

The Anti-Racist State – An Investigation Into the Relationship Between Representations of ‘Racism’, Anti-Racist Typification and the State: A ‘Scottish’ Case Study

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother Androniki Kyriakides and late father Pantelis Kyriakides who taught me how to be human.

Abstract

This study constitutes the first socio-historical reconstruction of Scotland-based anti-racist formation, spanning the post-WW2 period to the present day. Historical in that a chronological map of anti-racist mobilisation is reconstructed; sociological in that anti-racist formation is analytically founded with the purpose of subjecting conceptualisations of ‘racism as a social problem’ to historical scrutiny by tracing its increasing public profile across time. This thesis is concerned with the making of the meaning of ‘racism as a social problem’, an understanding of which is framed by the interplay between anti-racist formation and the policy agenda of the British state. This interplay is contextualised and scrutinised specifically in Scotland, such that the state’s role in defining racism as a social problem is subject to critique. Focus is on the perceived role of ‘race’ and migration as social conflict variables, and state institutions as agents of legitimation, incorporation, and regulation.

Scotland provides a robust geo-political framework for analysis in that there is explicit recognition that the problem of racism in Scotland has been neglected historically. We have moved from a social policy context in which racism was not given sufficient attention by the Scottish arm of the British state, to a newly devolved institutional set-up which has allotted a significant place to the social problem of racism as specifically a ‘Scottish problem’. The newly devolved Scottish polity’s commissioned anti-racist media campaign – *One Scotland, Many Cultures* – provides an explicit statement of what the state means when it declares itself anti-racist, how its agenda informs the signification of ‘racism’, and consequently how ‘racism’ is typified as a social problem requiring state intervention.

This study explores ‘problem definition’ with the use of multiple methods of enquiry, including:

- archival recovery;
- elite interview;
- policy analysis;
- event analysis;
- media analysis;
- visual analysis;
- audio analysis.

Media analysis incorporates representations of anti-racist claimsmaking, which takes a specifically Scottish focus in the Scottish press and is systematised over a particular period ranging from 1994 to 2004. This is supplemented by interviews with anti-racist activists and policy officials, with a specific focus on those who played a key role at an institutional level pre-devolution and those with a close involvement in the development of *One Scotland, Many Cultures*. This triangulation is grounded via a historical approach which seeks, through archival recovery, to unravel the contextual construction of 'racism as a Scottish problem' from 1968 to 2004.

This thesis concludes that the devolved polity's problem typification draws on historical currents specific to representations of 'racism' as influenced by Scotland-based anti-racist formation, but adds a new dimension, such that the definition of 'racism' is 'therapised'. An increased public profile in Scotland in the five years prior to devolution builds on earlier 'anti-Nazi' representations of 'racism' mobilised by key Scotland-based anti-racist actors. The actions of the latter are informed by post-WW2 British welfare social policy, but target notions of 'Englishness' paired with 'Nazism' and authoritarianism, such that a specifically Scottish conception of 'racism as social problem' is placed on the current political agenda of the anti-racist state.

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Introduction

Being, and ensuring that others are aware that one is, anti-racist has become *de rigeur* within sections of the European Left. But in order to determine what is to be achieved by an anti-racist strategy it is necessary to be clear about what it is that the concept of racism refers to. (Miles 1988: 450)

Labour's blustering....is no less saturated with racial connotations than the Conservatives'....the right and left converge at key points and share an understanding of what is involved in the politics of race. (Gilroy 1993: 57)

The Problem

Three main problems provide the impetus for the thesis proposed herein. The first is empirical. On 5th June 2001, whilst giving evidence to the Scottish Parliament Equal Opportunities Committee's *Inquiry into Gypsy Travellers and Public Sector Policies*, Member of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) Jackie Baillie announced the Scottish Executive's intention to devise a Scotland-wide media-based anti-racist campaign. This announcement followed, and provided further stimulus for, a number of significant institutional developments geared toward the stated aim of tackling racism in Scotland. The development of the Scottish Executive's *One Scotland, Many Cultures* (OMSC) anti-racist campaign, launched on 24th November 2002 and hailed as the first campaign of its kind in Britain, represents the most visible pronouncement and reflection of the devolved Scottish polity's anti-racist prescription. In launching this campaign, the Scottish Executive addressed a central criticism levelled at previous Scottish Office administrations: that the issue of racism was given insufficient attention in pre-devolution Scotland due to the prominently held, but misconceived, view that there are not sufficient numbers of immigrants in Scotland to constitute a 'race relations problem'. This development raises immediate intellectual questions which cannot be divorced from the political events at hand.

Given the abundance of academic activism and social critique, which has since World War Two situated the British state as a key player in the determination of racism, i.e. in its generation and reproduction, it becomes incumbent upon us to ask searching questions when an apparently racist state (and/or in this case its devolved subsidiary) declares itself anti-racist. Of course, whether or not the state is a key player in racism's causation is an important and controversial debate, and depends on what one considers the nature of the state, and of racism, to be. Obviously, if one believes the state to be neutral, benevolent and pluralist then

one must come to a less anti-statist account of what causes racism and, consequently, what needs to be done to challenge the phenomenon. On the other hand, if one believes the state to be inherently racist, coercive and authoritarian, then a plea for state-endorsed anti-racist intervention is oxymoronic or at least problematic. To complicate matters further, there are, of course, 'shades of grey' between both positions. Moreover, any official proclamation of anti-racism needs to be understood in a historical context in which no post-Holocaust, post-colonial Government could, without undermining its own moral authority, openly declare itself to be racist, even whilst engaging in what are considered to be racist practices and policies.

Indeed, whilst OMSC was hailed as a 'national first', it is clear that the anti-racist prescription of the devolved Scottish polity cannot easily be divorced from the wider agenda of the British state. Moreover, that there is a relationship between the international, national and local dimensions of state is highlighted by New Labour's decision, following the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban in 2001, to develop a National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR). The 'commitment' was subsequently reaffirmed through a number of forums over the period 2001–2003. In 2002 the Home Office Race Equality Unit (REU) set up a Steering Group, involving a wide range of statutory and voluntary agencies with the purported aim of producing a UK NAPAR. The REU produced in November 2002 a document titled, *Building a National Action Plan Against Racism* (Home Office 2002a), which included the following passages:

One of the key recommendations of [WCAR].... was that states should develop national action plans against racism in consultation with non-governmental organisations. The idea of the national action plan came from the European non-governmental organisations there, and was supported by the UK Government and its European Union partners.

The Home Office is working with other government departments, the statutory equality commissions and the devolved administrations in the development of this national action plan for the United Kingdom. Individual departments and the devolved administrations are developing their own race equality strategies and schemes and these will be important elements of the final plan (Home Office 2002a: 2).

The NAPAR provided a framework for a UK Follow-Up Conference in Manchester, at which Government gave its assurance that a Plan would be implemented. In its *16th Periodic Report to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*, Government wrote:

The REU is also leading the United Kingdom's follow-up to the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) and in particular the drafting of a national action plan against racism, as called for by the WCAR. This work is being undertaken in close consultation with non-governmental and community-based organisations (UK Government 2002: 6).

In March 2004 Mark Carroll, Director of the Home Office Race, Cohesion, Equality and Faith Unit, stated that whilst "the government is fully committed to implementing the outcomes of the Durban Conference in a way that makes sense in the UK", the NAPAR was to be abandoned, and to be subsumed under the Government's *community cohesion and race equality strategy*¹. Whilst no concrete explanation has been given as to why the Government decided to abandon the action plan, it would be wholly contradictory to assume the coercive nature of the state whilst holding anti-racist policy to exist in some way beyond or external to such coercion. In short, a key question which needs to be asked is: how is the 'anti-racist state' constructing racism as a problem to be solved, and what are the key factors which explain this construction?

A second problem confronts any scholar who aims to understand matters pertaining to racism, anti-racism and Scotland. Specialist sociological analysis in this area is dated and emanates from within two specific theoretical positions which have since been significantly challenged. The first, operating within a 'race-relations' paradigm, has been challenged in a Scottish context specifically by Miles and colleagues (Miles and Muirhead 1986; Miles and Dunlop; 1986; Miles and Dunlop 1987; Dunlop 1993), whose marxist analyses remain the only critical sociological accounts of racism in Scotland to emanate from without the aforementioned paradigm. Whilst Miles' theoretical position has been significantly challenged, for example, through Gilroy's (1993) post-colonial analysis, and Goldberg's (1992 2002a) post-structuralist, Foucauldian critique, their respective positions have not been adopted in any significant sociological analysis of racism in Scotland. Furthermore, Miles and colleagues' discussion of racism in Scotland begins in 1986 and concludes in 1993, with no significant extension of this work being carried out since, despite Miles' (1994) invocation that greater attention should be given to anti-racist formation². In bridging a thirteen-year gap in the

¹ Cited from letter dated 5/4/04 to Mark Carroll from Professor Brice Dickson, Chairman NIHRG. Cited at <http://www.nihrc.org/documents/landp/112.doc> on 3/6/04.

² Although there have been a number of isolated publications (see Saeed et al 1999, Kelly 2001, Virdee 2003), they do not represent a significant attempt to engage with the sociological work of Miles and colleagues.

academic literature, this study therefore makes a contribution to our store of knowledge pertaining to racism, anti-racism, and their interplay in Scotland.

A third problem relates to what can be described as an intellectualised ‘glossing over’ of the relationship between nationalism and racism in Scotland. Prominent ‘Scottish’ academics adopting the kernels of a ‘radical nationalist intelligentsia’ have provided grounds for expunging the taint of racism from a Scottish national project which they support, each giving, in their own ways, intellectual support to the notion that Scottishness equates with an egalitarianism bereft from its ‘imperialist English other’. Variants of this theme range from the idea that racism is an aspect of a faltering British imperialism (Nairn 1977), a consequence of ‘ethnic’ and not Scotland’s civic nationalism (Kellas 1991), and, most recently, McCrone’s ‘considered’ appraisal, that “there is for the moment no systematic political agenda of exclusion and inclusion in terms of race and ethnicity in Scotland” (2001: 173). In *Understanding Scotland*, McCrone says that Scotland has evolved “a vision of society and a set of moral precepts, reinforced by nationalism, which were deeply at odds with the tenets of Thatcherism and the Anglo-British state” (2001: 145). However, he fails to mention that support for the Conservative Party in Scotland rose during the Falklands war. He also fails somewhat to understand the support of a significant section of the Scottish population for the British military campaign in Ireland, anti-abortionism, and continued support for British immigration control – hardly “a vision of society deeply at odds with Thatcherism”. Indeed, the term ‘Thatcherism’, used to demarcate a coherent political ideology, is also somewhat problematic.

Hall’s (1979 1983a 1985a) characterisation of the Thatcher government as a form of “authoritarian populism” sought to capture the idea that Tory ideas, had “interpellated”, and hence won the consent of the British working class (1979: 16 - 17). Hall argued that Thatcherism “operated directly on the real and manifestly contradictory experience of the popular classes under social democratic corporatism” (1979: 18). What he meant was that British workers had experienced public sector employers and public sector providers as remote, bureaucratic and repressive, and hence vulnerable to Thatcher’s anti-statist rhetoric. Hall attributed extraordinary powers to Thatcher, endowing her undistinguished mixture of corner-shop common sense and traditional petit-bourgeois prejudice with the status of a coherent political philosophy. Thatcher had “the gift” of being able to translate her vision of a free market society “into the homespun idioms of daily life”; her “populist touch” had ensured

the “deep penetration” of this ideology “into the very heartland of the labour movement” (Hall 1983a: 11 -12). He asserted that Thatcher’s “novel combination” of old-fashioned patriotic Toryism and new liberal economics “had established a kind of popular bridgehead in the community at large” (Hall 1985a: 16).

However, as Miliband (1985) observed, whilst Hall was critical of Labour, his strictures were “much less specific than is warranted about the responsibility for the decline in Labour Party support which must be laid at the door of social democracy as theory and practice” (Miliband 1985: 19). Such terminology actually signalled a new revisionism on the part of the Left, which sought to rationalise a demise in working class support for Labour by castigating the former, thus shifting the Left’s focus onto new social movements as the source of social emancipation. Hall neglected to notice that workers’ alienation from the state bureaucracy had been a longstanding phenomenon, not one specific to the late seventies and early eighties. Nor was there much original in Thatcher’s anti-statist appeals: right-wing Conservative politicians had been trying to stir up the same prejudices since the 1940s. Moreover, extensive opinion poll surveys right up to the 1987 general election failed to reveal a significant shift in public attitudes and values towards the supposed ideals of Thatcherism (cf Curran 1985). As Curtice (1987: 187) noted, “ the Thatcher policy revolution has simply *not* so far been accompanied by an equivalent revolution in public attitudes”. In fact it is clear that ‘popular support’ for the Thatcher Government actually signalled a decline in overall electoral turnout. Labour’s vote in the 1983 election was as low as that of 1918. When Gaitskell (Labour) lost to Macmillan (Conservative) in 1959 the former still succeeded in winning 44% of the vote, which was higher than Thatcher’s 42% victory over Kinnock’s 31% in 1987. So we can see that there is a long-term decline in overall consent which does not equate to an electoral move towards the Conservative Party. The point is that the giving and withdrawal of consent questions the validity of the assumption that a shift in popular consciousness towards Toryism had indeed occurred. Such questioning is highly pertinent to ‘Scotland’.

Given the Conservative Party’s overall lack of electoral support in Scotland, and the interplay of such with the identification of Thatcherism with authoritarianism, it is but a short step for Scottish nationalists to the idea that Scottishness embodies something more profoundly egalitarian. In a sense, the Thatcherism thesis lets Scotland off the hook. In short, it has been argued that Scottish ‘neo-nationalism’ is left-of-centre, and more social than ethnic in orientation. Moreover, the absence of ‘race-riots’ in Scotland has furnished the ‘empirical

validation' for such a claim to such an extent that the idea that 'England', rather than racialised ³ migrants, became Scotland's Other, itself draws on the 'common-sense' notion that the absence or presence of large numbers of migrants in some way provides a causal explanation in their/our own racist treatment. Even Miles (1987a: 40), somewhat problematically, claims that

Part of the explanation for this lies in the fact that the particular political compromise constituted in the Act of Union in 1707 between England and Scotland ensured the reproduction of a distinct proto-state apparatus and national identity. In this context the reproduction of nationalism in Scotland has tended to focus on the perceived economic and political disadvantages of the Union. Nationalism in Scotland during the 1960s and 1970s therefore identified an *external* cause of economic disadvantage/decline, without reference to 'race', while in England the idea of 'race' was employed to identify an *internal* cause of crisis, the presence of a coloured population. Thus, in Scotland, the 'national question' has displaced (although not eliminated) the influence of racism in constructing the political agenda in this period, suggesting that racism is not as central to nationalism as in England.

Such theories are problematic when confronted by the experiences of racialised groups living in Scotland, as exemplified by the murder of schoolboy Imran Khan in Pollokshields in 1998, the campaign for justice by the Chhokar family over the murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar since 1999, and a report by the Commission for Racial Equality which revealed that racial incidents were three times more likely to occur in Scotland than in England (Arshad 1999). Reflecting on my own personal experience, and that of many of my racialised colleagues and acquaintances, epitomised by the question, 'Aye, but where are you really from?' – a standard riposte to my/our initial assertion of Scottishness – belies the unrepentant construction of an exclusionary 'imagined' Scottish civitas.

