 1957 after having spent several months in casual labouring jobs in the Manchester area before being told that there were jobs as bus conductors in Glasgow – the availability of work was well-known and the shortage of labour was a particular problem which could be solved, at least in part, through informal recruitment networks;

"Glasgow Corporation, they were looking all the time for staff. They cannae get the staff then. Some people do a double shift but still they cannae get the staff to cover the duties. If I go on holiday, if I go to England, they say get some bloody help when you're down. In Bradford I say 'do you want a job? Come, I'll give you an address in Glasgow, guaranteed you get a job'. People, locals, didnae want shift work, to work long hours, to work late, that's why they give Pakistani people the job. Everyone, all people knew that Glasgow Transport needed the conductors......."

The final area in which economic factors played a role in the process of internal migration is in relation to those people who had come to Glasgow from England speculatively to find employment. In contrast to those who came to Glasgow specifically to find employment as bus conductors, five informants stated that the reason, or one in a combination of reasons, for coming to Glasgow was with the intention of finding general employment. In two cases, migrants came directly to Glasgow from Pakistan during the 1950s. In both these instances, they were sponsored by kin already living in the city and had been told that they would "find employment" on arrival; as it turned out, they both found work as pedlars. As one man told me:

> "In 1953 my brother came to Pakistan to get me and brought me back to Glasgow. He said there was a good living to be made in Scotland, that I could get a good job and that maybe I should go. All I heard was that you could make money, although my brother never really said what it was I could do! I thought, you know, that I would get some sort of job in a factory or something, that was the sort of things we hear before we came...... But when I came here my brother got me a case and we went to a warehouse and get drapery..... Everyone I knew at that time did door business. People were looking for work but there was no work at all, there was no much factories for people to work in in Scotland..."

The remaining three informants who came on speculation to find employment had all lived for varying lengths of time in England before coming to Glasgow. One man, who had arrived in the UK in 1961 and who had been working in various textile factories in Huddersfield and Oldham, had subsequently to leave his work because of ill-health. Unable to find suitable employment in England, he came to Scotland in 1977 on the advice of a friend living in Edinburgh in the hope he would find work there: *"I thought I will get a job here, any work, but I get no job, I still have no job. There is no work here....".* Another informant in this category arrived in England in 1962 to join friends living in Rochdale. Unable to find work after several months he was told by friends living in Glasgow that there was work available in the city and that he could carry out his joinery trade there. The remaining informant in this group had been working in Birmingham as a bus conductor for a year before a friend living in Glasgow told him to come to the city firstly because it was a "friendlier place compared to England", and secondly so that he could

work with them in a hotel.

In summary, it would appear that with the exception of the availability of employment as bus conductors with Glasgow Corporation Transport Department during the late 1950s and 1960s, there was a general absence of widespread, large-scale sectoral labour shortages in Glasgow. Thus, in the remainder of those instances where informants cited "economic" reasons as underlying their decision to migrate to Glasgow, it was either with the intention of finding employment wherever possible, or with the specific intention of setting up in business. Such findings would appear to be consistent with conclusions drawn particularly from the historical/structural analysis presented in Chapter 2, further confirming the necessity to consider the possibility of varying determinants of migration rather than focussing exclusively upon the economic dimension. And it is to such a consideration that I now turn.

The Role of Ideological and Political Factors in the Process of Secondary Migration.

As we have seen, various economic factors and the prior settlement of kin are important in explaining the patterns of internal secondary migration to Scotland in the post-war period. However, there are additional ideological and political factors which structure the process of secondary migration. As will become apparent, these factors differ considerably from those which underpin the process of primary migration. In the following section, I explore not only the significance of the belief that there is little racism in Scotland to the process of internal migration, but I also highlight the actual reality of racism in Scotland.

The perceptions.........

During the 1970s, various political and social developments highlighted the extent of the problem of racism in many English cities for mainly Black migrants and their families living there (see, for example, The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982; Miles and

Phizacklea, 1979; 1984; Ramdin, 1987). Such events, for example the precipitation of racist attacks, the growth of the National Front and other neo-fascist groups (Billig, 1979; Edgar, 1977; Fielding, 1981; Husbands, 1979, 1983; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984; Walker, 1977), and the further politicisation and racialisation of the "black presence" were, as we have seen in Chapter 1, portrayed as an "English" phenomenon which had no relevance to the Scottish situation (Budge and Unwin, 1966: 96; Harvie, 1981: 67; Sunday Post, 1985).

Nevertheless, such was the apparent "popularity" of these beliefs, that a significant proportion of migrants interviewed cited this as a central factor underlying their decision to migrate from England to Scotland. The importance of this factor is evident in both **Tables 4.2 and 4.3**. This factor was particularly important for those informants who had first lived in England before settling in Glasgow: of the 12 informants who said that the belief that there was less racism in Scotland than in England had influenced their decision to come to Glasgow, 10 had previously been living in England. Of the remaining 2 who cited this factor in their decision to come to Glasgow, both had thought of living in England upon arrival but on the advice of friends living in Scotland had come to Glasgow instead.

As was mentioned in the section on the role of kin in the process of secondary migration, those informants who had settled initially in England before coming to Glasgow had been dependent upon information from friends and relatives already in the city and had, to a large extent, based their decision to come upon this. This was particularly true in relation to perceptions of racism north and south of the border which were articulated in terms of "degrees" of racism. All said that they had been told either that there was "no racism in Scotland", or that it was much less than in England, or that the people in Scotland were "much friendlier" than in England. In addition, and in relation to material which I discussed earlier in this chapter, a number of informants had been presented with an overtly positive image of the UK generally and had not been given the "real" picture of life in Scotland by friends and

relatives already settled here; to repeat and emphasise the comments of one man:

> ".... When they go back from Britain they brought news, plus they dress in a way which shows they are better-off than the people in Pakistan, trying to show that they have been working abroad, making money. But they never tell us if there is any racialist person in this country." (my emphasis)

As a result of these factors, both alone and in combination, many Asian people and their families believed that Scotland was somehow isolated from the racist attacks and discrimination they were facing in many English cities, and that by moving to Scotland, they would be able to escape from that reality. This is clearly expressed in the following example of a Pakistani man who had been living in various cities in England since 1960, including Huddersfield and Rochdale, and who had come to Glasgow in 1970:

> "Living there in England was very different from here, although now things are getting pretty bad for us. There was so much more racial abuse there, racism every day, called a "black bastard, wog" in the streets when you walked. I used to see those skinheads in the streets, they looked at you as if they really hated you! It really used to upset me, I thought why have I come to this place, to be called these things, to do this dirty work, honestly, I really thought I would go back to Pakistan then. Then these friends who were living in Glasgow, they had a business here, they said why don't you come to Glasgow, you can start a business here. They had been in England and had been doing quite well here. I was fed up with working in the factories, I wanted to start a business....... and they said come here because the people are better here than they are in England, nice friendly people. And you know, the main thing for people coming from England to Scotland now is because of the discrimination. I must admit, things are a bit better here in many ways, but good and bad people are everywhere, and you still get called names in the street sometimes, people can look at you...... That is the reality I suppose, but to tell you the truth I really thought Scotland was some kind of heaven before I came, that there was no colour bar here or anything. But it just shows you how wrong you can be!"