Both Gilroy (1993) and Malik (1996) have argued in different ways, that 'cultural difference' is the lens through which racial ideas acquire contemporary meaning. Malik (1996) argues that in the post-war period 'racial themes' have been transformed via cultural discourses of 'race', as exemplified by debate on immigration/asylum, national identity, and the

³ As used here, 'racialisation' refers to the "signification of some biological characteristic(s) as the criterion by which a collectivity may be identified. In this way, the collectivity is represented as having a natural, unchanging origin and status, and therefore as being inherently different" (Miles 1989: 79). The reader should also note that use of inverted commas around such terms as 'race', 'black' and 'white' indicates that these terms are social constructions and not 'objective' categories. This is not to deny that such designations are experienced as real; rather, it is to signal that subjectivity can have an objective basis which lies beyond experience.

demonisation of Islam. In this sense, immigrants/asylum-seekers are posited as a threat, not because of biological difference but because they are perceived to possess cultural dispositions which may run contrary to a shared historical or national identity. It is therefore possible to argue from this perspective that racism, articulated via exclusionary cultural discourses of nationhood, could equally exclude minority communities from a 'Scottish' national project. Moreover, Gilroy contends that the desire to construct national interests and roads to socialism has in some cases been articulated "via a political language...saturated with racial connotations" (1993: 13). An apparently more 'socialistically orientated' population does not then automatically correlate with 'minority inclusion'. Malik takes issue with the politics of multiculturalism (c.f. Kymlicka, 1995a, 1995b), arguing that the pluralist agenda fixes erroneous racial identities behind a veil of ethnicity, essentially legitimating inequality via appeals to pseudo-historical/cultural constructs. In this sense, multiculturalism is a poor antidote to racism.

This thesis therefore attends to the subtleties involved in the construction of 'Scottish egalitarianism' and its relationship to contemporary definitions of racism spanning a historical framework, here conceptualised as pre- and post- devolution Scotland. It seeks to analyse, therefore, a period where the issue of racism has moved from that of 'no problem here' under the previous Scottish Office administration, to one of official recognition, as symbolised by the Scottish Executive's OSMC anti-racist media campaign. Hence, current recognition of 'racism as a Scottish problem' compels us not only to ask questions about the saliency of nationalism and racism in Scotland, but also to unpack their relative influence on the agenda of the anti-racist state.

Conceptualising the Anti-Racist State

If it is customary to state that there is a dearth of academic study pertaining to racism in Scotland, then the custom should also apply, although by no means to the same degree, to the study of anti-racism in general (see Solomos and Back 1996: 102-120). The lack is in stark contrast to the place occupied by anti-racism in contemporary politics. However, the field is a growing one (Anthias and Lloyd 2002; Bonnett 2000), emanating in large part from earlier debates surrounding 'anti-racist' and/or 'multicultural' educational practices (Brandt 1986; Palmer 1986; Bonnett and Carrington 1996; May 1998) and public policy (Ball and Solomos 1990; D'Souza 1995; Goldberg 1997; Werbner and Modood 1997). The relation between anti-racism and feminism has also drawn much interest (Bourne 1983; hooks 1984; Knowles

and Mercer 1992; Patel 2002), as have anti-racist social movements in general (Bonnett 1992 1993; Shukra et al 2004). Lloyd (1991 1994 1998) has focussed primarily on anti-racist mobilisation in Britain and France, drawing particularly on the latter, where most comparative studies of anti-racism have concentrated (cf Costa-Lascoux 1994; Taguieff 1995; House 2002), although work has also focussed on the United States (Macadam 1982; Davis 1990; Aptheker 1993; Browning et al 1994), and has expanded to incorporate comparative globalisation thematics (Bowzer 1995).

Whilst many studies develop important insights into aspects of state policy on racism and anti-racism, and whilst some are grounded in state-theory (cf Omi and Winant 1994: 77-91; Balibar and Wallerstein 1993), it remains the case that few, with the exception of Hall (1978 1980 1984) and Goldberg (2002b), have attempted a holistic theorisation of the state from which their subsequent analyses of racism are derived. An analysis of the 'anti-racist state' is therefore rendered inherently complex not only by the relative absence of studies which explicitly tie state-theory to anti-racism, and the plethora of theorisations of racism (cf Miles and Brown 2003), but also the relative absence of all-encompassing 'racism and the state' theories which are the product of rigorous debate.

It is possible nevertheless to deduce what the implications would be if we applied certain theories of racism to the anti-racist state, particularly as they give an indication of 'what racism is not'. For example, "it is now widely conceded", asserts Goldberg (1987: 59), "that racism cannot be explained by reducing it to some putatively fundamental realm 'logically' or 'materially' prior to all others – be it biological, sociological, psychological, or economic". Racism is not reductively 1. an 'irrationality'; 2. a system of ordering 'races' predicated on biological characteristics; 3. a hierarchic categorisation; 4. an ideological phenomenon; or 5. a means of domination (Goldberg 2002a: 94). Gilroy (1993:27) states "racism is not a unitary event based on psychological aberration nor some ahistorical antipathy to blacks which is the cultural legacy of empire and which continues to saturate the consciousness of all white Britons regardless of age, gender, income or circumstances". On the other hand, Miles does not "support the claims of some marxist writers that the appearance and articulation of racism can be traced directly and deterministically to the development of capitalism as a mode of production" (1982: 97), nor is racism "a universal and psychologically determined phenomenon" (1982: 97), and neither can it be understood as a product simply of ideas (1982: 89-90). My point here mirrors Miles' (1988: 450) contention that "...in order to determine

what is to be achieved by an anti-racist strategy it is necessary to be clear about what it is that the concept of racism refers to". However, the logic of this statement needs to be reversed when analysing the anti-racist state. The question is: how do the needs of the state inform its 'strategy', and how does that 'strategy' come to inform definitions of 'racism'?

To simplify matters, it is helpful to ask some (deceptively simple) preliminary questions which are common to the study of racism and the state.

1. Is the state at once a capitalist state?
2. Is racism functional to economy?

If the answer on both counts is 'yes', then the capitalist state is inherently racist; the 'anti-racist capitalist state' rendered contradictory. Such a conclusion would be the logical outcome if we began from Cox's (1970) theory of capitalism and racism. If the answer is 'yes' and 'no' respectively, then racism is relatively autonomous from 'economy', but not necessarily unbound from state practices. The 'anti-racist state' is relatively autonomous. Such would be an earlier response of Hall (1980 1984). If the answer on both counts is 'no', then the 'anti-racist state' is benevolent in its policy intentions. The latter answer will tend to come from those who perceive there to be a definite split between economy and politics, such as Banton (1998) and perhaps Hansen (2000).

Alternatively, we could ask the following questions

1. Is the state at once a modern state?
2. Is racism functional to modernity?

A stance which posits 'modernity' as inherently racist, and the state inherently modern, would also at once need to presume that the modern state is inherently racist; the 'anti-racist modern state' contradictory. Anthias and Lloyd (2002) for example, regard appeals to Enlightenment principles 'inherent' to French Republicanism by the French 'anti-racist' state as contradictory, in essence a denial of culpability. However, if we were to answer 'yes' and 'no' respectively we would find greater favour with Todorov (1993). Since there are few who have sustained the view that the contemporary Western European state is not modernist in orientation (although see Cross and Keith 1995 for a discussion), at least in relation to current powers, then we need not detain ourselves here with a 'no' and 'yes' answer. Suffice it to say

that there are theorists working in critical legal studies who posit the need for a subversion of modern-premised (and so inherently racist) legal statutes. To an extent, Goldberg's (2002b) work falls into this category. We therefore need to be clear in advance from which position we are to embark on our exploration of the 'anti-racist state'.

Thesis Structure

Most studies of state and state-related phenomena have taken either of two approaches – state or societal centred (Clarke and Dear 1984). This thesis is interested in the state's role in the making of the meaning of 'racism', and how that meaning is translated through anti-racist action. Theoretically speaking, we are interested in the place of anti-racism within the symbolic network of the Scottish social imaginary. Chapters One and Two are therefore concerned with the roots of political power and the relationship of such to the state, racism and anti-racism, discussion of which requires:

1. clarification of the institutional setting;
2. an understanding of the historical process of institutional change;
3. establishment of a conceptual framework.

The position advanced in this thesis takes its theoretical cue from the materialist humanist tradition emanating from within Marxism, whilst transcending the influence of irrationalist post-war currents; an approach which stands in contrast to those traditions which have begun from particular interpretations of Gramsci (cf Jessop 1990 2001), including Althusserian and analytic positions associated with various strands of Eurocommunist politics (Hall 1980; Cohen 1988). In rejecting structuralism, I privilege history as open-ended *process*, made by thinking, acting human subjects, in their individual and social incarnations; I reject, with Thompson (1978: 275-276), all theories which maintain that:

1. ...however many variables are introduced, and however complex their permutations, these variables maintain their original fixity as categories: with Smelser, the "value-system", the factors of production, "political arrangements", and (the motor) "structural differentiation"; with Althusser, "the economy", "politics", "ideology", and (the motor) "class struggle." Thus the categories are *categories of stasis*, even if they are then set in motion as moving parts.

2. Movement can only take place *within the closed field* of the system or structure; that is, however complex and mutually-reciprocating the motions of the parts, this movement is enclosed within the overall limits and determinations of the pre-given structure.

Whilst the ‘postmodernist gaze’ may indeed provide a robust method of investigation in a world deeply imbued by fragmentation (Harvey 1990), this does not mean that Marx’s method cannot explain the very fragmentation under study (Sayer 1979). Indeed, the work of Castoriadis (1991) provides an intellectual and philosophical framework for such a counter-argument.

Castoriadis developed an important philosophical mutation. The idea of autonomy – to give oneself one’s own laws – necessarily implies self-creation, and confronts us with the mystery of creation itself, which for Castoriadis was more than a combination of pre-existing elements. It was the upsurge of a radical novelty, constituting an unpredictable discontinuity. And, at the source of all creation there is the imaginary, the inventor of a world of forms and meanings, which in the individual is radical imagination, and in society the instituting social imaginary. Imagination and creation are everywhere linked, including at the very source of thought. In contrast to conceptions for which the imaginary is merely an illusion or superstructure, Castoriadis reintroduces it at the root of our human reality, just as, in contrast with conceptions unable to grasp the notion of the subject, Castoriadis rediscovers the constituents of the subject (the ‘for-itself’, the fact that everyone creates his or her world and has the power of imagination). He stresses the radical importance of the emergence of the autonomous subject two thousand years ago in Athenian democracy and its resurgence with the nascent bourgeoisie.

Following Castoriadis, what is herein proposed is an interrogation of the instituting social imaginary in relation to anti-racism as a process through which the meaning of ‘racism’ is made. I am interested in what Castoriadis terms the ‘social imaginary signification’: the symbols mobilised in meaning-making. That is: representation, affect and intent. In stating this overarching aim I maintain the awareness of history and the processes by which meaning-making is conjured anew. Just as ‘the race’ and/or ‘the nation’ are not fixed immutable boundaries traversing and delimiting temporally and spatially, neither is racism a universally occurring phenomenon. As concepts they can continue indefinitely, but they do not necessarily capture the changing dynamic of social formation – the relationship between the historical and the transhistorical (Sayer 1979: 147). People do not essentially or ahistorically

make the meaning of 'the nation' or 'the race', or 'racism', but they essentially make meaning. Society is thus a process of self-creation/alteration. Consequently, without such awareness the researcher investigating 'race' or 'nation' or 'racism' can simultaneously investigate nothing and everything that he/she has no cognisance of. 'Our', that is human, society, to paraphrase Castoriadis, is not just a capitalist society, or a democratic society, it is a process in which conscious social individuals, as both subject and object, make the meaning of the social imaginary which can include anti-subjectivist philosophical codes. In introducing such a distinction I privilege the rational universal subject; the reader should be aware that I have already crossed that ontological and epistemological threshold occupied by the modernity/postmodernity couplet. I have taken sides with the former, but I have adopted a subversive realism. Thus, I do not accept Anthias and Lloyd's prescription that, "we need to confront the possibility that a new European anti-racist politics of citizenship cannot be created without a transformation and reconstruction of the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity inherited from the Enlightenment" (Anthias and Lloyd 2002:19), nor can it be ahistorically the case that, "the assimilative function of anti-racism becomes most explicit when race equity initiatives are introduced as a means of resolving racialised conflicts deemed to be posing a threat to the integrity of the nation" (Bonnett 2000: 49).

In adopting the historical analysis outlined by Malik (1996), this thesis defends a modernist approach, which sees racism as a rationalisation of social limitation, against Goldberg's (2002b) contention that the modern state, in its discursive ordering of an empirico-rationalist episteme, is inherently racist. Here Malik's position on the universal-particular is developed, and applied to resistance. Utilising the work of Castoriadis, this theorisation is rendered more complex in relation to the state-society complex. In this sense, the state is a second-order institution – a historically specific apparatus which exists within the symbolic network of subjective-objective relations - captured by the instituting and instituted social imaginary: the first institution of society. Here I see the modern state as a second-order institution that 'asserts the contrary', the contradiction being the continuance of heteronomy (the law of the other) in a world that has accepted the 'project of autonomy' (to make one's own laws). The project of autonomy is predicated on a radical utopia and is inherently human orientated. It is the assertion of the contrary which gives the modern state its form – the continuance and rationalisation of inequality in a world that has accepted the pursuit of equality as valid. The rationalisation of inequality has, for example, been achieved, with reference to class, 'race' and gender. The capitalist state, operating within an inherently unequal system of social

(re)production, must assert the contrary to equality – it cannot deliver on the promise of equality. The anti-racist state must operationalise conceptions of ‘racism’ which enable the continuance of the contrary – inequality. ‘Objective class relations’ cannot, however, simply represent a group, for human consciousness, whilst teleological, does not entail an *inevitable* end (Lukács 1980)⁴. I combine this insight with the representational as offered by Castoriadis – the human subject posits, representationally, ends which are sufficient, but within a social context. These are the two main ingredients of the objective state-societal relation. State conceptions of ‘racism’ must operate within this relation. The universalist logic of Enlightenment provides the basis for the overcoming of oppression. In accepting this position, I depart substantially from the view of the ‘subject as subjection’, whilst accepting that the subjective dimension of struggle is not static and is vital. I also begin, politically, from the view that the modern state is not inherently racist or patriarchal, but asserts the contrary to equality only if there is a prior acceptance of the privileged human subject. Hence, the diminished subject, which is the hallmark of a world where radical utopia has collapsed, is what informs political debate, thus rendering the historical context under study specifiable as moving dynamically. The anti-racist state is therefore subject to struggle which changes its goal in accordance with the wider dynamic of an emancipatory project, a project which has significantly diminished. It is within these parameters that anti-racism, and hence the meaning of ‘racism’, is developed.

A central and pivotal question asserts itself regarding conceptions of power, both social and political. Drawing on the work of Beetham (1991), I adopt an account of the ‘state-society’ relation which positions the question of legitimacy as central to the determination of social policy. The adoption of Beetham’s conception, as derived from justification, validation and consent, informs a theoretical synthesis which allots a determining significance, but not univocally, to political action, and hence ideas. Thus, a certain rigidity evident in structuralist conceptions is overcome, whilst providing greater analytical coherence than is possible with a

⁴ I am not here referring to class as a sociological category. As Žižek (2000: 226-7) informs us the ‘mistake’ of Stalinism was that it “reduced the class struggle to a struggle between ‘classes’ defined as social groups with a set of positive features (place in the mode of production etc.). From a truly radical Marxist perspective, although there is a link between ‘working class’ as a social group and ‘proletariat’ as the position of the militant fighting for universal Truth, this link is not a determining causal connection, and the two levels must be strictly distinguished: to be a ‘proletarian’ involves assuming a certain *subjective stance*...which, in principle, can be adopted by any individual [] The line that separates the two opposing sides in the class struggle, is therefore not ‘objective’, it is not the line separating two positive social groups, but ultimately *radically subjective*...”.

post-structuralist account. It is within the realm of politics that we decide what constitutes a social problem and how that problem should be tackled. A key point this thesis makes is that the recognition of racism as a Scottish problem accompanies the phenomenon's redefinition, and that such redefinition follows the logic of the British state's need for legitimacy in a historical context demarcated by the collapse of competing political ideologies. Consequently, whilst accepting that the logic of UK immigration policy emanates from a racist (heteronomous) project (Thompson 1988), requiring the modern state to assert the contrary to equality (autonomy), thus reproducing the dynamic of modern resistance, I argue that the collapse of specific supportive ideologies requires state-actors to seek a renewed justification which lends itself to a redefinition of 'racism', more in keeping with a postmodern regulation of fragmentation. Following the work of Nolan (1998) in the USA and Füredi (2004) in the UK, this definition of 'racism' comes to incorporate an emotionalist and culturalised understanding of human subjectivity in keeping with a heightened individuation, which lends itself to the state's regulation of both 'racist' and 'anti-racist' human subjects. The aim of such policy, 'to make people feel good about themselves' in the absence of an alternative to capitalism, reproduces a new form of state-coercion. The relations of ruling manifest in the rhetorical idiom cohered by the culture of limits; the state legitimises itself via a therapeutic rhetoric which appeals to a diminished sense of subjectivity – a heteronomous subject.

Building on the above insights, I argue that in the current historical context 'race' and 'nation' cannot be mustered sufficiently by elites so as to warrant the rationalisation of social limitation. Rather, in the absence of political alternatives to the logic of the market it is the 'fear/safety' couplet that emerges as the dominant policy discourse (Füredi 1997), such that the subject of anti-racist policy is conceived as ethnically emotionalised and vertically stratified. Ironically, the collapse of Left/Right ideologies predicated on utopias leaves a historical vacuum currently being occupied by a reconceptualisation of justice (Jacoby 1998; Nolan 2003). This development represents the disintegration of a significant societal means through which the limitations inherent to capitalism – that is, inequality – have been challenged in the liberal democratic tradition. The state's 'definition' of 'racism' comes to reflect a culture of limits, where 'ethnic' fragmentation is rationalised, and ruling relations traverse such limits. Thus, the historical trajectory of state-societal relations spans a historical period which can be demarcated as shifting from Welfarist consensus to Therapeutic state.

Laying bare the state's role in the historical construction of 'racism' required the development of a specific approach to the empirical problem set. A social problem approach, as outlined in Chapter Two, is adopted here. Utilising the work of Best (1999), the construction of 'racism as a social problem' is contextualised via an analysis of anti-racist claims-making and the relationship of such to problem typification. Here, I follow House's (2002:111) insight that "[a]nti-racism within each Western European country has a separate if interconnected history, moulded and often channelled by the various aspects of a specific country's political culture and colonial legacies". In doing so, an original analytical tool – the 'anti-racist explanatory' – is developed. Underpinning the anti-racist explanatory is the understanding that a discourse of anti-racism is simultaneously a representation of 'racism'. If rhetoric is a representational "medium in which selves grow" (Ognibene 1976: 84), anti-racist discourse, as a representational form of political rhetoric, institutes a *subject perpetrator and target of racism* – integral components in the typification of 'racism' as a social problem. It is a contention of this thesis that the anti-racist explanatory can be adopted and utilised as a means of laying bare the various components of anti-racist narrative.

This study aims to demonstrate how British social policy towards racism is refracted in a 'Scottish' context. What follows in Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six constitute the first chronological mapping of the historical construction of 'racism as a social problem' in Scotland in the period following WW2 to the present day. Through a detailed archival recovery, this thesis maps the placing of 'racism' on the 'Scottish' political agenda by key anti-racist actors, and reveals how the interests of the British state influence their claims. Additionally, borrowing from the methodological precepts of Institutional Ethnography (IE) (Smith 2002b), an analysis is undertaken of elite perspective via purposive interviews with elites who have been instrumental in the historical development of 'Scottish-based' anti-racism. This approach is extended to elites who have played a key role in the development of OSMC and the Scottish Executive's response to the British government's asylum dispersal programme. Consequently, the historical approach adopted in this thesis, though multi-dimensional, is unified by the logic of the anti-racist explanatory and, additionally, moves beyond a discursive analysis.

For many readers, much of this thesis will be viewed as a 'catch-up' exercise, an attempt to bring our knowledge-base on Scotland up to speed – an impossible task. Whilst this conclusion is to an extent unavoidable, it should be clear from what has already been stated

that this thesis represents both a catching up and a reconfiguration of theory toward a renewed goal of understanding the problem of racism.

Chapter 1: The Anti-Racist State: from Social Democracy to a Culture of Limits⁵

Crucial for a successful ideology is thus the tension *within* its particular content between the themes and motifs that belong to the “oppressed” and those which belong to the “oppressors”: ruling ideas are never directly the ideas of the ruling class []... incorporating a series of motifs and aspirations of the oppressed... and rearticulating them in such a way that they bec[o]me compatible with the existing relations of domination. (Žižek 2000: 186)

1.1. Introduction

The question of *what* may legitimately fall within the logical definition of racism is historically contested. This contestation has led to fierce debate both in the academy and in the political realm (Solomos and Back 2001). Modood (1997) has made the point that differing perspectives on *what* constitutes anti-racist action have emerged in congruence with *what* racism is deemed to be. Additionally, following Mac an Ghaill (1999: 107), we must remain cognisant that, “in trying to work through the confusions that surround antiracism, there is a need to place academic, political and popular representations of anti-racism in a broader framework, which holds on to the global-local nexus of social and cultural change”. Importantly, when a liberal democratic state declares itself to be anti-racist, it situates itself as an agent and advocate of ‘resistance’. How the state conceptualises resistance consequently depends on conceptions of the subject and object *of* resistance. Problems inherent to an understanding of the ‘anti-racist state’ are therefore both epistemological and ontological. The thesis laid out in this chapter is correspondingly driven by the understanding that our definitions of ‘human being’, ‘sociation’ and ‘power’ coalesce in our conceptualisation of racism and the state, and consequently on their posited relation. Our conception of the posited relation, in turn, will determine our definition of the state and subsequent investigation of an anti-racist state. Consequently, the concerns of this chapter are two-fold.

The first is to give a flavour of a long ‘tradition’ in academic critique concerned with the role of the state in the development of racism. Movements can be discerned on the part of the academy, which both reflect historical contestation over racism, what racism should be

⁵ This chapter draws substantially from ‘Third Way Anti-Racism in a Devolved Scotland’, (Kyriakides 2004), a paper presented at the British Sociological Association Annual Conference in York 2004.

categorised as, and therefore what anti-racism should be. Focussing on Britain, we can say that the institutionalisation of state-endorsed 'anti-racism' evolved as a policy intervention guided by the need on the part of elites to counter the perceived risk of social disorder which racialised 'non-white' migrants were deemed to bring when interacting with a racialised 'white' population. Additionally, the problem of 'race-relations'-framed state-endorsed anti-racism has steadily come to incorporate 'multiculturalist claims'. Subsequently, the definition of 'racism as a social problem' has been articulated within the parameters set by the state's 'race-relations' narrative in a historical context where 'non-white' racialised migration has been explicitly restricted. Thus, not only are we alerted to the historical contingency of racism(s) and 'its/their' interrelationship with anti-racism(s), but also to the potentially transforming process which may occur when the state 'recognises' 'racism' as a social problem. In short, the state may redefine 'racism' according to its needs, exerting a powerful influence over the 'collective definition' of 'racism' as a social problem. This understanding has significance when governments purport to be moving beyond Left and Right – the second concern of this chapter.

The Third Way phenomenon, its relationship to New Labour policy and wider issues of contemporary governance have been exhaustively debated and critiqued from a number of positions (Hall 1998; Freeden 1999; Finlayson 1999; McRobbie 2000; Ludlam and Smith 2001; Lister 2001; Callinicos 2001; Jessop 2003; see also Chadwick and Hefferman 2003), prompting one of its most celebrated theoreticians to respond in its defence (Giddens 2000a 2002). Back et al (2002a, see also 2002b, and Shuster and Solomos 2004) are similarly critical. Summarising a number of emerging positions which seek to provide an analysis of the politics of 'race' and racism, they make the point that "the project of assimilation has been reinvigorated under New Labour" (2002a: 1). Fekete (2001) likens New Labour's approach to that of the previous Conservative Government's, described as a "pander[ing] to racism" which "deliver[s] very little", whilst Rattansi considers New Labour's position as a reinvigoration of the 1960s "project of assimilationism" (in Back et al 2002a: 1). Following Lister's (2001) "study in ambiguity", they conclude, "New Labour is so difficult to characterise because its vision oscillates to the past and the future by turns. It cannot mourn its imperial ghosts, nor embrace a democratic and truly multicultural future" (2002a 11). Following Gilroy (2001), New Labour is suffering from "post-colonial melancholia". Thus, despite commitments on its part to value and embrace cultural mix and diversity, the language of assimilation persists under the guise of nationality and immigration rhetoric. The authors suggest that "uncertainty

about the challenge that multiculturalism poses to the very constitution of the polity of the nation” underpins the “white heart” of New Labour public policy (2002a: 4). Importantly, for the thesis developed in this chapter, Back et al make the point that Giddens, high-profile sociologist and adviser to New Labour, has reinforced the idea that uncontrolled immigration leads to racism.

Whilst heeding Fairclough’s reminder that the Third Way “is constantly being talked into being” (Fairclough 2000: 4)⁶, I adopt the term ‘Third Way anti-racism’, not as a means of representing a coherent ideological stance, but in order to signal recognition that while the current British government understands ‘race-relations’ as a social order problem, it perceives itself to be making policy in an era demarcated by historically specific societal problems. Consequently, it has adopted a philosophy of risk as a rationale for its ‘race-relations’ policy, such that risk-aversion becomes the organising principle informing ‘anti-racist’ policy, straddling both the criminalisation of racism as ‘hate-crime’ and the legislative response to migration. The purpose of this section is to explore the adoption of certain core elements of the Third Way within UK public policy to lay bare the assumptions which underpin the current ‘Anti-Racist State’s’ understanding of ‘racism as a social problem’. In doing so, I single out three inter-related determinants of policy formation: the demise of utopianism and universalism as components in political action; the rise of a culture of social limitation; and the institutionalisation of caution. Philosophically this can be expressed as a move toward the institutionalisation of heteronomy; that is, a diminished subject which reflects the absence of a political centre – an eroded public sphere. I argue that the UK post-war social policy context can be understood as shifting from statal concerns with welfare to those of therapeutic intervention. In short, policy is orientated toward the private sphere and aims to make people feel good about their selves amidst the absence of alternatives. The state legitimises itself via an appeal to emotion. The subject of the therapeutic state is that of emotion – the emotionalised subject. In doing so I provide an understanding of the changing post-WW2

⁶ Here Giddens is most enlightening: ‘I should stress that the Third Way is just a label for how you continue the revival of social democratic politics. The European democrats found themselves back in power without a coherent philosophy and the Third Way is simply a label for what that philosophy might involve – and it’s only some way along in its evolution.’ Anthony Giddens, interviewed by Guy Lodge, cited 20/1/04 at <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Bridge/8651/Giddens.htm> (no date given).

state-societal relation from which UK-based anti-racist policy formation can be situated in the 'Scottish' context.

1.2 The Anti-Racist Welfare State

The point has been made that 'welfare regimes' have long provided a regulating force for the management of social inequality (Offe 1984; Van Krieken 1991; Morris 1994) such that policies of 'social welfare' have come to form the bedrock on which nation states are built (Esping-Anderson 1990; Esping-Anderson et al 2002). Simultaneously, the persistence of social inequality has been rationalised historically via the discourse of 'race'. In the 19th century, both in Britain and across the Empire, liberal elites were confronted by the contradiction exposed via the growing demand for equality amidst the persistence of inequality (Malik 1996). Consequently, evolutionist interpretations of national democratic participation were increasingly adopted in the political imagination: rights of citizenship would be granted to those 'fit' for governance and withheld from those on the lower rungs of the evolutionary ladder. O'Brien and Penna (1998: 33) sum up the mood of the time,

The welfare of the 'nation' and 'race' became liberalism's justification for imperial exploitation and for overhauling the Poor Law at the same time. The British nation and race must be brought to their peak in order to compete 'efficiently' in the struggle for world domination.

As Kyriakides and Virdee (2003) note, British imperialism, which had gained ideological sanction in the form of a 'civilising mission', was increasingly coated in 'humanitarian' veneer. Evidently, some humans were more equal than others. Henceforth, the 'benevolent duty' of the 'white man' came to underpin the formation of British national identity. This identity contrasted with that ascribed to those 'colonised inferiors' whose domination was legitimated by the 'moral superiority' of their oppressors. It was the 'British virtue' to bestow 'welfare' which formed a 'common characteristic' of British citizenship. The granting of suffrage enabled the gradual ideological incorporation of sections of the working class (Hall 1984) whilst simultaneously elevating 'the British', as a homogenous national group, above those who by virtue of biological and/or cultural characteristics could not 'achieve' social

equality – the ‘un-British’⁷. In short, the idea of ‘race’ has played a powerful role in the making of ‘Britishness’ (cf Miles 1987; Colley 1992).

Subsequently, in the twentieth century, ‘race’ formed a core ideological element in international and domestic political affairs. However, racism, as a problem requiring significant Government intervention, did not, as a matter of conscience, figure prominently in the affairs of states prior to the Second World War (Miles 1989). The idea of racism was, in part, placed on state agendas through struggle. As Lauren (1998) has noted, Ethiopian victory against Italian ‘racial supremacy’ in 1896, Japanese success in the inter-imperialist Russo-Japanese war of 1906, the growing confidence of the ‘inferior races’ throughout the First World War and the call for self-determination to all colonially oppressed peoples against imperialism by Lenin’s Bolsheviks loosened the grip of ‘white imperial superiority’ (c.f. Chandra et al 1989). Nevertheless, in 1919 the League of Nations rejected a motion for recognition of ‘racial equality’ as a core principle in inter and intra-statal relations. The Japanese delegation’s request, supported by the first *Pan-African Congress* (PAC), was vetoed by Woodrow Wilson, despite winning a majority vote (Lauren 1998). The ‘principle’ which underpinned the rejection was that inclusion of ‘racial’ equality would impinge on the sovereignty of nation-states, meaning that the normative whiteness upon which national homogeneity and ‘equality’ were founded required the maintenance of an inverted norm: the second-class treatment of ‘non-whites’.

Nevertheless, the rejection of ‘racial equality’ by ruling elites did not stifle struggle for it. In addition to the PAC, the formation of the *Pan-Asian Society* in China, the *National Congress of British West Africa*, the *Union Intercoloniale* and *Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire* by intellectuals from the French colonies and the *West Africa Students’ Union* in London, were but a few of the anti-colonial organisations which took their force from the principle of equality. Colonial elites, facing mounting resistance across their dominions,

⁷ In 1800, the right to vote was based on wealth and gender (male). Less than 3 adults out of every 100 could vote. The *1832 Reform Act* extended the right to vote to certain leaseholders and householders. 5 adults out of every 100 could vote. The *1867 Second Reform Act* further extended voting regulations in counties and boroughs. 13 adults out of every 100 could vote, but still based on wealth. The *1872 Secret Ballot Act* introduced voting by secret ballot. Under the *1884 Representation of the People Act*, any male occupying land or property with an annual rateable value of £10 could vote. 24 adults out of every 100 could vote. The *1918 Representation of the People Act* gave all males over the age of 21 the vote. Women over 30 got the vote. Women could sit in the House of Commons as MPs. 75 adults out of every 100 could vote. By 1928, the *Representation of the People Act* extended uniform voting rights to all men and women over the age of 21. 99 adults out of every 100 could vote.

interpreted anti-colonial struggle as 'race-war': the consequence of colonial 'race-consciousness'. As Füredi (1998: 18) notes, a "growing awareness of bad faith regarding racial matters was above all the product of anxieties concerning the future reaction of those subject to white arrogance". Elites increasingly came to fear 'racial revenge' and Colonial policy came to reflect those fears. It is such fears, both of 'racial revenge' and of 'racial degeneracy' through 'inter-racial contact', which formed an integral ideological component underpinning early restrictions on immigration and the development of 'race-relations' infrastructures. Thus, the principle underlying the establishment of the Commission for Interracial Cooperation in 1919, and the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1925, was that "racial antipathies are rising", threatening the "white-dominated world order" (Füredi 1998: 49 –50).