For many of the informants interviewed, perceptions of racism were relative: in all instances, the English were "more racist" than the Scots and this was attributed to the "good nature" of the Scottish people. The perceptions of comparative degrees of racism in England and Scotland were often combined with additional factors in informants' accounts of why they came to Glasgow. As one informant told me, who had come to

Britain from Pakistan in 1963 and had lived in England until the end of 1965 before coming to Glasgow:

> *"I came to England and then to Scotland,,,,,,, And a friend, he was working in Glasgow before, in a hotel,,,, He said the people were nice here, At that time there was about 500 Pakistani or so in Glasgow, they were quite happy all of them, all working on the buses, The people were in Glasgow, in Scotland, all very good, nice people, That's the main thing that I stayed here, The people, no question of colour bar or anything like that, they were co-operating with us, Much better Scottish people, down to earth,,,,,,,"*

Another man, originally from Bangladesh, who had been living and working in England since the mid-1960s, and who had come to Glasgow in 1975, told me:

> *"There are two main reasons I think overall why I came to Glasgow, One reason was, money-wise, business-wise, because it was more prosperous,,,,,, The other main reason, community-wise, colour bar, I think Scotland was much better than in England,,,,"*

For other informants, information relayed by relatives and friends who were living in Scotland, encouraged them to leave England in the hope that the situation north of the border was more favourable: *"I came up to Glasgow from Nottingham in 1969.... a friend, he said it was better to go to Glasgow because it was a friendlier place compared to England"*.

Further, some informants, although they themselves had settled in Scotland and had never lived in England, stated that friends and family living in England, and who had been experiencing racist harassment, had moved to Scotland because it was believed that there was "no racism" here or that relative to the situation in England, racism was far less prevalent. Many informants made statements that this was an important factor in secondary migration generally. As one informant put it:

> *"We hear from our family in England they prefer to come here and live because of the racial trouble,,,, there are people who have come to live here because of that, That's what the people have been telling us, And they've been working there in the mills and factories and the unemployment caused them to travel to Scotland and buy their own business",*

"There is racism in every respect in Scotland, not just on the street but also in jobs. They are fools to think there are no problems in Scotland, they are fools. In the early 1970s there was discrimination, but at that time they weren't prepared to admit it to the authorities......It is just to give a good image of here because people will blame themselves sometimes for racism, and if other people think that there is none here, then they will think that the people in Scotland, the Pakistani people, are better in some way. But it is not the case....... Although things are different from England in a lot of ways, the racism is not up to the extent that it is in England, people just think that because there was no riot here, then things are all good. But it is all relative really,..... There maybe aren't many attacks on the streets, but discrimination is still there and moreover, the younger generation defend themselves, they don't care. They will fight for their rights in a way we wouldn't."

While it may be the case that both the presence and experiences of Black migrants and their families living in Scotland had not yet been placed on the Scottish political agenda (Miles and Dunlop, 1986; 1987), the everyday experiences of racist harassment and exclusionary practices in employment and housing is a reality not only for Black people generally who live in Scotland, as I have indicated in Chapter 1 (see also, for example, McMahon and Morrison, 1986; Tayside Community Relations Council, 1987; Tyler, 1988; Walsh, 1987) but also for many of the migrants and their families interviewed for this present study.

Fifty-four per cent of informants (19/35) said that they had personally experienced some form of racist attack while living in Glasgow. Experiences ranged from verbal abuse in the street, vandalism of domestic and business property, physical attacks, and in several instances serious arson attacks on homes and businesses. The experiences of one man I interviewed leaves one in no doubt as to the ferocity of these attacks:

"I started as a bus conductor with Glasgow Corporation in 1972, then I became a driver. Then in 1979 - I worked there for about 7 or 8 years and I was a conductor at that time - I was assaulted on the bus by 5 or 6 people. I nearly lost the sight of my right eye. I had 7 or 8 stitches in my head, my lips cut, I was very frightened...... I had to leave my work because I was so scared. I had a nervous breakdown because of that......

My house was recently put on fire, I've been attacked by vandals. Just young boys putting things through the letter box ..... my children could

*have been dead. They put big bags full of dirt and rubbish at my door and
set it on fire, black bags with filth and dirt in them, with 5 or 6 pounds
of newspaper on top of the bags and they lit them and ran off. I know who
did it, police know, but they want evidence and I don't have it. These
white thugs, they are vandalising my home, smashing my windows, giving me
racial abuse.*

*....... Our life, it is very much in jeopardy, yes indeed, things are
pretty bad here... If this goes on I will have to go back to Pakistan.....
I hope that one day Scotland will be a multi-racial society. People don't
believe that, they say we are living in a multi-racial society. I disagree
with that; it's not a multi-racial society, it's a very racist society".*

Of the remaining informants, all said that that although they and
their families had not personally experienced racism, they knew that it
was a problem in Scotland. These informants seemed unwilling to talk
about this area in detail, although were willing to discuss it in a
general sense. This unwillingness was explained by one man, who had
himself been victim to repeated racist abuse and attacks:

*"You are scared to admit it, that it has happened to you. You feel that
somehow you are to blame, that it is your fault. Or you say that it is
something that happens to other people and not to you. But it is here,
every day we have to face it. Discrimination at work, called a "black
bastard" in the street,..... those people who say that there is no racism
here, then they are fools, they are kidding themselves."*

All informants stated, although to varying degrees, that racism was
a problem in Scotland and that it was an integral part of the everyday
experiences of Asian people and their families living there.

*"Racism, it is something the people in Scotland don't want to admit to.
But it is there. They say, oh it is because of unemployment, people are
looking for a scapegoat, someone to blame, but that is no excuse, no
excuse! There are people who are dying, starving to death because they
cannot get any food. They could kill someone because of that, but they
don't. So saying unemployment causes racism is nonsense. The roots of
racism are very deep indeed, it is more complicated.... I am not trying to
make a political point, but it is society as a whole, your history, it is
because of the misuse of nationalism, superiority of blood, of nation."*

In addition to the prevalence of racist attacks, the incidence of
institutional racism, particularly in employment, was also a serious
concern and it is to a consideration of this that I now turn [1].

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[1] It should be noted that employment distribution was not determined solely by racist
exclusionary practices; on the contrary, the structural condition of the Scottish
economy presented a framework within which migrants found employment.

For several informants, the decision to become self-employed had been governed by their experiences of racism and discrimination in employment. One man, for example, who had trained as a lawyer in Pakistan (see Jones, 1981-2: 469) and when interviewed was a self-employed mortgage/insurance broker, had arrived in this country in 1976 with high expectations of what he wanted to do, but subsequently found that the reality was very different:

"I came here with the intention of studying,..., but when I came here I realised I couldn't do it because I had no support, I had no money so I had to work, I was not working for the first 6 months to a year, I tried for a job, my uncle took me to a butcher's shop! He was insulting me, I was a law graduate, After that I got fed up, I went to the job centre and applied for different places, The SSEB said I was too highly qualified! The Professional and Executive Register they said that there was a Bangladeshi engineer working as a waiter, don't waste time here,..... When I tried to start a business as a solicitor the Law Society wouldn't give me an exemption, So now I am a mortgage and insurance broker, I want to be a solicitor instead of selling bloody life insurance! I don't like it but I have no alternative to survive, I feel very bitter that my uncle deceived me, Selling life insurance involves no skill but as I said I have no alternative, There is a lot of discrimination in jobs,.... I think you would call that institutional racism, It is not the same as being called a black bastard in the streets,....."

Such experiences were not unique amongst those interviewed. Another man, for example, had been a qualified secondary teacher and had started up in business following a period of unemployment;

"I'm self-employed now,..... I was teaching before that, I was always in the teaching profession, I went to Nigeria to teach for 3 or 4 years, When I came back in 1981 I couldn't get any permanent work, although I had various temporary jobs, There was no security, I was unemployed for 6 months,.... you'd go for a job and you'd never get it, There was quite open discrimination in the teaching profession, I needed job security, so I started my own business,....."