Key to this development was the belief on the part of elites that the interaction between 'black and white races' would inevitably lead to the degeneracy of 'white' rule. Later, mounting pressure by anti-colonialist movements, a growing civil rights movement in America, and the post-Holocaust consensus associated with 'race', exerted a powerful moral force in the construction of political rhetoric and legitimate political action, such that "post-war social consciousness was shaped largely by the need not to be tainted by the political culture of pre-war Europe" (Malik 1996:14). The institutionalisation of 'anti-racist' precepts, through UNESCO, the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts in the United States, 1965, 1968 and 1976 Race Relations Acts in Britain, the UN's binding *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, and its designation of 1973 as the beginning of a *Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Discrimination*, made the principle of 'racial equality' a binding force in the normative relations between states and citizens, the South African regime notwithstanding (Ticktin 1991). However, the driving force behind their institutionalisation was the fear of 'inter-racial' disorder and the challenge it posed to the ruling relation, albeit in a historical context where Holocaust had shone an uncomfortable mirror on the Enlightenment principles underpinning the establishment of modern European nation-states (cf Horkheimer and Adorno 1979; Bauman 1989).

Consequently and crucially, the moral consensus to which the post-war international community pledged allegiance meant that the perceived role of the British state in perpetuating racism against racialised 'non-white' migrants and their descendents came to form a central plank, both in academic and political debate (Joshi and Carter 1984; Fryer 1984; Miles and Phizacklea 1984; Carter et al 1987; Dean 1987; Katznelson 1973; Thompson

1988; Miles 1990; Solomos 1993). Additionally, the continuance of both formal and informal colour-bar, anti-immigrant disorder in Notting Hill (London) and Nottingham in 1958, the introduction of the racist 1962 Immigration Act, the Conservative victory at Smethwick in the 1964 General Election, and visits to Britain by Malcolm X in 1964 and Martin Luther King in 1965 coalesced with emerging UK-based anti-colonialist and anti-racist groups such as the West Indian Standing Conference (WISC), the Indian Workers Association (IWA), Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS), and the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD). Their existence precipitated the emergence of a direct challenge to the formation of an unproblematic post-Holocaust moral order. It could be argued that the existence of these movements claiming racist treatment threw doubt on the requisite morality of post-war Britishness (cf Howe 1993). Consequently, whilst “the central dynamic of British elite reaction to Third World migration” had, by the 1970s, “been an attempt to structure the politics of race to take race out of conventional politics” (Katznelson 1973: 125), the issue of racism eventually came “to command a position on the agenda of legitimate political controversy” (Cobb and Elder 1971: 904). Contestation over ‘problem definition’, that is, the definition of racism as a problem, increasingly came to reflect the respective positions adopted by groups in struggle and the balance of power which contextualised such contest (Shukra 1998), leading to a plethora of ‘anti-racisms’ (cf Bonnett 2000).

Focussing on Britain, in the 1970s, academics working within the Birmingham Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) drew upon formulations of the construction of moral panics and folk devils, castigating the British state and related institutions for perpetuating negative stereotypes and ascriptions of urban black youth. In *Policing the Crisis*, Hall et al (1978), drawing on the work of Edward Said (among others), rejected stereotyping and classification as oppressive forms of social control. They argued that definition and oppression work congruently through the stereotyping of young ‘black’ men. Mugging was an invented crime which expressed establishment fears of British moral decline; ‘the mugger’ – young, ‘black’ and responsible for the breakdown of the social and moral order – was a Folk devil, reflecting the fears of the establishment. In *The Empire Strikes Back* (1982) the CCCS stressed the role of nationalism, imperialism and post-colonialism in shaping both the state’s response to capitalist decline and the content of racism. Drawing implicitly on the insights of a generation of Marxists like Lenin and Frank, Gilroy and others (see CCCS 1982) argued that, by the time of the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* in 1948, the British ruling elite had successfully forged an alliance with its working class cemented by the economic benefits of

slavery and colonialism and rationalised with reference to racism and nationalism. In effect, the British working class constituted some form of 'labour aristocracy' that had rather more to lose than its chains of servitude. Consequently, despite the 'immorality' associated with the exclusion of migrant labour motivated by racism, which was indicative of a 'post-Holocaust' consensus, this was an outcome of the historical compromise that had been reached between the elites and sections of the British working class. This compromise crystallised in the form of the British welfare state.

Such criticisms were paralleled by theorists who focused explicit attention on the British state's implementation of immigration/nationality legislation and the role of such in perpetuating significations of threat which negatively signified migrants coming to Britain from the New Commonwealth (Miles and Phizacklea 1984; Thompson 1988; Solomos 1993). For these theorists contemporary racism was expressed via a race/immigration dualism – a constructed 'race/immigration problematic'. The conceptualisation and designation of post-war 'events' such as immigration and urban uprisings as 'race-relations problems' were moments in the generation and reproduction of racism as ideology, i.e. the presence of racialised migrants was identified as a welfare (Housing, Education and Employment) problem, the cause of social conflict requiring political intervention in order to maintain 'racial harmony', debate surrounding 'race riots' of 1958 in Nottingham and Notting Hill being a case in point (Miles 1984). Hence, the British state's political 'dilemma' (Bevir 1999) was structured by elite concerns, with which events seemed to concur. Elite reaction followed characteristically.

The policy of consecutive British Governments in relation to immigration, has, since the early 1960s, been predicated on a definition of immigration as causing a potential 'race-relations' problem requiring state intervention in order to maintain social order. The designation of a 'race-relations problem' *caused* by migration is in itself a claim which contributes to the generation and reproduction of racism as ideology. The policy intervention of the 1964 Labour government, 'limiting' immigration to enable 'integration', incorporated a seminal logic: 'black' migration incites reaction affecting social harmony. Uncontrolled migration causes a racialised response which combines with migrant reaction leading to social disorder. A vicious circle of 'inter-racial' disorder is precipitated by the entry into Britain of different 'racial' groups. Such elite concerns underpinned the institutionalisation of 'anti-racism' in the form of the Race Relations Acts 1965/68/76 and the formation of the Race Relations Board,

Community Relations Commission, and, eventually the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 1977 (see Heineman 1972; Jenkins and Solomos 1987; Solomos 1988; Thompson 1988). Future ‘race-relations’ policy prescription, or more specifically this, “race consensus triad – based on control, anti-discrimination and integration” (Saggar 1991: 28), emanated from this policy coalition. The British state developed its own mechanisms for tackling racial inequality, and the narrative of ‘race-relations’ was institutionalised, along with the constructed social problem which the institution was set up to counter⁸.

Following previous administrations the Thatcher government saw immigration as a potential Law and Order problem and continued programmatic steps to further restrict both the entry and citizenship entitlements of ‘culturally problematic’ immigrants, whilst ‘policing’ the settled ‘alien wedge’ of ‘urban Black youth’, subsequently designated, along with striking miners, as ‘the enemy within’ (Benyon 1987; see also Ewing and Geerty 1990). Following inner-city uprisings in 1981, the Conservatives sponsored the Rampton (1981) and Scarman (1981) inquiries. The former consisted of an exploration into the education of ‘black’ people. The report concluded that racism was a psychological problem – the result of individual prejudice which could be absolved through the promotion of multicultural education (Thompson 1988: 115-122). Scarman advocated giving ‘black’ people a stake in the system to ensure ‘social stability’ (Thompson: 1988: 93 –97). The logic underpinning Central Government’s *Urban Programme* and *Section 11* funding was explained by the Conservative Minister responsible for ‘race-relations’, Sir George Young:

We’ve got to back the good guys, the sensible, moderate, responsible leaders of ethnic groups. If they are seen to deliver, to get financial support from central government for urban projects, then that reinforces their standing and credibility

⁸ In their first annual report, published in April 1967, the Race Relations Board summarised the role of legislation as follows:

1. A law is an unequivocal declaration of public policy.
2. A law gives support to those who do not wish to discriminate, but who feel compelled to do so by social pressure.
3. A law gives protection and redress to minority groups.
4. *A law thus provides for the peaceful and orderly adjustment of grievances and the release of tensions.*
5. A law reduces prejudice by discouraging the behaviour in which prejudice finds expression (Para 65). (cited in Lester and Bindman 1972: 85; italics mine).

What seems to escape the notice of many is that immigration controls are also laws, and such laws, passed in congruence with ‘race-relations’ legislation, legitimise (i.e. ‘unequivocally declare’) the view that the presence of some ‘racial’ groups in Britain, is problematic. Hence, no serious commentator could deny that immigration law generates ‘the social pressure to discriminate’.

in the community. If they don't deliver, people will turn to the militants. (cited in Thompson: 1988: 91)

Whilst some benefited from the opportunity ladder which local government provided, others took a different view:

The state tried to break up Black, into its constituent parts because it became threatening. In 1981 the Black youth burned down the inner cities, because of racism and the impossibility of their living conditions. And multiculturalism came to be institutionalized as government policy – to alleviate the disadvantages of the second generation. The thinking was that there was really no racism in our society, it is only that we don't understand each other's culture. Multiculturalism began with the schools and, funded by local authorities and government, it spread to housing, employment and so on. And that is how Black was broken into its constituent parts. (A. Sivanandan, interview conducted by A. Kadirgamar 2002: web ref.)

Radical anti-racism had berated the 'short-sightedness' of the labour movement for not taking a clear stand against racism directed toward black workers, and pushed for a Black radicalism which posited itself as a new vanguard (Sivanandan 1976 1977 1982 1990): the double-oppression of racism and capital-labour exploitation placed its targets in a social position which informed their greater aptitude for revolution. 'Old' Labour's 'anti-racist' strategy was underpinned by its celebrated *Brotherhood of Man* rhetoric (Knowles 1992). Moralistic in orientation, its logic appealed to 'past glories' such as 'nazi defeat' in an attempt to prove its anti-racist credentials whilst simultaneously proposing such measures as virginity tests for Asian women entering Britain⁹, leading one influential theorist to contend that such appeals actually aligned anti-racists with the national-cultural chauvinism of the British state:

the apparent marginality of race politics is often an effect of a fundamental tension inherent in antiracist organising. A tension exists between those strands in antiracism which are primarily antifascist and those which work with a more extensive and complex sense of what racism is in contemporary Britain. This simplistic anti fascist emphasis attempts to mobilise the memory of earlier encounters with the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. The racists are a problem because they are descended from brown- or black-shirted enemies of earlier days. To oppose them is a patriotic act; their own use of the national flags and

⁹ In 1977 Labour produced a Green Paper on nationality which set the agenda for the Conservative Party's 1981 Nationality Act. In 1979, Labour Home Secretary Merlyn Rees "humiliated Asians by sanctioning the compulsory medical testing, in cubicles at Heathrow Airport, of young Asian brides for 'proof' of their virginity" (Thompson 1988: 70).

symbols is nothing more than a sham masking their terroristic inclinations.
(Gilroy 1990: 51 see also Gilroy 1987)

Some activists were highly critical of state-backed 'anti-racism'. Following the Government's definition/acceptance of the concept of 'racial disadvantage', which formed the bedrock of the 1976 Race Relations Act, Sivanandan objected to the developing connotation emanating from the assumption that 'ethnic minorities' had 'special needs' which could be moderated through 'positive action'. This was akin, stated Sivanandan, to "breaking my legs and giving me crutches" when "[t]he point is not to break my legs in the first place" (cited in Bourne 2001). Similarly, Gilroy's seminal paper *The End of Anti-Racism* (1990) can be read as an attempt to caution activists who interpreted state funding and support for anti-racism through the prism of progressive politics. Gilroy was wary of "the emergence of a proto-middle class grouping narrowly constituted around the toe-holds which some blacks have been able to acquire in the professions, mostly those related directly to the welfare state itself – social work, teaching, and now antiracist bureaucracies" (1990: 59). Although for Gilroy the state was an important site of contestation, such incorporation was "...obviously an uncomfortable contradictory position – squeezed between the expectations of the bureaucracies on which it relies and its political affiliation to the struggles of the mass of blacks which it is called upon to mediate, translate and sometimes police" (1990: 59). A key component of official anti-racism with which Gilroy takes issue is "the extent of the antiracists' conceptual trading with the racists and the results of embracing their culturalist assumptions" (1990: 60). Nowhere is this more clear, asserts Gilroy, than in their acceptance of 'blacks' as "the problem and the victim", for "[s]uffering confers no virtue on the victim" (1990: 60).

Tension exists between social critics who see the state as a legitimate anti-racist actor (Spencer 1994; Hansen 2000) and those for whom such recognition poses more of a dilemma (Shukra 1998; Cohen et al 2002). For Malik (2002), a redefinition of racism has accompanied a changing trajectory of political action and the state's response to such throughout the post-WW2 era. Whilst anti-racist activists in 1960s and 70s Britain mobilised on the basis of the demand for political equality against police brutality, discriminatory immigration laws and racist attacks, the incorporation of anti-racists into the machinery of the state and the promotion of cultural identity claims within the local state since the 1980s reflects a redefinition of racism premised on a move from a denial of the right to be equal to the denial of the right to be different. That is, influential strands of anti-racism have elevated particularism as a *good* over the pursuit of a universalist emancipatory project,

problematically reconstituting the former under the guise of the latter, such that the celebration of difference is imbued with an emancipatory logic. This suppression of the disconnection between universalism and particularism draws specifically on the ‘race/culture’ homologue underpinning reactionary discourses of nationhood (Malik 1996).

Following the fragmentation of anti-racist political action some theorists have embraced the project of ethnic identity claims-making and have subsequently incorporated a ‘multiculturalist’ perspective in their analytical frameworks (cf Modood 1997; Alibhai-Brown 1999). However, Shukra (1998) has drawn out the consequences of anti-racist strategy which seeks to use the ‘multicultural’ state as a means of countering racism. Focussing on the historical trajectory of ‘black’ self-organised groups and their relationship to the British Labour Party, Shukra makes the point that “[t]he election of a Labour government is the culmination of what many black organisers and professionals have been waiting for”. However, “[i]n the process of fighting for a Labour government, they have adjusted their own politics in such a way that they are now broadly compatible with those of New Labour. The question is, what difference will the policies black professionals help to develop make to the experience of ethnic minority communities throughout Britain?” (1998: 95–96). Pointing to the Labour Party’s historical and continued support for the institution of immigration control, Shukra subscribes to the view that “the key source of racism is the state” (1998: 93). Thus, in spite of New Labour’s apparent communitarian and multiculturalist rhetoric, the willingness of anti-racist activists to support immigration controls leads logically to the conclusion that anti-racists become complicit in the racialised exclusion of new migrant groups. Consequently, “[d]estroying racism would involve building a real-liberatory movement. It would need to break free of the restrictive Labour Party and parliamentary framework” (1998: 121). Clearly there is a debate to be had regarding the policy manoeuvres of the current UK Government. In the sections that follow I seek to contribute to that debate by developing an understanding of the current UK administration’s approach to racism and immigration. First, I elaborate a theory of the ‘anti-racist’ state–societal relation.

1.3 States of Racism – some critical reflections

Much has been made of the indefinability of the state (cf Hoffman 1995): debate surrounding its status as a unit of analysis has straddled three waves of state theorising which have emerged since the 1950s (Jessop 2001). These include 1. neo-marxist (Offe 1972; Miliband 1973; Poulantzas 1979) and marxist-feminist analyses (McIntosh 1978; Eisenstein 1981); 2.

state-centred approaches (Krasner 1978; Nordlinger 1981; Skocpol 1979; Mann 1983; Stepan 1985; Giddens 1985), and 3. Foucauldian (Gordon 1991; Barry et al 1996; Cooper 1998; Hindess and Mitchell 1998; Rose 1999), including Feminist (Mies 1986; Brenner and Laslett 1991; Connell 1995 1996) and discourse/stateless state theory (Abrams 1988; Melossi 1990; Campbell 1992; Luhmann 1990; Wilke 1996).

With the exception of Foucauldian state analyses, the above are largely descriptive conceptualisations which emanate from wider theories relating to the state's functions with regards to a posited changing state-society complex. However, considerations pertaining to the *nature* of the state revolve around implicit conceptions of power and interests derivable from some form of philosophical anthropology (cf Berry 1986; Fukuyama 1999). The point is made by Hall who stresses that “theories of the state can also be categorised in terms of how social interests and the state are conceptualised by them” (1984: 26). Hobbes’ egoistic, but rational individual, for example, desirous as he is of his own self-preservation, must opt for contractual submission to a sovereign; the state, acting as guarantor of his freedoms, thus obviating a brutish “warre... of every man, against every man”. Hence, the extension of ‘rational-actor’ approaches to state theorising, as adopted in ‘game theory’, attempt to understand the politics of states in terms of zero or non-zero-sum games.

Castoriadis (1987) makes the point that whichever way we interpret the state and governance in general tends to emanate from a theory of human constitution from which ‘shoulds’ and ‘should nots’ are derived, and hence, from where theories and critiques of state-hood and governance embark. Locke’s criticism of Hobbes’ ‘man in a state of nature’ pivots on suspicion of the sovereign. According to Locke, Hobbes’ trusted sovereign could *not* be trusted by the egoist not to abuse contracted power; therefore, legally sanctioned political power needed to be regulated in order to obtain and maintain consent. Bentham and Mill later drew upon this thesis as an argument for a liberal democratic apparatus – a means of ensuring the accountability of state-actors whilst ensuring the ‘natural’ human desire for pleasure and pain-avoidance. The state’s role *should* therefore be that of neutral arbiter in human affairs ensuring the maximisation of happiness and security; its coercive function in the form of legal sanctions and force is legitimate in as much as individual utility is maximised. John Stuart Mill later expanded this view, positing the need for the extension of democracy through suffrage so as to promote and create direct interest in government (Held 1984: 42 – 45).

The relationship between human constitution, interests and the state is pertinent when we consider that anti-racism is essentially a conception of resistance, and hence, entails a social relation. The anti-racist is *anti* that which has a negative impact, to which he/she attributes the name 'racism' (Bonnett 1993). That is not to say that anti-racists will necessarily agree on what 'the negative' is. All theories of resistance are derived from a philosophical anthropology. Consequently, it is ontological considerations – that is, the relationship between the subject, power and interests – that inform such theories. A theorist/activist who embarks from the premise that cultural identification is integral to well-being, and thus attempts to defy what he/she sees as assimilative tendencies, is simultaneously mobilising a theory regarding the nature of human beings (cf Kymlika 1995a 1995b). When Omi and Winant (1994: 83) follow Jessop in making the point that “the state is composed of *institutions*, the *policies* they carry out, the *conditions and rules* which support and justify them, and the *social relations* in which they are embedded”, they add that, “every state institution is a racial institution”, thereby signalling that the state operates derivatively on the basis of a racialised social order contested by groups who mobilise, either through ‘war of position’ or ‘war of manoeuvre’, to alter the negative meaning of ‘race’. ‘Race’ is here posited as a universal structuring, and structured by, human action, either negatively or positively endowed, which moves from a point of ‘*unstable equilibrium₁*’ to ‘*unstable equilibrium₂*’. Each new point represents a re-institutionalisation of the ‘racial order’ (1994: 86-87). To repeat, when a liberal democratic state declares itself to be anti-racist, it situates itself as an agent and advocate of ‘resistance’. How the state conceptualises resistance consequently depends on conceptions of the subject and object of resistance. Problems inherent to an understanding of the ‘anti-racist state’ are therefore both epistemological and ontological.

Philp (1983) identifies Lukes, Poulantzas and Foucault as key proponents of the liberal, marxist and what could be termed anti-universalist conceptions of power¹⁰. As Philp makes

¹⁰ Although Philp does not use the term ‘anti-universalist’ when examining Foucault’s position, that this is implicit in his critique will become apparent. Whilst Foucault (1984) himself later credited a debt to Kant, a charge of anti-universalism is, I believe, correct, even if an anti-modernist tag has been challenged as unworthy in part (Fraser 1985). In this respect Bernstein (1991) has been helpful in countering Foucauldian counter-accusation of ‘Enlightenment blackmail’: “Foucault’s rhetoric, even the attraction of a distinctive type of sceptical freedom he adumbrates, the appeal of ‘the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, think’ is itself dependent or parasitic upon an ethical-political valorisation. What does it even mean to say that some possibilities are desirable? Without thematising this question it is difficult to discern what precisely is critical about his genre of critique. It is *not* Foucault’s critics that have imposed this problem on him – it emerges from Foucault’s own insistence that there are changes that are desirable, and that critique enables us ‘to determine the precise form this change should take.’ A sceptical freedom that limits itself to talk of new

clear, despite all three professing a relational view of power, both liberal and marxist positions share a conception of power which is at odds with that offered by Foucault: the former present power as a universal *capacity* related to *interests* whilst the latter cannot. For example, Lukes requires that A has the capacity to affect B's interests, intends to do so, and that an alternative course of action must have been open to B. The liberal state should therefore orientate itself toward the elimination of A's capacity to affect B's interests by maintaining the possibility of alternative courses of individual action which do not infringe the rights of individuals in general. But this does not entail the elimination of A or B's capacity. Poulantzas, on the other hand, differs primarily on the role of intention – ideologies and class conflict overdetermine individual intent. The autonomy of the state relative to 'economy' does not negate the interests of capital which the state upholds via its occupation within a "relational system" of "material places" (1979: 147). As Philp (1983) notes, a theory of power as a negative phenomenon of repression entailing capacity, and an aspirational ideal of 'universal equality' which justifies the countering of the negative phenomenon – is specifically that which is explicitly rejected by Foucault's force theory of power¹¹.

Foucault's theory of power rests on his conception of '*rapports de force*'. Power relations are those relations in which force is exercised, but power also includes the process by which force relations are either stabilised or over-turned, to the formation of patterns which occur via connecting force relations, and to the particular strategy which renders these patterns

possibilities for thinking and acting but heroically or ironically refuses to provide any evaluative orientation as to which possibilities and changes are desirable is in danger of becoming merely empty – or even worse, it withholds judgement from the catastrophic possibilities which *have* erupted or *can* erupt" (Bernstein 1991: 162-63).

¹¹ It should be noted however that the rational actor of Enlightenment is also problematised by Poulantzas. Poulantzas criticised Miliband's theory because it emphasised the individual orientation of social action "in a problematic of the subject", rather than "social classes and the State as objective structures, and their relations as an *objective system of regular connections*" (Poulantzas 1969: 70). Whilst they converge in their core underlying arguments that the state is functional to interests related to capitalist accumulation, where Poulantzas and Miliband depart is important – the latter is not an Althusserian marxist. As Althusser puts it, "*the individual* is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject, i.e. in order that he shall (freely) accept his subjection, i.e. in order that he shall make the gestures and actions of his subjection 'all by himself'" (2001: 123). For Althusser, subjects accept their ideological self-constitution as "reality" or "nature" and thus seldom incur the wrath of the repressive State apparatus (RSAs), "the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc." (2001: 96), which function to discipline any person who attempts to disavow the dominant ideology. Hegemony is thus less dependent on RSAs than on those (religious, moral, legal, political, etc.) Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) by which ideology is inculcated in all subjects. The key point is that where Miliband retains a conception of the human subject as determining, Poulantzas rejects the idea of the free-willing subject because "it expresses that "humanist historicism" which makes men the subjects of history" (cited in Clarke 1977: 21). As will become clear, I side, but not completely, with Miliband.

functional to domination. Endemic changes within force relations produce shifts in the patterns of power – shifts which are resistible only in as much as “sets of relations of force” can be marshalled in opposition (Philp 1983:33-34). Any enduring configuration which gives the appearance of a central power such as that of the sovereign state is purely the overall effect of force relations. Power is the effect of patterns within the field of force relations. Law and domination are merely forms which all-pervasive power can take.

The all-pervasiveness of power emanates from the power/knowledge couplet. Where the liberal and marxist conceptualisation of power as repressive presupposes the possibility of social relations not marked by power, Foucault denies this possibility most vehemently with regards to ‘truth’.

We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth... [] ...true discourses... are the bearers of the specific effects of power. (Foucault 1980: 93)

Strategies of force are discursively ordered via the production of truth discourses. One cannot deduce relations of power from a mode of production. Power relations are the effects that occur in, for example, economic, sexual and knowledge relations: power relations are “the internal conditions of these differentiations” (Foucault 1979: 94). Nor are individual subjects the originating actor, for resistance requires discursively ordered intent. The subject is an effect of power. Intentionality is therefore discursive, not individual. Only in discourse are power relations “both intentional and non-subjective” (Foucault 1979: 94-95). Foucault therefore discards the individualist account of agency associated with Lukes’ radical conflict model and the assumption of a general and organised class domination underpinning Poulantzas’ structural conflict approach.

Following Foucault, Goldberg understands all modern discourses to be imbued with the scientific gaze – they are all technologies of power. Consequently, ‘race’, class and nation are discursive equivalents. Whilst they all do different things, one cannot be reduced to the other, nor can one be the effect of the other. Approaches that adopt a structuralist methodology are rejected because there is a tendency to conceptualise racism as an epiphenomenon of more stable elements in the social structure such as politics or the economy. Into the latter category he situates Miles, who he sees as “the most recent defendant of this approach”, and criticises his insistence that “racism is an ideology, a ‘representational phenomenon, distinguished from exclusionary practice’” (2002a: 93).

For Goldberg, the discourse of 'race' and hence racism comes into existence with "liberal modernity" (2002a: 7). The principle medium for this development is Enlightenment thought as personified in the various works of Hume, Locke, Rousseau and Kant. Enlightenment thought crystallises in the twin principles of empiricism and reason – principles which lie at the heart of the liberal project (Goldberg 2002a: 28). The discourse of 'race' has its force because it is imbued with the presumption of reason. This insight underpins the centrality of 'the body' to Goldberg's analysis. Under a regime where sensory perception provides *the* gaze for investigation of human interaction, the body becomes most forcefully ascribed through the scientific gaze. Measurement of, e.g., height, weight, skull-size, are means of getting closer to the truth. Behaviour also becomes a mechanism for understanding how rational an individual is: the autonomous individual *should* be able to take responsibility for his actions. The outer appearance/behaviour of an individual signify his/her inner world, i.e. his/her ability to reason. Thus, the inner world and the outer world of human being are homologised and homogenised.

The appraisal of capacity for civilisation was thus determined by whether or not any given society had developed a system of legal-rational governance. The inhabitants of various parts of the world where no such state existed came to be known as irrational. Because of the privileging of sensation as an empirical tool, 'skin colour', and so pigmentation, signified a measure of reason. People with 'white skin' were rational; people with 'black skin' or with other 'cultural' signifying traits were irrational. 'Whiteness' became a demarcation of 'race' which, in turn, signified the capacity to reason. Consequently, 'race' developed into a technology for exercising the scientific gaze – a technology of power.

Utilising Foucault's concept of governance, 'race' is considered to be "irreducibly a political category" (Goldberg 2002a: 90). "The racial state...strive[s]...for a racial subjection...usually perceived as externally imposed upon subjects", turning "imposition into self-assumption, assertive charge into autonomous, self-imposed choice, harness into hegemony". Indeed, "there is no clear-cut contrast between state and individual, between asserted institutional power and capillary governmentality" (Goldberg 2002b: 106). Racialised exclusion is institutionalised via presumptive criteria that delineate "the beneficiaries of the entitlement (those who would enjoy the fruits of the endowment) from those to be restricted in their enjoyment or denied their rights, goods, and services" (2002a: 53). It is the unity which

racialised discourse acquires in positioning the location of bodies in the body politic that “highlights the material force at racisms’ heart” (2002a: 53).

The Foucauldian method as adopted by Goldberg is compelling and seductive: a useful corrective to theorists who, in the 1970s and 80s, took a strictly structural Marxist approach to racism, mainly because it allows for analysis at a micro level between subjects. It would also seem, in reference to Miles, to be incorrect to reduce racism to a “relation of production” (Miles 1987: 181-195). The problem for ‘poststructuralists’ however, is that reductionism insinuates a foundational subject from which all phenomena emanate: a creation of Enlightenment philosophes imposed ethnocentrically as a universal standard to which all ‘non-Western’ peoples must aspire. Definitions of the human subject as a causal agent are no more than a linguistic trick through which power is asserted over the ‘other’. Appealing to this ‘western construction’ thus legitimates the very same categories of thought which subjugate. However, as I will now demonstrate, it is not clear how the abrogation of universalism can facilitate political action when disciplined by the all-pervasive power of the ‘racial state’.

1.4 Heteronomy versus Autonomy

Such questions are central to Castoriadis’ exploration and delineation of the social-historical self-instituting imaginary:

Each society also brings into being its own mode of self-alteration, which can also be called its temporality – that is to say, it also brings itself into being *as* a mode of being. History is ontological genesis not as the production of different tokens of the essence of society but as the creation, in and through each society, of another *type* (form-figure-aspect-sense: *eidos*) of being-society which is in the same stroke the creation of new *types* of social-historical entities (objects, individuals, ideas, institutions etc) on all levels and on levels which are themselves posited-created by a given society. (Castoriadis 1987: 372)

The state, in Castoriadis’ conceptualisation, is a second-order institution. The social conception of ‘self’ is a first-order institution. The first institution of society is the fact that, consciously or not, society “creates itself” and so gives “...itself institutions animated by social imaginary significations” (Castoriadis 1988: 48-49). These significations are the *eidos* “articulated and instrumented through second-order (but not ‘secondary’) institutions” (1988: 49). Second-order institutions are divided into two categories, 1. transhistorical forms which are concretely different in every society, e.g. language, the individual, the family. 2.

Institutions specific to given societies; the Greek polis, the capitalist business enterprise. What is of vital importance for the institution of society under consideration is that “...(its social imaginary significations) is conveyed essentially by its specific institutions” (1988: 49). These transhistorical and specific second-order institutions and their significations are “woven together...provid[ing] each time the concrete texture of that society” (1988: 49). Taken together their mutual interpenetrations and mutations are delineated as social-historical imaginaries. The totality made of the ensemble of human relations takes on characteristics which delineate a specific historical society. This quality is comprised of the amalgam of significations – untouchable but discernable nonetheless. It is through the ensemble of signification that we can discern the coherence of the social. The cause is human beings engaging with nature and with each other, but not necessarily conscious of the fact that they are doing so, and in reference to the emergence of capitalism, “each of the individuals and each of the groups in question pursues its own particular ends, no one aims at the social totality as such. And yet the result is of an entirely different order; it is capitalism” (Castoriadis 1987: 45). It is here that we get to the crux of Castoriadis’ discussion of power, politics and the political.

The political should not be conflated with ‘the overall institution of society’ (Castoriadis 1991: 157). The “political”, is “the dimension of explicit power always present in any society” (1991: 159). Explicit power equals “instances capable of formulating explicitly sanctionable injunctions” (1991: 156) ahistorically present in any given society. This is “the positing of *nomos*, *dike* and *telos*” (1991: 157). Instituting power is made explicit and formalised in law (1991:168). However, the most important signification which animates the institution of society is that pertaining to its origin, its foundation upon which its legitimacy is based – God, Nature (racialised and/or gendered), Man. For “no material coercion has ever been lastingly – that is to say, socially – effective, without this compliment of justification”, explains Castoriadis. “The existence of society has always presupposed that of rules of conduct, and the sanction for these rules were never simply unconscious nor simply material or legal, but always also included informal social sanction, and meta-social ‘sanctions’ (metaphysical, religious sanctions and so forth, in short imaginary sanctions, but this in no way diminishes their importance)” (Castoriadis 1987: 97). Consequently, “the life of a society cannot be based solely on a network of prohibitions, of negative orders. Individuals have always received from the society in which they lived, positive injunctions, orientations, the representation of value-charged ends – at once formulated universally and ‘embodied’ in what

was, for every epoch, its collective Ideal of the Self” (1987:98). But, the political becomes Politics only with the development of a project of autonomy, which is made possible by radical utopias.