Experiences of institutional racism in employment were not confined to those who subsequently became self-employed, but was encountered by a number of informants in the sample and at different stages in their employment history. Racist discrimination played a central role in structuring employment patterns of many informants in the sample, and there is evidence to suggest its existence during the early 1960s. One

man, for example, who came directly to Glasgow in early 1962 from Pakistan, recounts his first experience of racism in employment;

"I was young when I came, and keen to work. I was very interested, rather than be unemployed, to work so I looked for a job. I had worked on Pakistan railway as a clerical officer, and I thought it would be a good idea to see if I could get a job here with British Rail. I went to what used to be in those days the unemployment exchange. There were vacancies you know, with British Rail. The man phoned up - didn't tell them what my nationality was - and said he was sending me down there. It was just a menial job, the very lowest grade. When I got there, the guy says "sorry, no jobs!", and I said I'd been sent by that man with this card, but he said 'they're all gone'. I was young and naive and I thought that maybe they had gone. After a few days I see this thing again "VACANCIES", and because I was interested in the railway I went back to the unemployment exchange. I said 'I see there are still vacancies?' and he says, 'yes' and phones up again and asks have they still got vacancies. 'Oh yes!' When I went there, I still remember this guy, he says looking up, "No Vacancies!", without any mention. So I came away. Every day, I am going up and down, up and down to the factories, any type of factory, I just wanted work........"

Several informants in the sample arrived in this country with professional qualifications as teachers and engineers. Unable to find employment in their area, several worked for a period as bus conductors. One man, for example, who arrived in Glasgow in 1963, had been well-qualified in Pakistan as an engineer in machine and tool design. He had been working in a Government Department and was in a secure position. However, on coming to this country, he subsequently had great difficulty in finding employment in his field and took a job as a bus conductor:

"I came to this country with a diploma in machine and tool design, but I didn't have the British equivalent qualification. That was the difficulty, actually, I couldn't get an interview because I didn't have the British Diploma. I couldn't get work, yet I had been a Class I official in engineering in Pakistan. I thought I would be able to get work here no trouble! So I started on the buses in 1963, as a conductor, then I became a driver. It was the only respectable job for me at that time, on the buses. Even they refused me at first because they said I was over-qualified because I was an engineer! Anyway, I worked there for three and a half, four years........"

A similar story was told by another man who had arrived in Glasgow in 1961, although in this instance it was believed that one of the reasons why he could not get suitable employment was the result of overt discrimination;

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"I had the foreign qualifications, very good qualifications, and when I came over here I tried to find a particular job related to tele-communications. It was unionised, closed shop, and they said without any engineering job you cannot become a member of the union. When I go for the job, they say sorry, we can't give you the job because you are not a union member. I was stuck. Moreover, these people probably thought it was a very clever way of refusing anyone. It was a racial problem, I think so. It was discrimination. Either they wanted me as a member or they didn't ..... But I drew another conclusion for myself. While I am having these difficulties, from now on, work, save some money and get your own business, work for yourself. Get any kind of employment and then work for yourself. My friend couldn't find work so he became self-employed because of that. So I worked on the buses, there was no other job in Glasgow you see, so that I could save some money and become self-employed. Being very well qualified you are forced to work on the buses because you can't get a job,..... At that time Glasgow Corporation were advertising, for people, in Glasgow there was just the work on the buses, not like in England where the economy was booming,........"

It would appear, therefore, that exclusionary practices channelled a number of informants in the sample into accepting employment below their level of qualification. In addition, for some this situation was, in turn, used as a means of becoming self-employed (but see Jones, 1981-82: 470). However, a number of informants indicated that such a situation would not be tolerated by the children who had been born and/or brought up in Scotland and who expected to enter mainstream employment on the same level as white children.

In summary, therefore, it would appear that ideological/political factors - namely the belief that there was less racism in Scotland vis-a-vis England - played an important role in structuring the process of secondary migration and settlement in Scotland. However, as I have also demonstrated, the subsequent experiences of migrants and their families settled in Scotland clearly illuminates a very different reality.

Conclusion.

The aim of this chapter has been to locate and analyse some of the structural factors which underpin the scale and dynamic of a contemporary example of migration to Scotland. Using empirical material gathered from a sample of male Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants living in Glasgow, I argued that the migration process to Scotland can be divided into two distinct phases. First, there is the initial movement from various parts of the Subcontinent to the UK, which I termed the process of *primary migration*. Second, there is what I termed the process of *internal* or *secondary migration* in which the migrant settled in Scotland, in this instance in Glasgow.

Although existing kin networks in the UK played an important role in facilitating and consolidating the process of chain migration during both the primary and secondary stages, I also isolated a number of structural factors which separately underpinned each phase. In my discussion of the phase of primary migration, it was apparent that subjective explanations for migration and the motivations, goals and aspirations which accompanied them, did not differ in any significant way from those located in existing studies which have been carried out within the English context. It was demonstrated that in the majority of instances, migrants had a number of very clear-cut economic motivations and goals which they envisaged would be achieved through the process of migration. In addition, evidence also suggested that for many migrants who arrived in the early 1960s, the role of state immigration control, particularly the threat of the forthcoming Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962), prompted them to migrate to the UK at the time that they did.

With respect to the phase of secondary migration, I isolated two additional sets of explanatory criteria which appear to underpin the process of migration to, and settlement in, Glasgow: first, a number of economic factors; and second, the role of ideological and political factors. It is with respect to the role of both economic and ideological/political factors that we find criteria which, until now, have not been isolated in existing studies on migration to Britain. First,

with respect to economic factors, it appears that worsening economic conditions in England during the 1970s - particularly with the rise in unemployment and the contraction of sectors which traditionally employed migrant workers - combined with apparent opportunities for the establishment of small businesses prompted a small, but nevertheless significant number to migrate to Scotland from parts of England. Second, the inter-relationship between the English and Scottish ideological/political systems also prompted a significant number to migrate to Scotland from areas in England. It was demonstrated that a combination of political developments in many English cities during the 1970s - in particular, the rise in racist attacks - and the (erroneous) belief that there was no racism in Scotland, encouraged secondary migration to Scotland.

In the light of such evidence, in particular, with respect first, to the role of opportunities for the establishment of small businesses and second, to the role of ideological/political factors in the process of secondary migration, it would appear that explanations of contemporary migration to Scotland cannot be easily sought within existing studies carried out within the English context. This would further confirm the necessity of conducting a separate and distinct analysis of factors underlying the process of migration at any given historical and empirical instance.

Conclusion

It has been the central object of this thesis, through both historical reconstruction and a contemporary case study, to locate and analyse the underlying determinants which have structured the scale and dynamic of Scottish migration patterns. In particular, I have been concerned with highlighting the inadequacies of existing economistic explanations of migration in the context of the Scottish case. This has been demonstrated through systematically establishing both the strength and the weakness of the historical and contemporary links between migration flows and labour demands in the Scottish context. In so doing, I have established that although economic demands for labour may be a necessary determinant of migration patterns at specific historical periods and under certain structural circumstances, they do not determine all migration flows. In particular, I have demonstrated that distinct Scottish social, economic and political structures have made for a distinct migration history.

I have established this argument both theoretically and empirically in a number of ways. In Chapter One I argued that existing studies which purport to address factors structuring the scale and dynamic of New Commonwealth migration to Britain in effect deal only with the English context and generally fail to acknowledge the presence of Black people in Scottish historical and contemporary life. On the occasion where reference is made to the migration and settlement of Black people both historically and in the contemporary period, it is in the absence of any consideration of Scotland's distinct social and economic history in structuring the scale and dynamic of the migration. In particular, I argued that as a result, conclusions drawn from studies carried out solely within the English context are generally not applicable in the Scottish case. This criticism applied most specifically to those studies which seek to explain contemporary migration to Britain in terms of demands for labour within the 'British' economy. Given that Scotland has been designated by a number of theorists as an area of "low labour demand" during the post-1945 period, economistic explanations of

migration have some difficulty in explaining the migrations which manifestly _did_ occur. I suggested, therefore, that additional factors must have structured the scale and dynamic of migration in the absence or relative weakness of an economic determinant.