Nomos - law - is “the institution/convention of some particular society” and simultaneously “the transhistorical requisite for there to be society”. Whilst “... the content of the particular *nomos*’ may change, ‘no society can exist without a nomos” (Castoriadis 1988: 43). In most societies however, the posited source of the law has been heteronomous; that is, prescribed with reference to extra-human determinants. Heteronomous society is where self-activity is suppressed by the dominant social conception of subjectivity, because

the institution asserts that it is not the work of man; ...individuals belonging to these societies are raised, trained and fabricated in such a way that they are, so to speak, resorbed by the institution of society. No one can assert ideas or express a will or desire opposed to the instituted order, and this is so not because they would be subject to sanctions, but because each person is, anthropologically speaking, fabricated in this way; everyone has interiorised the institution of society to such an extent that one does not have at one’s disposal the psychic and mental means to challenge this institution. (1988: 42)

Only in specific social-historical periods has the source of law been ascribed to human determinacy. It is with the positing of human centeredness that Politics becomes a possibility. The object of Politics is freedom and autonomy – auto-nomos – to make one’s own laws. Politics represents something completely different from the political. Politics is a process which makes the calling into question of the institution a valid pursuit. This is in opposition to heteronomy which translates into the inability of human beings to change the world, and reflects a diminished form of subjectivity, *but only* once a project of autonomy has become a valid pursuit. Politics occurs as a rupture of the heteronomous social imaginary institution which posits law as the creation of extra-social forces. Hence, Politics is not merely a struggle of power groups for power; it is an endeavour to shape the world in accordance with one’s image, to impress one’s view upon it.

It is this contradiction which underpins the demos. According to Castoriadis, the possibility of Politics as autonomy emerged with the Ancient Greeks between the eighth and fifth centuries BC, in the form of direct democracy and the instituting of a public sphere. It all but perished from the fourth century BC, until its explicit re-emergence with the rise of the Western

European nascent bourgeoisie of the first Renaissance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Castoriadis 1997: 86)¹². “For a society to give itself its own law,” writes Castoriadis, “means to accept at bottom the idea that it is creating its own institution and that it creates it without being able to invoke any extrasocial foundation, any norm of norms, any measure of its measures. This therefore boils down to saying that such a society should itself decide what is just and unjust, and this is the question with which true politics deals...” (Castoriadis 1988: 43). For Castoriadis, human society can only exist with institution, with law that must be decided “without recourse (except illusorily) to an extra-social source or foundation” (1988: 43). Both aspects are potentially captured in the Ancient Greek term *nomos*, “which is opposed to the ‘natural’ (and immutable) order of things, to *physic*” (1988: 43). *Nomos* is that without which “human beings cannot exist as human beings, since there is no city, no *polis*, without humans - making laws, there are no human beings outside the *polis*, the city, the political community/collectivity” (1988: 43). To be human, one must join the autonomic community. The ultimate contradiction to be rationalised in such a socio-historical period is therefore the explicit institutions of slavery and/or the inferior status of women (non-humans). But the institution of autonomy provides the basis for a potential challenge to natural and hence social limitation. The project of autonomy represents thinking, acting, conscious human subjects who *can* posit ends and means of achieving those ends. Heteronomy represents the opposite. A move toward the institutionalisation of heteronomy represents the abrogation of a project for autonomy; that is, a diminished subject which reflects the absence of a Political centre – an eroded public sphere – is instituted.

It is important that we understand that *nomos* is *our institution*, and not that of an extrasocial force. The human being is humanised only through the *polis*. Without it there can be no democracy, because democracy means that the people make their own laws. This is the essence, the *radical utopia* that makes Politics – “first and foremost, awareness of this fundamental fact: institutions are human works” (Castoriadis 1991: 162). This is in deep

¹² Of course, Castoriadis’ historical contention is open to debate and does run the risk of being labelled ethnocentric. Bernal (1987) has demonstrated that ‘Classical Civilisation’ has ‘Afroasiatic Roots’, whilst Hodgson (1974) has shown that secularist strands were very much in vogue during the ‘Middle Ages’, due primarily to the ‘Venture of Islam’. There can be no unbroken line which delineates a western civilisation inherited from the Ancient Greeks by Enlightenment philosophes. As Malik (1996) has noted, this is the argument of racial thinking adopted by theories of Orientalism without irony. For one cannot simultaneously castigate ‘the West’ for thinking of ‘itself’ as historically continuous whilst castigating it for being so. Either it is or it is not.

opposition to heteronomy. What changes with Ancient Greece and post-medieval Europe, according to Castoriadis, “is that the institution of society renders possible the creation of individuals who no longer see anything as untouchable but succeed rather in putting the institution into question, be it in words, be it in deeds, be it through both at once” (Castoriadis 1988: 42-3). Subjectivity, “as agent of reflection and deliberation (as thought and will) is a social-historical project” (Castoriadis 1991: 144), because

politics properly conceived, can be defined as the explicit collective activity which aims at being lucid (reflective and deliberate) and whose object is the institution of society as such. It is, therefore, a coming into light, though certainly partial, of the instituting in person; a dramatic, though by no means exclusive, illustration of this is presented by the moments of revolution (1991: 160).

The radical utopia (humans make and so can make better societies) ignites the social imaginary leading to wide scale rupture – the French and the Bolshevik revolutions being such moments – through the radical calling into question of instituted heteronomy. The enlightened modern epoch therefore constitutes a contradiction which reflects the tension between a project for autonomy and the continuance of heteronomy.

Hence, in Castoriadis’ formulation, the state denotes “an institution of a State Apparatus, which entails a separate civilian, military or priestly bureaucracy, even if it be rudimentary, that is, a hierarchical organisation with a delimitation of regions of competence” (1991: 157); but “neither explicit power nor domination need take the form of the State” (1991: 157). The modern democratic state, because it is predicated on a project for autonomy, appears as partially distinct from the political because the modern state takes its form through the continuance of heteronomy. Herein lies the contradiction. The modern state only exists where human beings are simultaneously denied autonomy – hence the existence of the conflictual state in the representative democracies of the last two centuries, where the validation of absolute power is called into question by the rupture which radical utopias have facilitated.

Neither the power of the capitalist state, nor that of explicit power, can be reduced to the “monopoly of legitimate violence”, for, “beneath the monopoly of legitimate violence lies the monopoly of the legitimate word, and this is, in turn, ruled by the monopoly of the valid signification” (Castoriadis 1991: 155). Hence, crisis “is not simply a ‘crisis in itself’, this conflictual society is not a beam rotting with the ages, a machine that rusts or wears out. The crisis is due to the fact that it is at one and the same time a protest, it is the result of protest, and constantly feeds this protest” (Castoriadis 1987: 98-99). This complicates the dialectic as

something more than just the juxtaposition of contraries - the negative and the positive contained within a structure. "Representation is... the subjective side of the social imaginary significations conveyed by the institution" (Castoriadis 1988: 48), but representation cannot be understood in isolation from intent and affect (Castoriadis 1991: 154). This is especially the case with the onset of a project for autonomy. The reaction of individuals contains within it intentions and meanings which are ambiguous, albeit not "undetermined" or "indefinite" (Castoriadis 1987: 99). The symbolic order of significations is crucial to the legitimation of power over the autonomy of beings who question the continuance of instituted heteronomy, for the modern state must rationalise the continuance of heteronomy in order to legitimise the social regulation of inequality, but only if a project for autonomy remains valid. In the absence or failure of the latter, the state loses its contradictory (modern) form, and instituted heteronomy becomes the social norm.

1.5 In Defence of Universalism

Whilst the position above outlined is highly abstract, it should be clear that the subject is foundational whilst remaining historical and hence, essentially anti-historicist. Malik's (1996: 38-70) marxist critique of Goldberg compliments Castoriadis' position, and is fourfold. First, despite positing the need for historical specificity in uncovering a specifically modern conception of 'race', Goldberg tends to reduce a dynamic, changing historical context spanning some 200 years to the operation of an ever-present episteme: the compression of dynamic and vastly antithetical political and intellectual currents developed from the 16th century onwards into a unitary sociohistorical project is without foundation. Second, Goldberg conflates two meanings of modernity, the first representing an intellectual and philosophical project which set out from the understanding that it was possible to apprehend the world through reason and science, and second, the particular society in which these forms found expression – capitalist society. Whilst they certainly do not exist univocally, by conflating both elements the product of the latter is laid at the door of the former. Third, whilst the meaning of 'race' takes on specific forms post-Enlightenment, it is the self-conscious discovery of a universal humanity and the tension posed by its particularist manifestations which facilitates a theoretical and Political challenge to rigid social hierarchy. Fourth, it is the relative failure and success of such a Political project underpinned as it is by an inherently anti-egalitarian system of (re)production which provides a terrain for the

rationalisation of the continuance of social inequality via its rigidification; enter 'race', and latterly its homologue, 'culture'. Malik's (1996: 70) argument is

neither a simplistic "conspiracy" theory nor that the *function* of racial ideology was to explain inequality. The concept of race was not created or invented to meet a particular social need. Rather, as social divisions presented and acquired the status of permanence, so differences presented themselves as if they were natural, not social. The social constraints on equality began to appear as natural ones. In this process the ideas of natural difference which held sway in the pre-Enlightenment world were recast into a discourse of race. Racial inequality was the inevitable product of the persistence of differences of rank, class and peoples in a society that had accepted the concept of equality

Malik's critique can be understood as turning, in part, on the *quality* of human action denoted by 'capacity' (cf Malik, 2000). Where Goldberg is right is in his insistence that significant sections of the population have been excluded on the basis of their apparent incapacity for reason. If one cannot have such a capacity then one can easily be left to nature. However, such a position would be at odds with that offered by Marx. The Enlightenment did not bring the subject into being. For instance, the Christian and Islamic proclamation that God is revealed through 'man', vis-à-vis Christ and Mohammed, whilst essentially eschatological (Buber 1949) reflects the unselfconscious centering of 'man' in the story of creation: the universal expressed unselfconsciously through revelation (see Hodgson, 1974). The universal rights of 'man' reflected the unfolding of 'man's' self-consciousness. As Malik (1996) makes clear, the self-conscious free-willing subject of Enlightenment is a progressive step forward in challenging the limitations of a divinely ordained fixed social hierarchy, a central concern of the materialist conception of history, for

The idea that all men, as men, have something in common, and that to that extent they are equal, is of course primeval. But the modern demand for equality is something entirely different from that; this consists rather in deducing from that common quality of being human, from that equality of men as men, a claim to equal political and social status for all human beings, or at least for all citizens of a state or all members of a society. Before that original conception of relative equality could lead to the conclusion that men should have equal rights in the state and in society, before that conclusion could even appear to be something natural and self-evident, thousands of years had to pass and did pass. In the most ancient, primitive communities, equality of rights could apply at most to the community; women slaves and foreigners were excluded from this equality as a matter of course (Engels 1977: 127-128).

But for Marx and Engels, the Enlightenment Subject, the self-conscious universal subject, was limited to an "Eden of the innate rights of man... Freedom, Equality, Property and

Bentham” (Marx 1974: 172). This “citizen whose political rights and freedoms are simply the rights of the egoistic individual, the individual separated from community, isolated and withdrawn into themselves” (Marx 1978: 44), on which classical political economy based its assertions, could not surmount Rousseau’s ‘chains’. As Lukács (1982) notes, for Marx, concrete need is the link connecting nature and history. That humans *essentially* have needs is explainable in the relationship between our physical environment and biology. *However, social action is dependent both on capacity and on a relationship. The relational form is dependent on subjective content: conscious social activity requires a recognition of capacity.* The form which need-satisfaction takes is teleological; that is, human beings *consciously* posit an end and the means towards realising that end. However, the end may not be realised. There is no inevitability in Marx’s teleological position, for the definite shape that needs and their satisfaction take corresponds to human social organisation, and is therefore contingent upon the form which Political organisation takes. That is why Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto – a Political intervention, based on the premise - the point was to change it! If revolution had been inevitable there would have been no need to write¹³. Without A’s (in this case the revolutionary’s) (in)action/intervention, B (the Historical subject) will act differently¹⁴. Thus, science and philosophy are historical acts which appear in response to social need. Prevalent philosophies or theories reflect their adoption by social groups attempting to rationalise their means of existence: cultural codes are systematised ideas that regulate through historical acts as humans endeavour to negotiate the satisfaction of needs – philosophies thus pass into intuitive codes (see also Hook 1994). Whilst habituated in their

¹³ In this regard Goldberg’s (2002b: 51) characterisation of Marx as “New Historicist” is somewhat myopic, for Marx cautioned against any tendency to “metamorphose my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general path every people is fated to tread” (Karl Marx cited in Avineri 1969: 6). What Goldberg objects to is Marx’s categorisation of some societies as more or less ‘primitive’ or ‘uncivilised’. First, Marx also referred to what later became known as Western Europe as having primitive and uncivilised antecedents which continued in a new form of emiseration. There was nothing about Western Society which could hinder its move towards barbarism, apart from the victory of the proletariat. The inferiority of Western Society, i.e. capitalist society, was to be changed through Political challenge which could posit a *superior* alternative form of social organisation based on the abolition of profit (whether we agree with that argument or not is quite a different matter). Second, Goldberg’s criticism is more about whether or not one should even say any form of social organisation is superior to another. One wonders how Goldberg would categorise a non-racist society in comparison to a racist society? The inferiority of the latter is surely a value-judgement that *should* fuel any anti-racist critique. Third, in what way could it be argued that the capitalist, i.e. bourgeois system of production has not conquered the world, leaving in its trail an institutional network for the regulation and management of enforced emiseration, whilst simultaneously providing the basis for a challenge to the latter through the demand for national self-determination? The latter requires Politics.

¹⁴ Contra Poulantzas, Marxism requires an implicit acknowledgment of counterfactuals.

environment, human beings can transform or maintain that environment because conscious being is objective being which has subjective-objective effects.

However, reason alone cannot tame the ravages of an irrational system of (re)production (Wolton 1996). The rationalisation of social limitation reflects the inability of the capitalist system of social (re)production to deliver the promise of Enlightenment (Malik 1996). Freedom to sell labour competitively for a wage in an exploitative relation geared toward the acquisition of profit, entails the alienation of each from each and hence a disruption in the universalist project. Moreover, “the separate individuals form a class only in so far as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors” (Marx and Engels 1930: 48-49). The aspirations of the universal subject are inhibited by the reality of inequality which informs the *modern* dynamic of social power – political power itself representing the state of contestation over the rationalisation of social limitation. Under the capitalist system of social (re)production, “*the power of forcible coercion* has now been separated from the general body of society” (Draper, 1977: 245). The dominant class depends for its existence on the maintenance of the division of labour by the state – the enforced domination of the ruling relation. A myriad of rationalisations for limitation can be found – although it is not rationalisation, but continuous inequality which dynamically underpins oppression¹⁵. The belief in the human capacity for reasoned action, if not actual, then potential, is the key to overcoming the rationalisation of social limitation by recourse to ‘race’, and for that matter, gender.

The position seeks to give consciousness parity with material conditions and so highlight the role of social meaning and its use in the formation of subjectivity without making that very subjectivity the interpellated product of ideology (cf Mészáros 1971 1989; Jakubowski 1990). The point, for Marx was that the self-determining subject of liberalism, “the real living individual” existed, but was hindered by the civil reproduction of the exploitative relation, rendering human subjects in a *narrow* state of individualism (Marx 1947: 30). Such an understanding of the world could not emerge until ‘Enlightenment’ which is in itself made up dynamically of a number of historical moments, the French and Bolshevik Revolutions – as

¹⁵ I make a distinction between exploitation and oppression. Exploitation refers to the extraction of profit in the form of surplus accrued via the sale and commodification of labour-power. Oppression is what manifests as the consciously appropriated contradiction between the continuance of inequality and the promise of equality. Oppression relates to the legitimised exclusion of specific groups from full economic, social and political participation, and is historically specific to capitalism whilst dynamically contingent to struggle.

moments of rupture - being highly significant. For “if the economy of the 19th century world was formed mainly under the influence of the British Industrial revolution, its politics and ideology were formed mainly by the French” (Hobsbawm, 1962: 53; 1964). The modern episteme, as it is referred to, is an idea placed on the Enlightenment by those theorists who do not have the theoretical tools to envisage the relationship between social organisation and the rationalisation of social limitation. As will be demonstrated, in attempting to subvert the normative basis for the modern delineation of capacity, Goldberg implicitly rejects the latter along with the former, thus disabling the universalist basis of political equality which provides a foundation for modern resistance movements, and hence an understanding of the modern state. This problem becomes clearer once we examine more closely the force theory of power which underpins Foucault’s, and Goldberg’s, respective analyses of politics and the state.

1.6 The Limitations of Force

For Foucault, it is not possible to conceive a “position of exteriority” for subjects “from discourse”. His denial of determining effects such as that of the economic structure or “the internal social dynamics of societies and their modes of production” (cited in Philp, 1983: 52) provides no possibility for alternative action based on appeals to objective interests. Without objective interests, repression is reconceptualised as a “juridical-disciplinary notion” whose “two-fold... reference... to sovereignty on the one hand and to normalisation on the other” both “vitiat[e] and nullifi[e] from the outset” any “critical application of the notion of repression” (Foucault, 1980: 104). Resistance is inscribed in relations of power and is an irreducible opposite inscribed in those relations: power neither comes from above or below. This position does not necessarily contradict the totalising conception of the discursively constituted subject if we follow Philp’s recognition that for Foucault resistance could be the ‘other’ of power. The discursively determined subject carries its opposite within its discursive constitution. For example, the body – “a prediscursive unformed primal bodily matter” (Philp, 1983: 43) – worked up into a disciplined subject of fidelity automatically generates its subjugated sexually deviant ‘other’. However, Philp posits three problems with such a conception:

1. Is the ‘other’ of discourse automatically resistant, that is, is otherness resistance?

2. Whilst the shape of the 'other' is discursively determined, the shape of the resistant 'other' is a function of force relations, but Foucault does not offer an account of force apart from specifying the determining existence of force relations.
3. On what basis would the 'other' be welcomed as a liberator by the dominated subject? How would he/she recognise himself as dominated if no pre-discursive subject exists? And how would he/she know if the 'other' was preferable?

The automatic inscription of otherness in discourse can neither offer a satisfactory explanation for resistance, nor justify it.

As Philp notes, it could be argued, from Foucault's perspective, that B's resistance occurs because of the conflicting demands that A makes on B's discursively constituted identity and interests. But as Foucault "...believe[s] that power is not built up out of 'wills' (individual or collective) nor is it derivable from interests" (Foucault 1980: 188), this would not seem possible. Nor can it be justifiably claimed that a discursively constituted will could resist discourse. The discursively constituted will is trapped in discourse. If Foucault held that relations of force arise in relations of inequality then he could argue that the subject will resist inequality on the basis that it is unjust: the subject has an interest in equality because the right to equality is self-evident. It may be true that coercion, or those congealed power/knowledge artefacts which dominate, once made visible, can precipitate instability and that by building a network of resistance we can surmount patterns of strategic domination, but such resistance would require at least a justificatory impulse on which the coerced can formulate a sense of interests. For Foucault, power does not arise out of interests or wills. Rather, inequalities are produced and maintained by force. This leaves Foucault's account of resistance wanting.

The other option is that Foucault considers force and counterforce to be an essential ahistorical and universal human attribute. Thus, politics would simply be a means through which this ahistorical force moves. Not only would this undermine the relative stance underpinning his defiance of historically specific normative claims, it could not "provide the basis for a justification of resistance – like Hobbes's war of all against all, the account is completely naturalistic" (Philp, 1983: 45). Hence Foucault's inversion of the Clausewitzian formula – politics is merely war by another name (cf Foucault 1980: 90 and 1979: 102). We are left fighting against our own nature, in the face of which we would need to submit to our 'inherent limitations'. Foucault's discursive position places wilful intent/action beyond

‘man’, and hence, in Castoriadian terms, the Foucauldians introduce heteronomy at a micro-level. The idea that ‘man’ is a discursive technology of power is in itself an ideological rationalisation which places social change beyond the capacity of meaningful human action. The adoption of such a position is surely problematic for sociologists who seek to understand racism and the state.

Just as Foucault argued that it was the discourses of the human sciences that brought ‘man’ into being, so Goldberg argues that ‘racial man’ is a product of the same because “authority is established and exercised only by being vested with the force of discrimination, exclusion, and enforcement” (Goldberg, 2002a: 52). Because “[i]nterpellation is the process by which individuals are hailed or called to subjectivity by others” which “presupposes mutual recognition by individuals” and “individuals are interpellated as subjects in and by means of language” (2002a: 57), discourses of ‘race’, as constituted in the modern age, are technologies of power that locate racialised bodies in time and space. ‘Race’ is “a new technology for defining identity and otherness, for determining inclusion, and establishing entitlements” (2002a: 68). Power is complicit in the formation of the racialised Subject as “[t]he drive to exercise authorial power – whether out of the pure pleasure of the act or as a means to further ends – clothes itself in the theoretical fashions of rationality” (Goldberg 1990: 305). Means and ends, as inherent to rationalism, are implicated in racial subjection.

For Goldberg, modern culture interpellates modern subjects as rational. Modern culture’s ‘pre-conceptual sets’ embody ‘race’, and therefore interpellate racist subjects, implicating all subjectification which is not anti-modernist within a racist project. Herein lies the ultimate contradiction in Goldberg’s work, which is clear when he makes his conception of racism explicit,

Racisms involve promoting exclusions, or the actual exclusions of people in virtue of their being deemed members of different racial groups, however racial groups are taken to be constituted. It follows that in some instances expressions may be racist on grounds of their effects. The mark of racism in these cases will be whether the discriminatory racial exclusion reflects a persistent pattern or could reasonably have been avoided. (Goldberg 2002a: 98, emphasis added)

How can racial exclusion be reasonably avoided if reason is the hallmark of racial subjection? It would seem here, to paraphrase Castoriadis (1991: 136), that Goldberg has adopted “a discourse... which has *already presupposed* the equality of human beings as reasonable beings”. The main problem with a “critical multiculturalism” which “pursues the

interdisciplinary interpellation of (or calling to) subjectivity from within while transgressively challenging the confinements, the borders, of institutional structures, subjects and subjectivities, and imposed disciplinary forms” (Goldberg 1997: 2), is that the “transgressive challenge” implicitly relies on a justification underpinned by a notion of universal political equality predicated on the existence of an essentially rational being, which is historically antithetical to that conclusion offered by a theory of subjective interpellation¹⁶. To paraphrase Žižek’s critique of Butler, we could say that like Foucault, Goldberg “ends up in a position of allowing precisely for marginal ‘reconfigurations’ of the predominant discourse – who remains constrained to a position of ‘inherent transgression’, which needs as a point of reference the Other in the guise of a predominant discourse that can be only marginally displaced or transgressed” (Žižek 2000: 264). Anti-racists *must* posit an end, and a means of achieving that end. Without a means-end approach there can be no anti-racism. But Goldberg implicates a means-end approach in a racist project, somewhat undermining a project which posits anti-racist goals as desirable.

Goldberg recognises that “[u]niversalisms offer the virtues of principles generally acknowledging the injustices of broadly construed racist expressions”, but considers that “they hide within their claims to universal values the inherent limitations of their lack of specificity, and they deny the value in culturally construed particularities inconsistent with the putatively universal principle” (Goldberg, 2002a: 212). He therefore advocates “...moral indeterminacy as a necessary feature of social praxis” (2002a: 212). That is, ‘we’ *should not* take a moral stance. If the only means through which one can subvert ‘racist culture’ is to undermine its normative premise, i.e. the modernist presupposition which underpins human centeredness – the capacity for reasoned action – then one cannot take a normative stance based on modernist principles. What then would the nature of the stance be, and wherefrom would such a stance come? On what basis would a subject operating within a modern episteme be *able* to challenge the basis of racism when the very challenge posited requires a normative understanding of human beings; that is, that human beings *should not* be treated

¹⁶ The adoption of the Althusserian conception of interpellation is highly problematic. By this theory, one can never think outside of the interpellated ideology, unless of course, an alternative ideology is available. The latter is added in Hall’s (1986b) Althusserian/Gramscian hybrid. The shift from ideology to discourse, i.e. from Althusser to Foucault does not remedy the passivity assigned to the subject in this regard, for force is not choice when the ability to choose is merely an affect of the ideology/discourse. In both positions consciousness is decidedly absent. The theory does however make a space for the ‘critical intellectual’ who has already given up on any universal subject of historical transformation (for a discussion see Clarke 1980).

unequally on racial grounds? Goldberg wants us to operate outside a modernist episteme, but by his very reckoning we could not do so. The subject would have to undermine the normative premise of the modernist project, but, as both racism and the rational subject are modern inventions then it is only because of modernity that we have the ability to view racism as wrong – for, according to Foucault, the discourse of anti-racism must be the other of the discourse of racism.

To oppose modernity's normative base requires us to say that we *should* do so, and this entails taking a normative stand against something because we think that it is wrong. The wrongness of that which is to be opposed exists because of the demand for political equality made possible by the promise *and* the limitations of Enlightenment universalism. However, it is such a moral position that Goldberg wants us to negate in favour of an anti-modern relativism which seeks a plurality of equal recognition (cf Goldberg 1994). On what basis are people to be recognised? In citing Fanon, the “post-racial state”, claims Goldberg, “would not be a state in which black (or white) people necessarily would *not* be recognised as black (or white), nor one in which the norms of regulation and governance were set by and in terms of black interests, whatever they might amount to. Rather such a state would be one in which people of colour in general, like white people generally, would be recognised as fully human” (Goldberg 2002b: 264 see also Goldberg 1996). What constitutes the ‘fully human’ that should be the standard by which all are treated and can expect to be treated? It would seem that, without that rational capacity entailed by Enlightenment universalism, this is merely a wishful assertion with no legitimate theoretical basis in Goldberg's schema.

In following Goldberg we would have to adopt, whilst simultaneously rejecting, a moral position made available through modernity in order to undermine the moral premise of modernity – political equality based on the universal human capacity for reasoned action. Modernity must make available the seeds of its own undoing. The conclusion is circular and untenable. This of course, is an anti-humanist nihilistic stance derived from Nietzsche (minus the “positive” aspects of his theory) (see Lukács 1980). The state, being a ‘will to power’, should treat all subjects as equal ‘wills to power’. But this implies that any attempt to use the kernels of Enlightenment thought are doomed to replicate the identified racist basis of subjection, despite Goldberg's cautionary adage. In rejecting an essential universal human-centred approach, one could not then appeal to a universal humanness as a basis for an equality claim. From this position it is difficult to escape Derrida's conclusion that racism and

anti-racism, emanating as they do from an abstract belief in the equality of all human subjects, are equally as oppressive. Derrida (1991: 40) criticised “opposition to racism, totalitarianism, to nazism, to fascism” embraced “in the name of the spirit, and even of the freedom of (the) spirit, in the name of an axiomatic – for example, that of democracy or ‘human rights’ – which directly or not comes back to this metaphysics of Subjectivity”. Derrida’s conclusion leaves us with no possible defence. In the *name of what* should we oppose racism? On what basis *could* we deduce that racism exists and is any more wrong than anti-racism? Derrida has no answer. Unfortunately, the same applies to Goldberg, who makes the point that the internalisation of racial discourse is a process of ‘race creation’ which can and has furnished target groups with a means of resistance to racist exclusions. In responding to racially differential discourses the Subject can filter and undermine exclusionary elements. The racialised Subject self-ascribes whilst “standing inside the terms” (Goldberg 2002a: 174). However, he later goes on to state that,

...the modern obsession with race, as we have seen, was deeply predicated on an appeal to reason, to a deeply racial sense of rationality, that representational expressions of resistance felt bound to emulate. Reaction suffers having to employ the very same terms and conditions of denigration and subjugation as a condition of their being understood as proof of their rationality initially denied. (Goldberg 2002b: 52-53)

Thus, Goldberg ‘wilfully’ posits a project which attempts to undermine the basis of racist subjection, whilst leaving an apparent ever-present subjectification process intact. To do otherwise would require, at least in theory, the belief in the *superiority* of the autonomous universal subject. That is, that the idea that there *is* a universal human state which over-rides the presumption of determining difference. The application of reason can also lead to the alternative conclusion that there is no or little relation between the external (phenotypical) world, and the inner (mental) world. The application of reason, whilst obviously implicated in the story of ‘race’, does not necessarily lead to racial subjection. As Malik (1996) makes clear, it is the conflation of reason with an inherently unequal system of social (re)production – capitalism – which leads to the rationalisation of inequality. As detailed, nuanced and sophisticated as Goldberg’s position is, we are left with little to which we can appeal in order to fight racism. The true humanness he aspires to in justification of anti-racism is undermined by the anti-humanist precepts from which he embarks.

Following Foucault’s relational conception of power, the only aspect Goldberg’s position can retain from those conceptions offered by Lukes and Poulantzas is that of ‘significant

affecting' and thus we are directed to the minutiae that make up the fabric of daily life – the 'microphysics' of power. However, we are destined to stand inside the terms as they appear in constant repetition of the oppressive moment – oppression in and of itself can be shifted but not eradicated. It is the eradication of interests and values that exposes two serious weaknesses inherent in his conceptualisation and critique of racism and the modern state. Goldberg cannot answer the following question: on what basis would/could/should one resist racism without the predication of a universal human subjectivity denied by the modern state? Indeed, as has been demonstrated, it is through the act of resistance that we come to understand a primary characteristic of the modern state – its contradictory nature.

Complimenting Castoriadis' position, Žižek (2000: 208) explains, "the political act cannot be reduced to acts per se. The political, or 'politics proper' is the moment in which a particular demand is not simply part of the negotiation of interests but aims at something more, and starts to function as the metaphoric condensation of the global restructuring of the entire social space". In the democratic Republic (*demos*), the demand for inclusion by the non-recognised takes as a starting point their particular circumstance as an indication both of their situation and as the mirror of the universal from which they are excluded. In staking their claim against the contradiction of exclusion, the excluded become the universal representatives of the new inclusive body politic: *demos* is transformed along with the universal which the political act informs, changes, and confirms. The universal principle that 'all men should be treated equal', is predicated on the posited essential but historically specific capacity for reasoned action. It is the stifling of capacity in specific forms of modern social organisation which is rationalised by reference to 'race' (and equally gender). But the exclusion has an obverse inclusionary potential premised on the posited universal capacity for autonomy. Thus, anti-colonial and Suffragette demands for self-determination and political equality, for example, brought excluded 'non-humans' into history – political equality based on the presumption of human-centred autonomy. That which was attained is *superior* to that which was resisted.