My critique of economistic explanations of migration, however, extended to a more general level. I argued that those theorists who have focussed solely upon a "demand for labour" explanation of post-1945 migration to Britain as a whole, fail to acknowledge the central role of ideological and political factors effected through, for example, state immigration controls, in determining the scale and dynamic of migrations. Although this does not have direct implications for my argument about a distinct Scottish context, it did highlight not only the inadequacies of an economistic approach but also that explanations of migration can be multi-dimensional.

In the remaining three chapters, I focussed solely upon establishing the distinctive characteristics of Scottish migration history. In Chapter Two I explored the structural development of the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period in order to locate the reasons why labour shortages did, and conversely did not, develop. I located the late 18th and 19th centuries as a period of rapid economic expansion arising from the penetration of capitalist relations of production into all sectors of the economy. In contrast, I demonstrated the structural reasons why the post-1945 Scottish economy was characterised by general contraction and decline evident in the high levels of unemployment and limited expansion into new sectors of production. I suggested that as a result, the post-1945 period was therefore one of limited large-scale sectoral labour shortages.

In Chapter Three I sought to establish the strength of the link between the structural condition of the Scottish economy both historically and in the contemporary period and the development of migration patterns both into and out of the country. Although I demonstrated that some migration flows can be directly attributed to increased demands for labour resulting from the structural developments

outlined in Chapter Two, I also established that not all migrations can
be explained in this way. In particular, I argued that although a small
section of the contemporary migration from areas of the New Commonwealth
to Scotland can be explained in part with reference to local sectoral
labour shortages, this cannot explain the remainder of the migration.
Thus, in the absence of any satisfactory material which deals
specifically with factors structuring the scale and dynamic of
contemporary migration from areas of the New Commonwealth and Pakistan,
Chapter Four analysed original empirical data collected from a sample of
male Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants who settled in Glasgow in the
post-1945 period.

In the final chapter I located and analysed some of the structural
factors which underpinned this contemporary example of migration. I
demonstrated that the process of migration and settlement, and the
factors which underlie them, can be divided into two distinct phases.
Although I argued that the pre-settlement of kin and close friends in the
UK played an important role in facilitating and consolidating the process
of chain migration during both the primary and secondary stages, I also
isolated a number of structural factors which separately underpinned each
phase. The initial process of migration, which was designated the phase
of "primary migration" - in which the migrant left the Indian
subcontinent and migrated to the UK - was characterised by a number of
clear-cut economic aspirations and goals. In addition, it was also shown
that this stage was influenced by the role of British state immigration
controls, particularly with the introduction of the Commonwealth
Immigrants Act in 1962.

However, it was with respect to the process of "secondary" or
"internal migration" that we find additional factors which highlight the
multi-dimensional character of migration flows. Here, I isolated two
additional sets of explanatory criteria which appear to structure and
determine the process of migration to, and settlement in, Glasgow. First,
the availability of work in certain sectors in addition to perceived
opportunities for the establishment of small businesses encouraged a
small, but nevertheless significant number to migrate to Scotland from

parts of England. Second, the inter-relationship between the English and Scottish ideological/political systems, in particular, apparent perceptions of the relative absence of racism in Scotland, also prompted a significant number to migrate to Scotland during the 1970s.

Thus, it would appear that contrary to the persistent and dominant image of Scottish migration history as a country of emigration, this thesis has demonstrated first, the diversity of migration patterns and second, and perhaps of more importance, the variations in the underlying structural causes of migration. It would appear that although economic demands for labour may be important in explaining some migrations in certain specific instances, they are by no means the sole determinant of all migrations. This would indicate that it is therefore crucial in any serious analysis of migration, to consider the specific underlying causes of migration in each empirical instance and not to assume from the outset that there is one single determinant of migration.

Appendices

<u>Appendix 1</u>: Interview Schedule.

[Subjective Perceptions of the Migration Process].

"I am trying to find out about the origins and development of Glasgow's
Asian community as part of a post-graduate thesis. I am interviewing a
number of people in Glasgow including yourself. I am interested in your
personal life history, particularly the reasons why you came to live in
Glasgow and what has happened to you since you came to live here.

Everything you tell me is entirely confidential and I won't make any
reference to what you may tell me using your name. If you don't want to
answer any of the questions or want to end the interview please tell me"

[Intermediate and post-migratory period].

1   "Firstly, can I ask you in which **year** you came to live in Britain?"

2   "Which country were you born in? Is that the same country you left
     before coming to the UK?"

3   [Reasons for leaving the Subcontinent]
     "Can I ask you what made you decide to leave your home in -------?"

4   "And were these the same reasons for coming to the UK ?"

5   "When you arrived in this country, what **status** did you enter on?
     [Student, dependant, work voucher (after 1962), etc].
     [If came as "dependant" go on to question 7]

     [If came on a work voucher]: you said you came on a work voucher.
     Do you know which category it was ('A' - specific job to come to in
     Britain / 'B' - recognised skill in short supply or qualification /
     'C' - all other applicants) ? Could you tell me how you got the
     work voucher?

     What nationality/passport did you have when you came?

     Do you still have that now or do you have a British passport/dual
     nationality?"

6   "Were you: single / intending to get married/ married when you came
     to this country?

     [If single on entry] Are you married now?

     When did you get married?

     Did you marry someone from --------- ?

7   [If married on entry] In which year did you get married? Did your
     wife accompany you when you first came to the UK?

8   [If married / engaged but came alone] Did you have any plans for
      your wife / fiancee to join you in this country?

[Personal Perceptions of the Migration Process]

9   [Go over reasons for coming to Britain. Find out if they had
      intention of staying permanently or intended to live here for a
      short period. If latter, find out why]

      Did you migrate alone or with your family to another country before
      coming to the UK? [If no, go to question 10] What country was
      that, and why did you decide to go there? Which years did you
      spend in that country?

10   [Financing the Migration]

      "How did you finance your journey to the UK? Did you use your own
      savings / with money put up by family / Government funded
      [students] / borrowed money?"

11   [If married on entry but came alone] "You mentioned
      earlier that your wife (and children) did not immediately join you
      in this country. Could you tell me how they were supported in --- ?
      Did you send money over to them while you were living here?
      [Remittances] Did you send money over to other members of your
      family?

[Knowledge of the UK prior to migration]

12   Could you tell me what sort of things you knew about Britain before
      came here?

13   What sort of country did you think it was? Why did you think that?

14   How did you know these things? [Sources of information]

15   What would you say was your general impression of this country when
      you arrived? Why do you say that?

[Migration within the UK]

16   Which was the first town you lived in when you arrived in the UK?
      Have you lived in any other places after that?

17   In which year did you come to live in Glasgow?

18   Were there any specific reasons which made you come to live in
      Glasgow? [Work, family here, "better race relations"?]

19   What had you heard about the city of Glasgow? Could you tell me
      about your impressions of the city when you first arrived? Why did
      you think that?

[Evidence of sponsorship and patronage systems]

20   Did you have any friends or relatives in any part of the UK before
     you came? [If NO, go on to question 28 on housing in Glasgow].

21   Did you know anyone in Glasgow before you came to live in the city?
     Whereabouts in Glasgow did they live?

22   Did they come from the same place as you in -------?

23   Do you know how and when your family/friends came to live in
     Britain? Would you mind telling me a bit about them, how they came
     to live here, etc?

24   Do you know what has happened to them - the sort of work they have
     done, etc?

25   Did they influence your decision to come here in any way? How was
     that? [By sponsorship, talk of work opportunities, obtaining job,
     etc].

26   If they obtained work for you before you came here, how did they get
     you that job? What sort of work was it?

27   Did any other members of your family or friends join you in this
     country? When was that? Could you tell me a bit about them?

[Glasgow Housing]

28   When you came to Glasgow, which area did you first live in?

29   Is it the same address as you live at now? [If YES, go to question
     32].

30   Where else have you lived in Glasgow? Could you tell me in which
     years you lived there? What types of houses did you live in?

31   When you changed address, were there any particular reasons for
     choosing the areas you moved to?

32   You mentioned earlier that you lived in an owner-occupied house in X
     area. How did you get the money to buy the property? Was it
     bought outright (own savings)/ co-ownership (pooled savings with
     friends/relatives)/ loans from friends/relatives/ loan from
     bank/building society/other financial source?

     [If from a bank, etc]
     Did you have any problems raising the money? [If yes] Why do you
     think that was?

[Employment History while in the UK]

"I'd now like to ask you some questions about your employment history while in this country".

33   At present, are you working at all? [If NO, go to question 36]

34   Are you: self employed / unemployed / retired ?

35   [If working at present, including self employed] What is your present occupation?

36   [If unemployed / retired] What was your last job?

[For those who came as students]

37   You mentioned earlier that you came to this country to study. Which college/university did you go to?

38   What did you study there, and what qualifications did you get?

39   How long were you a student there?

[All respondents]

40   Is the job you do now / before you stopped working / retired, the same as when you first came to Glasgow?

41   Can I now ask you about the other jobs you have done while living in the UK. If you could start by telling me the first job that you did when you came to the UK, and then tell me about the other jobs after that?

[In each case]:

42   Which area of the country did you work in?

43   Can you tell me the name of the company? What type of company was it?

44   During which years did you work for that company?

45   How did you first hear about the job? Was it through family, friends, job advert?

46   What was your job? What were the work conditions like? did you do shift work, work long hours?

47   Were there any other Asian people working in the same place? Could you tell me what sort of work they did? Were any of them friends or relatives?

48   Were you a member of a trade union? Which union was it? Did you ever have to go to the union with any complaint?

Would you mind telling me why you went to the union? How did you feel they dealt with your case? Why do you say that?

49 Would you mind telling me about the other jobs (if any) which you have done in the UK [Repeat questions 42-48].

50 In each instance, were there any specific reasons why you changed job?

51 Have you ever, at any time, had difficulty obtaining employment?

52 [if yes] Why do you think that might have been?

53 [If employed at present] Have you ever been unemployed for any length of time? Why was that?

[Job Preference and Expectations]

54 Before you came to this country, did you have any expectations about the sort of work you would do?

55 Do you think this is very different from the sort of work you have actually done? [If yes] Why do you think this might have been?

[Self Employment]

"I'd now like to ask you some questions about self-employment":

56 [If not self-employed at present] Have you ever had your own business? [If No, go on to question 73]

57 [If self-employed at present] Have you had any other businesses before your present one?

58 What sort of businesses have you had?

59 What made you start up in business?

60 When was that?

61 Did you start alone or with friends / relatives?

62 How did you finance the business at the start?

63 did you have any problems raising the money initially? [If yes] Why do you think that was?

64 [If shop owner/providing a public service] What made you set up in the area that you did?

65 How many people do you employ?

66 Do nay of your family or friends work for you?

67   What sort of work do they do?

68   Have you ever had any problems running your business? Why do you
     think that might have been?

69   [If had more than one business] What reasons did you have for
     changing business?

70   Earlier you mentioned that at present you are self-employed. What
     type of business do you have at present?

71   Would you say that it is successful?

72   What reasons would you give for its success?

[Life in the Indian subcontinent before migration]

"I'd now like to ask you about your life in ------ before you came to the
UK.

73   Would you mind telling me in which year you were born?

74   Which area of ------- were you born in?

75   Was it a rural or an urban area?

76   Could you tell me a bit about everyday life there. What sort of
     place was it?

77   Is that the same area you were living in before you came to the UK?

78   [If NO] Where were you living before you came to the UK?

79   Could I ask you a bit about your family background? What were your
     parents occupations? Did they have any land? How much land did
     they own?

80   What did the other members of your family do?

81   Were any of your family members in the army/involved in the civil
     service? Could you tell me a bit about them?

82   Of any of the other people that you know who came to Glasgow, do
     you know if any of them were involved in the army or the civil
     service?

83   Do you know if any of your family were ever involved in the
     administration of India before the Partition/when the British were
     in India? Could you tell me anything about that?

84   What was your family's religion?

Educational Background:

85   Would you mind telling me about your education in ---------? How
      far did you go in your education?

86   What age were you when you left school/university/college?

87   How good would you say your knowledge of English was before you
      came to this country?

Occupational history before coming to the UK.

88   Can I now ask you about the sort of work you did before you came to
      the UK.

"Finally, I'd like to ask you some general questions about your life in
this country,"

89   Looking back on your life here, would you say it has all been worth
      it?

90   Has your quality of life been better, about the same or worse than
      you imagined it would be before you came here?

91   Why do you say that?

92   You said earlier that you originally intended to live and work here
      before going back to settle in --------. What would you say has
      made you stay on in this country/

93   Would you say that Asian people and their children who have been
      born and/or brought up in this country, stand an equal chance of
      jobs and housing as Scots? Why do you say that?

94   Have you or any of your family personally experienced any
      difficulties? Why do you think that might have been?

95   In general, do you think life in this country is now better for
      people of Asian origin than it was when you first arrived here?
      Why do you think that this might be?

96   There has been a lot of talk in the papers recently about racism
      and discrimination in Glasgow and in Scotland. Do you think there
      is a problem in the city? Why do you think that this is?

97   What do you think are the main causes of these problems?

98   Do you think that the situation is any different in Scotland than in
      England? Why do you think that might be?

99   Finally, can I ask you what links you still have with ------- ?
     How many times have you visited since you came here?

100 What are your reasons for going back? Family/friends/business
     links?

Appendix 2: Coding Sheet

Interview Number: _____

Date: _____

Date of Birth: _____

Area of Pakistan/Bangladesh Before Migration:

_____

Date of Entry to UK: _____

Date of Coming to Glasgow: _____

Present Occupation:

_____

Employed/Self-Employed

If Unemployed/Retired, Last Occupation:

_____

Section 1 : BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS BEFORE MIGRATION

1) Date of birth: _____

2) City/district of birth in India/Pakistan:_____

3) Other areas of residence (if any)(state if urban or rural):

4) Area lived in before migration to UK: _____
   Urban/rural background.

5) Migration after 1947 Partition: YES
                                     NO
   If YES, FROM: _____ TO:_____

6) Marital status before migration: MARRIED
                                         SINGLE
                                         ENGAGED

   If MARRIED, year of marriage _____

7) Father's occupation : _____

8) Land ownership: YES/NO/No information.
   If YES, how much land?:_____

   Ever help on family land: YES/NO/NA

9) Mother worked: YES/NO.

10)Occupations of other family members (excluding parents):

   Relationship: Occupation:

11)Army connections/colonial involvement within immediate family:

YES/NO.

12)Religion: Muslim
                 Christian

(202)

13)EDUCATION: Level reached: Matriculation
                                   Degree level: 1st/2nd degree
                                   Degree level but did not sit exams
                                   no formal education

                  Age left school/college :_____

                  Knowledge of English language: Good
                                                  fair
                                                  Poor
                                                  Could not speak it

14)OCCUPATION(S) BEFORE COMING TO UK:

                                   still at school
                                   at college/university
                                   employed: manual/non-manual
                                           skilled
                                           semi-skilled
                                           unskilled

If employed, job details:

Section 2: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS AFTER MIGRATION

1) Year of entry to UK : _____
                                        pre-1945
                                        1950's
                                        pre-1962
                                        post-1962
                                        1970's

2) Year came to Glasgow : _____

3) Status/passport on entry
                                        Pakistani passport
                                        student
                                        dependent
                                          fiancee
                                          work voucher (after 1962)

   Passport now held
                                          British
                                          Pakistani
                                          Dual nationality

   Marital status on entry
                                        married
                                        (year of marriage _____)
                                        single
                                        (year of marriage _____)
                                        fiancee
                                        (year of marriage _____)

FAMILY REUNIFICATION

4) If married/engaged, plans for wife (and any dependent
children)/fiancee to come to UK:
                  wife came at same time
                  no plans originally for wife/family to come
                  (had intended to go back after a period)
                  Wife took decision to come
                  Wife came after _____ years
                  Wife did not want to come
                  Married British woman _____

If married on entry, year wife (and any children) came to the
UK:_____

If married on entry, support of wife/family in Pakistan:

                  sent money to support them
                  family stayed with relatives
                  family had existing money for support

Section 3: SECONDARY MIGRATION WITHIN THE UK

1) Came straight to Glasgow : YES

                                        NO

   If YES, year came to Glasgow : _____
   If NO, year came to Glasgow : _____

2) If came straight to Glasgow, lived in any other towns : YES

                                                          NO

   If YES, give towns and dates, including reasons for going there:

TOWN   DATES   REASONS (if any)

3) If NO (to question 1), did not come to Glasgow on arrival, towns lived in before coming to Glasgow:

TOWN   DATES   REASONS (if any)

SECONDARY MIGRATION WITHIN THE UK (CONTINUED)

4) Visits to Pakistan while resident in the UK:

    Dates of visit;   Reason(s) for visit;
                                    (a) to visit family/friends
                                    (b) marriage
                                    (c) business
                                    (d) intended to resettle
                                    (e) other reason

Section 4: KINSHIP NETWORKS IN THE UK

1) Friends/relatives in the UK before arrival ; YES (go to 2)
                                              NO

    If NO, go to section on migration of kin after own settlement.

2) Details of "pioneer migrants" in UK:

Relationship   Year came Town(s) settled (years)   Occupation(s)
(incl, area of Pakis)

3) Friends/relatives in Glasgow ; YES
               NO

4) If YES, details of "pioneer migrants" in Glasgow:

Relationship Year came Occupation(s)   Still in Glasgow?
(incl, area of Pakis)

5) Migration of kin after own settlement in Glasgow

Did any relatives/friends come and settle in Glasgow after own
settlement;

         YES/NO

If YES, details;

Relationship   Year came to Glasgow Occupation(s)

Section 5: THE MIGRATION PROCESS : personal perceptions of primary and secondary migration

1) Personal perceptions of the migration process : reasons for coming to Britain :

(a) With the intention of studying/to improve qualifications

(b) As a student (university place to come to)

(c) To study and work part-time

(d) For employment ; came to fill a specific job _____
came with the intention of finding work _____
came with work voucher (after 1962) _____

(e) To make money _____   better opportunities _____
better living standards _____   better prospects _____

(f) To make money and then return

(g) To join friends already living here

(h) Came to visit then settled

(i) Other people were coming from the subcontinent so came also
(friends/relatives sending back information about life in Britain)

(j) Came as a dependant ; to join family _____   with family _____

(k) For marriage

(l) Called by sponsor (family member/friend)

(m) To see the world/adventure/experience

(n) Trouble in India/Pakistan (Partition 1947/creation of Bangladesh 1971)

(o) Medical reasons

(p) Other reasons : _____

TOTAL NUMBER OF REASONS : _____

2) INFLUENCE OF KIN ON DECISION TO COME

a) Friends/family wrote and asked over
b) called by sponsor
c) called by relative as a dependant
d) friends sent back/brought back information so decided to come
e) sent for education
f) came with relatives as a dependant
g) no influence

3) "THE MYTH OF RETURN"

a) originally intended to go back,
b) came to settle permanently - no intention of returning
c) came to study and then return
d) came to work/make money and then return
e) no ideas when first came
f) still intend to go back
g) other reasons _____

4)REASONS FOR NOT RETURNING

a)" family reasons"; i) family born here, grew up here and educated in
                          this country
                     ii) family came to this country and settled
b) Wife Scottish
c) Political disturbances(Pakistan/Bangladesh
d) Work situation - business established/employed
e) "Better life here"
f) "Just stayed"
g) "This is my home now"
h) other reason _____

5) FINANCING JOURNEY

            a) own money
            b) Government Grant (as student)
            c) Family money
            d) sponsored by relations already here
            e) Other source _____

6) <u>KNOWLEDGE OF UK PRIOR TO MIGRATION</u>

a) Advanced country/industrial/developed
b) "Good opportunities"; i) plenty of work available/good jobs
                          ii) could make money
                          iii better standard of living
c) Work available/ work in factories
d) British colonial involvement in the Subcontinent (either direct
experience or through education- history/geography lessons)
e) Vague notion about what sort of country it was (people, scenery
etc)
f) "No trouble in race relations side of things"
g) "Knew nothing"
h) Other _____

7) <u>SOURCES OF INFORMATION</u>

a) Through relatives/friends already in UK (through
correspondence/visits by them)
b) Films/books/newspapers
c) Official Government films
d) School/college education (history/geography lessons)
e) Family stories of British colonial rule in the Subcontinent
f) Own experiences/contact with British in the Subcontinent
g) Rumours,
h) Other source _____

8) <u>IMPRESSION ON ARRIVAL</u>

a) Favourable
b) Not the place it was made out to be
c) Potential problems- language difficulties
d) People- helpful/honest/friendly
e) advanced society
f) "Immoral" (in religious terms)
g) Alright/indifferent
h) Did not like it
i) It was a mistake coming
j) Other,

9) <u>REMITTANCES</u>

a) Sent money back to family in Pakistan?   YES/ NO/ COULD NOT AFFORD
IT

b) How money was used; i) To support parents
                       ii)To support wife/children
                       iii)To improve family circumstances
                       iv)Other use

Section 6: SECONDARY MIGRATION WITHIN THE UK : FACTORS AFFECTING
MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN GLASGOW.

1) Reasons for coming to Glasgow

a) To join friends/relatives already in the city

b) To study

c) Called by sponsor

d) To work- specific job to come to

e) To work   i) speculative
             ii) heard there was work on the buses

f) To set up in business (had heard money wise/business wise Glasgow
was more prosperous)

g) Heard there was less racism/colour bar in Scotland than in England,

h) Other reasons (eg, to avoid bombing in London during the War/to
join community In Glasgow/other reason _____)

2) Knowledge of Glasgow/Scotland prior to settlement

a) Had heard there was work on the buses/work available

b) Had heard you could set up in business/could make a good living in
Scotland/business opportunities (eg as pedlars)

c) Had heard there was less "racism/colour bar" / people friendlier
than in England,

d) Knew a bit about the history of Scotland- famous shipyards, heavy
industry

e) Could study there

f) Knew nothing
g) Other: _____

3) Source of information

a) Through education
b) Through newspapers/books
c) Through friends/relatives already in Glasgow
d) Through visits to friends in Glasgow,
e) Through personal contact with Scots in Subcontinent
f) Other source: _____

4) Impressions of Glasgow on arrival

a) People friendlier/more honest/nicer than in England
b) City had a lot of bad areas/high levels of crime
c) Little or no "colour bar" compared with England
d) Not what it was made out to be - not the opportunities that had heard about
e) Generally liked it
f) other

Section 7: GLASGOW HOUSING

1.Street/area	2.From: To:	3.Type of accom. (see below)*	4.Rent/mortgage/ loan	5.Reasons for moving there**

---

3. **Type of accommodation:** a)owner occupied/b)private rented/c)shared rented lodgings/d)lived with friends/e)council accommodation/f)SSHA.
5. **Reasons for moving there:** a) friends lived there/b)last house too small/c)To be near own community/d)price range/e)near facilities (schools, shops etc)/f)marriage/g)last house demolished/h)to be near business/work/i)lack of privacy/had been staying with friends/j)wanted better accommodation/k)no reason.

Section 8: EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

(INCLUDES YEARS NOT WORKING i.e. UNEMPLOYED/IN PAKISTAN and DETAILS OF
SELF-EMPLOYMENT)

Job description/	Area/city	Years;	Source of work; Union
company		From; to;	a)Friends member
			b)advert/job
			centre
			c)"rumours"
			d)went to factory

REASONS FOR CHANGING JOB/
SETTING UP IN BUSINESS

REASONS FOR CHANGING JOB/
SETTING UP IN BUSINESS

REASONS FOR CHANGING JOB/
SETTING UP IN BUSINESS

---

(1) <u>REASONS FOR CHANGING JOB</u>

a) wanted change   b) sacked/dismissal

c) redundancy/early retirement d) better pay

e) only work available   f) only respectable job available

g) no other income   h) had been to Pakistan, given up previous
   (had to work to survive)   job.

i) To save money to start   j) to start up own business(% see
   business   "reasons for setting up in business")

k) health reasons   l) other reasons

(2) Any difficulties obtaining work ;   YES/NO

    If YES, reasons;

a) level of unemployment/few vacancies
b) racism/discrimination
c) too highly qualified
d) closed shop - not a union member
e) could not speak English
f) other reason

(3) Trade union membership ; YES/NO

    Union; _____

    Ever been to Union with any complaints - YES/NO

    If YES, reason(s);
 a) discrimination
 b) unfair dismissal
 c) unfair treatment
 d) other reason

(4) <u>JOB EXPECTATIONS BEFORE MIGRATION</u>

a) Had no expectations about the sort of work might do
b) No expectations- had just intended coming to UK and working to make money
before going back to Pakistan
c) Had a job to come to
d) Expected to find job related to experience/qualifications
e) Other:_____

<u>Section 9: SELF EMPLOYMENT</u>

(1) <u>REASONS FOR SETTING UP IN BUSINESS</u>

a) no other work available
b) Independence/freedom - didn't want to work for someone
c) "family tradition"
d) went into partnership with friends/relatives
e) Unemployed - wanted job security
f) Unemployed
g) to gain respect through business/better prospects/more money
h) wanted change
i) gap in the market for ethnic businesses
j) no work in England/did not like factory work - had heard could set up
   business in Glasgow
k) health reasons
l) other

(2) <u>PRESENT BUSINESS</u>

a) Source of capital :i) money saved from working
                     ii) borrowed money from friend/relative
                     iii)bank/finance company
                      iv)partnership
                       v)credit

b) Size : number of employees _____

c) Has business been successful : YES/NO
   If YES, reasons : i) hard work/service provided/relationship with
                         customers
                     ii) providing service for Asian community iii)Other

   If NO, reasons : i) current recession
                    ii) service oversubscribed
                   iii) need to broaden out range of service eg expand
                        business,
                    iv) other,

d) Any problems running business; YES/NO
   If YES, reason(s); i) financial problems
                    ii) partnership difficulties
                   iii) vandalism/racism
                    iv) current recession
                     v) other

e) Is business run alone or by partners; i) Alone
                                        ii) partners - friends/relatives

(Reflections on migration experience, equality with Scots, comments on racism and discrimination.)

1) "Looking back on your life here would you say that it has all been worth it?"

YES   NO   YES AND NO   DON'T KNOW   INDIFFERENT.

Reasons (divide into positive and negative reasons):

POSITIVE

a) have gained financially/materially/culturally/socially
b) Asian/Pakistani community has established here.
c) Children have been educated and brought up in this country
d) Whole family has settled here/children grown up/feel Scottish.
e) Better facilities in this country in comparison with Pakistan.
f) Business established in this country.
g) Other:_____

NEGATIVE

a) Conflict of cultures/problem of bringing up children under Islam/depriving family of Pakistani culture, language religion and history.
b) Problem of unemployment
c) Have to work too hard in this country in order to survive
d) Relatives in Pakistan doing better than here
e) Poor existence in this country.
f) Mistake coming to this country.
g) No better off in this country than would be in Pakistan
h) Miss relatives in Pakistan.
i) Other:_____

2) "Has your quality of life been better, about the same or worse than you imagined it would be before you came to this country?" (Generally interpreted by respondents to mean "is life better here than in Pakistan")

BETTER   SAME   WORSE   BETTER AND WORSE   DON'T KNOW

POSITIVE

a) Financially better off than in Pakistan/better standard of living
b) Better life generally in this country
c) Freedom in this country- freedom of speech, religion etc.
d) Better opportunities for children esp. in education, in Britain
e) Other:_____

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

a) Socially better in Pakistan, but financially/materially better in Britain
b) Would have same standard of living in Pakistan as in Britain
c) Other:_____

NEGATIVE

a) Unemployed/no work in this country
b) Would have a better life in Pakistan/might have done better there
c) Have to work very hard to survive in this country to the detriment of all
else (socially, culturally etc)
d) Have lost the social life of Pakistan by coming to this country
e) Financially worse off
f) As a Christian and coloured, a "double minority"
g) Other:_____

(LINK RESPONSES TO THIS QUESTION TO INTENTIONS OF MIGRATION AND INTENTIONS OF
RETURNING TO SETTLE IN THE SUB-CONTINENT)

3) "In general, do you think that life in this country is now better for people
of Asian origin than it was when you first arrived?"

BETTER   ABOUT THE SAME   WORSE   DON'T KNOW

POSITIVE

a) Better off financially/materially
b) Broadened experience having lived here for so long
c) Better opportunities now
d) Do not have to work so hard now than in the beginning- business established
e) Pakistani community now well established in this country- better community
facilities(Mosque, shops etc) than when first settled in Britain,
f) Better understanding between "host community and immigrants"/"accepted now by
local people",
g) Less prejudice now than when first came to this country,
h) Better life for those who came from rural areas of Pakistan than from
the towns - marked contrast in life style

NEGATIVE

a) Increase in racism and discrimination,
b) Increased competition for jobs/increase in unemployment - has forced Asian
communities into ranks of the unemployed/increases reliance on small business
sector for employment
c) Less discrimination when first settled in this country- fewer Asian people
settled in this country and were more integrated than now,
d) Increasing development of problems ; with increasing numbers coming from the
rural areas of Pakistan, growing reluctance to integrate, Has led to increase
in conflicts with "host" community,
e) Problems associated with children born and growing up in British society;
children expect equal treatment (with respect to employment opportunities,
attitudes etc) as Scottish- born which parents did not demand/problems

associated with trying to bring up children under Islam when faced with the
contradictions in Western societies
f) Other;_____

4)"Do you think that Asian people and their children who have been born and
brought up in this country stand an equal chance of jobs and housing as Scots?"

YES   NO   DON'T KNOW

YES;
a) Children have had the same education and therefore should have the same
chances
b) Asian children would get jobs if there were any but the recession has made
things difficult
c) Other;_____

NO;

a) Racism/discrimination/no equal opportunities/"colour bar"/"race relations
problem"
b) *All* Asians treated as " foreigners"/"immigrants" even if born in this country
c) Unemployment/economic recession - no jobs for anyone/ preference given to
"locals"
d) Government to blame
e) Asian people "unwilling to integrate"
f) Asian people have to compete for places,
g) "We were foreigners and accepted that we would not be treated equally but our
children who have been born and brought up in this country do not accept this
position and are demanding equality/are fighting back at the establishment"
h) Other;_____

5) Personal difficulties?
     YES/NO   (Link to work experiences etc)

6) <u>RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN GLASGOW AND SCOTLAND</u>

YES   NO   DON'T KNOW

a)"Prejudice is everywhere, it is natural"
b) Racist attacks/institutional racism (in employment)
c) "Race hatred"
d) National Front/BNP presence in Scotland
e) Police harassment of Asian communities
f) Asian people not accepted by local community
g) It is only a minority of people who are creating problems - majority of Scots
are "tolerant"
h) The recession has encouraged the search for a scape-goat to blame for
increasing unemployment etc and attention has been turned towards the Asian
community which is seen as more prosperous (focus of resentment and jealousy)
i) Increasing numbers of Asian people are coming to Scotland from England (in
search of employment, mostly through the setting up of business, or to escape
racism and harassment) and are now demanding equal rights. This has led to an
increased hostility from within the "host" community.
j) Traditionally, parents have been concentrated in small businesses, but
Pakistani children are not content to move into the same sector and are now
demanding equality of opportunity in employment, having been born and educated
in this country.
k) Other:_____

7) <u>"Do you think that there is a difference in this respect between Scotland and
England?"</u>

        YES   NO   DON'T KNOW.

i) Less racism in Scotland than in England
ii) More racism in Scotland than in England
iii) It is a growing problem in Scotland

(In what respect?)
a) "Less colour bar"/English are more prejudiced
b) Scottish nature is different; Scots are friendlier/more broad-minded/willing
to integrate/good-hearted
c) English think they are superior to everyone- colonial links of dominance.
d) Scots had a better colonial relationship with Indian subcontinent
e) Scots are preoccupied with other problems (independence/unemployment)
f) The influence and organisation of the NF and BNP is weaker in Scotland than
in England
g) Pakistanis are moving up to Scotland because there is less racism. Because
of this increase in numbers there has been a growth of racism in Scotland,
h)"Numbers": There are more Asians settled in England than in Scotland and they
are blamed for heavy unemployment
i) In Scotland most Asian people are concentrated in business and because of
this command respect from the local community. In England they are workers and
are seen as competition.
j) Other:_____

8) "What do you think are the main causes of racism?"

a) Ignorance/jealousy
b) Economic recession/heavy unemployment - search for a scape-goat
c) The Government is to blame
d) Colonial involvement
e) Parents' attitudes
f) "It is only natural"
g) Other:_____
h) Don't know/no information

9) How to tackle racism?

a) Increased communication and *understanding* between Asian and "host" community
b) Increased *integration* on the part of the Asian community
c) Through *education*
d) *Law enforcement* directed at those who "incite racial hatred"
e) *Police* believing reports of attacks etc and acting upon them
f) Setting up of *laws* which effectively enforce equality in all aspects of life.
g) The *economy* must be strengthened and more jobs created
h) *"Nothing can be done"*
i) Other:_____
j) Don't know/no information.

Appendix 3.

A series of circulars between the Secretary of State via the Scottish Office in Whitehall and the Chief Constable of Glasgow Police to all Superintendents in the area clearly shows the continued concern over the granting of pedlars' certificates to Lascar seamen during the 1930s. In a circular issued by the Scottish Office in Whitehall on the 10th June, 1930, the desire was to control the issue of pedlars' certificates to Lascar seamen on the grounds that their entry to the United Kingdom may have been "irregular". The means of making such a decision was by no means objective, but relied on a number of assumptions about the "character" of Lascar seamen;

> *"I am directed by the Secretary of State to say that recently allegations have been made that there has been an increase in the number of desertions by Lascar and other coloured seamen at ports in the United Kingdom and attention has been drawn to the fact that such men often apply to the Police for pedlars' certificates. Before issuing a certificate in such cases the Police should take such steps as are possible to ascertain how the applicant entered the United Kingdom. If there is reason to think that he is a deserter or has landed irregularly it would seem desirable, whether he is an alien or claims to be of British nationality, that his application should be examined with special strictness, and that the Police should be slow to grant certificates when there is good ground to suspect that the applicant is a deserter or has otherwise obtained entry into this country by irregular means. It is hoped that this course will tend to discourage desertions from Lascar Articles and the irregular landing of coloured seamen. The Secretary of State considers it desirable that any application for a pedlar's certificate from an alien should be carefully scrutinised more particularly in the case of new arrivals in this country and that certificates should be refused in all cases in which Chief Constables are not entirely satisfied as to the character of the applicant" (Scottish Office Circular No 2440, John Lamb).*

It would appear that after the circulation of these guidelines measures were taken by Whitehall on the 8th January 1934 and again on the 14th June 1934, to check all applications for pedlars' certificates by holders of passports issued in India after October 1931;

> *GRANT OF PEDLARS' CERTIFICATES TO COLOURED SEAMEN.*
>
> *I am directed by the Secretary of State to refer to the Scottish Office Circular No 2440 of the 10th June, 1930, and to say that a number of cases have come to notice recently of the grant of pedlars' certificates to Indians. While it may be that they were not cases which fell within the terms of the circular the Secretary of State will be glad if applications*

*from Indians can continue to be examined with special strictness on the
lines indicated on the Circular.*

*The Secretary of State will also be glad if you will communicate to the
Under Secretary of State ...... details of the case of any Indian applicant
for a pedlar's certificate - whether a seamen or not - who is in possession
of a passport issued in India after October 1931, particulars of the
passport should be given" (Scottish Office Circular No 2822, P J Rose).*

Such attempts to restrict the issuing of pedlars' certificates to
Lascar seamen would appear to have been effective, for in a Circular from
the Scottish Office on the 12th August 1936, the number of men engaged in
peddling activities appears to have decreased;

*",...... since the date of the latter Circular instructions have been
circulated by the Government of India to passport-issuing authorities in
that country to take great care to ensure that passports should not be
issued to Indians of limited means who appear likely to proceed to the
United Kingdom to engage in petty trade. In the result it would appear
that the number of Indians arriving in this country in recent months for
the purpose of peddling has considerably diminished, and while the
Secretary of State would be glad if applications from Indians would
continue to be examined with special strictness, he does not think it
necessary that the details of each application should continue to be
reported to the Home Office as a routine matter. I am to request, however,
that you will be so good as to inform the Home Office if at any time the
number of Indians applying for Pedlars' Certificates in any particular
district should sensibly increase" (Scottish Office Circular, No 3157, John
Jefferey).*

Details of those in receipt of Pedlars' Certificates which were
issued annually in Glasgow under the Pedlars Act 1871 by the City of
Glasgow Police exist from 1939 <¹>. Records include details of the names
of those in receipt of the certificates, place of residence in the city,
and the date the certificate was issued. However, perhaps of particular
relevance to the restrictions outlined in the Scottish Office Circulars
above, is the inclusion of information on the place and date of issue of
a person's passport. This would confirm the continuation of the practice
of examining applications from Indians with "special strictness" and of
the continued policing of a section of the population which was
categorised as a particular "problem".

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(1) Held in Strathclyde Regional Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

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