"True racism" states Castoriadis, "does not permit others to recant ...racism does not want the conversion of the others – it wants their death" (1997: 27). Racism does not permit others to join the universal; the racist nation-state is therefore that state which does not permit others (racially defined) to join the body of its territorial authority, the nation. "Among the Moderns", wrote Castoriadis, "there is a conflict between the universalistic dimension of the

political imaginary and another central element of the modern imaginary: the Nation and the Nation-State. As Edmund Burke asked, are we talking about the Rights of Man, or about the Rights of an Englishman?" (1997: 96). Hence, Gilroy was surely right when he argued that racism "must be understood as a process" and so anti-racism must "bring[] blacks into history outside the categories of problem and victim, and establish[] the historical character of racism in opposition to the idea that it is an eternal or natural phenomenon, [which] depends on a capacity to comprehend political, ideological and economic change" (Gilroy 1993: 27). The anti-racist state *should* therefore be that state which seeks to obliterate the means of its own racially exclusionary existence – an exclusionary universal, i.e. a rigid heteronomous particularism. A racist state is not that state which seeks to uphold universal values. Nor would doing so make it a 'racial state'. Fundamentally, the modern state must negotiate a contradiction, but *only* if a universalist project for autonomy has obtained prior validity. This presents us with two problems in response to a State's adoption of anti-racism:

1. Whilst Black may come into History, the History entered is one in which heteronomy has not been obliterated.
2. The current epoch being made is one which has been proclaimed as a final destination (Fukuyama 1992)

Of course, the latter point is open to contestation (Füredi 1993; Callinicos 1991), but it summons debate as to how the 'modern' anti-racist state is defining its policy goals at 'History's End', for the absence of radical utopias (Jacoby 1999), indicative of a loss of belief in viable alternatives to capitalism, entails the impossibility rather than the realisation of a project for autonomy. If this is the case, then the current anti-racist state cannot be understood to be operating within the contradictory boundaries of social limitation, but rather, must negotiate the collapse of that very contradiction, and hence the basis of its own exclusionary and inclusionary existence. Either the anti-racist modern state must define 'racism', and hence anti-racism in such a way that does not undermine its exclusionary basis, or its definition of 'racism' will reflect the institutionalisation of heteronomy amidst the collapse of a project for autonomy. Of course, neither definition need operate univocally.

It should by now be clear that we are not dealing here with any simplistic or mechanical base-superstructure formulation; nor are we concerned to delineate successive modes of production. In our delineation of a state-society relationship we understand that society is not

just a capitalist society, or a democratic society, it is a process in which social individual's make the meaning of the social imaginary in a specific social-historical context. Nevertheless, the modern state, in its orientation and *modus operandi*, operates within the symbolic order of democratic capitalism, and must assert the contrary. The movement of subjective-objective power relations can only be understood within this instituted social imaginary. We need not reject Miliband's (1989: 30) dated but pertinent thesis that state power is secured

...by the people who occupy the command posts of the state system – presidents, prime ministers, and their immediate ministerial and other colleagues and advisors; top civil servants; senior officers in the armed forces, the police, and the surveillance agencies; senior judges; and the people in charge of state enterprises, regulatory commissions, and similar agencies.

Nor need we reject the now somewhat banal thesis that "...different parts of the state system are often at odds with each other; and [that] this is certainly the case in regard to the dealings which governments, legislators, judges, and regulatory agencies have with this or that capitalist interest" (Miliband 1989: 30). There exists a relationship of bilateral tension between the political executive and the ruling class. Indeed, capitalist interests, whilst pivoting on the question of profit, are diffuse, for example those of industrial and financial capital not being synonymous (Draper 1977). This does not entail a rejection of the understanding that "the post-material paradigm brings together the depoliticisation of the struggle over the social product and a dematerialisation of the social product" in a historical juncture where "the exploitation of labour at work is [still] the living premise of all the other activities that are celebrated under the rubric of post-material values" (Heartfield 1998: 21-22). A relationship of exploitation exists but, as will be elaborated, is analytically meaningless in the absence of class subjectivity - that very subjectivity which emerged as a consequence of Political action occasioned by moments of rupture driven by radical utopias. The collapse of radical utopias leaves social action in a diminished subjective state. Thus, whilst I am concerned with the state as comprised of 'agencies of legitimation', I am interested in the place of anti-racism within the symbolic network of the state-societal relation. As will be demonstrated next, it is the negotiation of a flattened contradiction which informs the diminished subject of Third Way anti-racist policy.

1.7 *Third Way Anti-Racism*

The Third Way is not a new way between progressive and conservative politics. It is progressive politics distinguishing itself from conservatism of left or right.
(Tony Blair, New Labour Conference Speech 1999)

Parekh, broadly demarcating three distinct ways in which “modern states conceptualise their identity” – liberal, communitarian, and ethnic or national, alerts us to the notion that immigration policy reflects “a state’s conception of who should be its members” which “depends on... the kind of polity it thinks it is and how it believes itself to be constituted and held together” (1994: 92). The Government’s perception of the country’s interests is therefore shaped by the view which it holds of the relationship between the individual and public institutions. In other words, governing the polity requires an understanding of the nature of the subject to be governed, and the social context in which individuals act.

Parekh’s point has salience when we consider that the problems to which Third Way governance orientates itself are anchored between the twin pillars of risk and trust (Giddens 1998; Blair 1998), leading to what Füredi calls the “institutionalisation of caution” (1997: 109) – for example, ‘community safety initiatives’ – which loosely defines a ‘communitarian consensus’ on the purported need to combat the ‘causal-effects’ of globalisation, social breakdown and unrestrained egoism¹⁷. The latter is generally considered to be a consequence of free-market liberal policies pursued by western governments during the 1980s. However, as Nolan (1998) makes clear, the (‘post’) modern state formulates policy on the basis of its need for legitimacy in a historical juncture where institutions have diminished capacity to confer public authority. Consequently, post-liberal notions of subjectivity have increasingly come to inform both law and policy making as a means of countering the consequences of a purported unrestrained egoism¹⁸. Nolan draws on Beetham’s (1991) tripartite consent-validity-justification model of power legitimation. For state power to be legitimate it must be consistent with established rules which can be justified with reference to beliefs, all of which must elicit consent. We could, for example, argue that the belief that British people

¹⁷ Of course Giddens’ position differs in that he refers to a ‘New Individualism’ (see 1996: chap 14). He does however make the point that “the importance which the Labour Party places upon community renewal is entirely consistent with what we know about how globalisation is reshaping our world” (2000b: 19). More on this later.

¹⁸ See Rees (2003) for an example of how post-liberal notions of subjectivity increasingly inform divorce law.

constituted a 'white race' deserving of privileged welfare rights, provided part of the basis for the exclusion of 'non-whites' via post-WW2 British Immigration and Nationality legislation, and that an appeal to such beliefs by political elites helped validate state authority in the form of legislative restrictions on the acquisition of British citizenship. State legitimacy acquired a normative structure predicated on racialised conceptions of nationhood. More abstractly, we could say that the British state in operationalising covert racialised (biologised) codes of Britishness (culture), legitimised the continuance of a heteronomous (anti-humanist) appeal to welfare rights, validated by the idea of citizenship rights (autonomy). Universalism took a particularistic form.

This has implications when we consider the thesis that a weak state is prone to authoritarian measures (Neumann 1957). As Füredi notes, the dominance of a therapeutically ordered cultural turn towards the 'vulnerable self' as 'diminished subject' allows for the promotion of psychologically based policy intervention and the acquiescence of human subjects to the hegemonic rationale underpinning such policy (Füredi 2002, 2004a). This has manifested in a re-configuration of the idea of justice (Nolan 2001), such that policy is justified therapeutically, coupled with a deceptive rhetoric of utilitarian non-retribution: a combination which pathologises *rational human action* adding a new positive twist to authoritarian policy intervention (see also Scott 2000).

Füredi's point emanates from an understanding of the role played by Left-Right political ideologies in the construction of future-orientated social meaning and the slow demise of such cosmologies culminating in the collapse of ideological contestation in the 1980s. Implicit in Füredi's position is a Lukácsian understanding of ideological conflict, tension and totality (cf Lukács 1971). In this sense, ideological formation is not an arbitrary process. All ideas are equally forms which conscious-being can take within the necessary social-relations in which conscious-beings must live in a capitalist society. However, consciousness must be raised if social inequality is to be successfully tackled. The raising of consciousness will be influenced by the ideas of groups who are able to access public consciousness. Whilst the ideas which such groups hold may be more conducive to articulation, the voices that are heard may or may not be representative of ideas which are conducive to a dominant line. Consequently, an investigative approach to organisation is key to understanding the mediation of ideas from conscious being into material force. As Lukács makes clear, organisation is "the form of mediation between theory and practice" (1971: 299). Whilst an assessment of the 'grip' of

ideas can be acquired via exploration of the political process (for it is there that the will of many individuals is most explicitly expressed), for Marx, a material force is that which alters or maintains the exploitative relation, and therefore ideology is material force to the extent that the relation is maintained or altered via its application. The exploitative relation curtails the potential of humans to move beyond inequality, but this can precipitate a crisis *only* with a prior acceptance that equality is predicated on the universal capacity for rational intervention. Consequently, inequality is rationalised as something innate which is beyond human intervention. In Castoriadian terms, the latter represents a diminished subjective stance. By maintaining the normalcy of the exploitative relation, anti-humanness, in the form of heteronomy continues. Because the exploitative relation succeeds on an anti-human (heteronomous) premise by reducing humans to objects rather than subject-objects, any ideology stands or falls on its content, which either successfully supplants a correct view of humanness as conscious self-making beings, or does not¹⁹. The most explicit forum for the exertion of organised ideological force over the last 200 years has been set within the parameters of Left-Right political contestation - both liberal and social democratic - the context for this expression has been the socio-historical formation of the nation-state. The point has significance when government purports to be moving beyond left and right.

¹⁹ A 'conscious-being approach' to ideology allows for the possibility of both a critical and neutral conceptualisation of the latter. Larrain (1979 1983 1996) adopts this distinction, demonstrating that whilst Marx (1947) utilised the concept of ideology critically, Marxists such as Lenin and Gramsci allow for the possibility of both a neutral and critical usage. Whilst the critical approach entails a form of distortion of consciousness whereby transient social relations are eternalised or naturalised via obscurantism, and can be held by anyone, the neutral conception applies to political ideas or discourses which express the interests of particular groups. The distinction is an uneasy one. Whilst I accept that the distinction is useful analytically for the purposes of assessing the content of ideologies in the genre of Marxian usage, from Marx's perspective the transformation of human society requires that the epistemological and the political are inseparable, the point of his theoretical dictate on 'surface appearance' is that humans have the capacity and ability 'to change it!' (Marx 1947: 199). The former passes a general epistemological judgement not essential to the latter which stresses the ideological forms through which groups attain consciousness of social reality and thereby link ideas to material interests. The neutral conception can be critical but only from the position of the group advancing its position in opposition to its targeted adversary, e.g. proletarian versus bourgeois ideology. The neutral conception entails a sense of conspiracy which the critical concept does not. For Marx and Engels (cf Mészáros 1989) the distortion of reality is inherent to the social organisation of capitalist society, not a bourgeois conspiracy. For Lenin (1975) and Gramsci (1973) the political organisation of ideas represents a process by which specific groups, for example the bourgeoisie, conspire to hold or advance their position of dominance within the context of struggle, which entails a charge of distortion against their adversaries. The former describes the quality of spontaneous consciousness within a social context, the latter its organisation; hence Gramsci's distinction between 'war of position' and 'war of manoeuvre'.

As Lukács' (1980) study of irrationalism demonstrates, the post-1789 polarities of Left and Right had bound collective action, mutually reinforcing contested visions of the good society. Those universalist-rationalist tendencies which lent themselves to human-centeredness and a future-orientation in political action drew constant battle with the particularist-irrationalist tendencies of conservatism which continued to place 'man' as non-rationally determined. Whilst no clear-cut delineation between either is possible, we can bring Lukács and Castoriadis together in drawing a correspondence between autonomy = human-centred; heteronomy = anti-human-centred. Whilst strands of the former merge with the latter, the dynamic underpinning of this tension was fuelled by the unrelenting Enlightenment belief in 'man' inspired by a utopian vision in political consciousness (cf Wegner 2002). Thus, for Füredi, despite their reformist limitations, cold-war politics, which precipitated welfare consensus, cohered an outlook less in keeping with social fragmentation, individuation and a diminished subjectivity. The latter obscures the social as a totalised whole, whilst simultaneously orientating human action towards isolated, seemingly unconnected individuated ends – the subject is socialised as extra-social. The post-cold war context is therefore "characterised by the loss of a web of meaning through which people make sense about who they are and where they stand in relation to others" (Füredi 2004a: 162).

Füredi makes the point that whilst the question of the erosion of tradition has been a central sociological problem of the 19th and 20th centuries, past explanations have posited the view that the erosion of traditional moral systems such as religion led to increasing fragmentation, which stimulated an individualist quest for meaning. But unlike religion, "the therapeutic ethos posits no values higher than the self. Nor does it offer a worldview through which people can collectively share meaning. Instead of offering an alternative to religion, it attempts to avoid the problem of how people can be bound to a shared view of the world by offering individual solace" (Füredi 2004a: 91). Thus, "the therapeutic ethos represents...an alternative to... the political ideologies that reflected, questioned, defended specific social, moral, political and economic institutional interests and commitments in modern times" (2004a: 92). Therapeutic culture therefore endows "the experience of lack of solidarity with purpose" (2004a: 91). This is because the assumption of a consensus on "what constitutes 'moral integrity' in a society" has been undermined (2004a: 96). In the past, the erosion of tradition had been contained by the rise of other ideologies and collective visions that could orientate significant sections of society. However, today traditional morality has lost its force: contemporary culture is anti-traditional. Due to the declining significance of ideology,

political authority has embraced therapeutics because it provides a means through which governments can promote contact and identification with an increasingly fragmented public (2004a: 95). However, “despite the attempt by radical scholars to link it to a distinct economic or class interest, the therapeutic ethos provides a cultural script with which a diverse range of motives can be expressed. Indeed, emotionalism and the language of therapy is as much if not more extensively deployed by opponents of the status quo than by the political elites” (2004a: 94). Thus, trades unions, ‘new’ social movements, quangos and government institutions increasingly adopt therapeutics in their respective agendas. In fact, permissive therapeutics recreates a relationship of dependency and subordination, and consequently social control is reconstituted: “the institutionalisation of therapeutic practices by the state attempts to bypass the general problem of legitimacy by reconnecting with the public as individuals” (2004a: 96). Thus, “the institutionalisation of permissive therapeutics has the contradictory effect of undermining the wider normative order whilst re-establishing order on the basis of containing the wider aspirations of the citizen” (2004a: 98).

The profound absence of a belief in any political alternative to the free-market associated with the defeat of industrial militancy and the failure of ‘man-made’ revolutions parallels a cynical mistrust of ‘Promethean Man’, thus signalling a demise in utopian vision as a component in social movement and collective vision/action. In the absence of an alternative, human consciousness is unable to confidently picture and hence posit, a future better world and is restricted to making the best of the present. Political consciousness is diminished. Movements and government are now pre-disposed to seeking and granting compensation in consolation for harms caused to isolated individuals, but are unable to offer a political alternative which can overcome individuation (Füredi 2004b). In short, government policy aims to ‘make people feel good about themselves’. This would be as true for a Conservative administration as it is for Labour. ‘If it is true’, states Mészáros,

...that “*there is no alternative*” [TINA] to the structural determinations of the capitalist system in the “real world”, in that case the very idea of *causal interventions* – no matter how little or large – must be condemned as an absurdity. The only change admissible within such a vision of the world belongs to the type which concerns itself with some strictly limited *effects* but leaves their *causal foundation* ...completely unaffected...

Such wisdom continues to be uttered without any concern for how bleak it would be if this proposition were really true. It is much easier to resign oneself to the finality of the predicament asserted in this blindly deterministic political slogan of our times... than to devise the necessary challenge to it. (Mészáros 1995: xiii-xv)

The demise of the British Welfare State, a heightened individuation and the inability of political elites to cohere legitimacy around an ideological programme has led to an intensification of disenchantment which precipitates policy intervention aimed at rationalising TINA – a culture of social limitation. The common-sense position to which psychological explanations of social phenomena have been elevated means that human subjects do not experience such policy interventions as coercive, but as a channel for voicing victim-claims in a world absent of alternatives²⁰. New Labour's adoption of 'multiculturalism' is an assertion of its belief in the permanence of difference: a heteronomous, static conception of the subject, which is a manifestation of the demise in political action once orientated around the tension between static particularism and a future-orientated universalist emancipatory project. The latter, once the hallmark of the progressive Left, has collapsed. The Government's ideology of multiculturalism is therefore reflective of a culture of social limitation. Additionally, the fragility of government renders its orientation hostile to what it considers 'conservative': any movement which adopts an absolute truth, and hence resembles political movements of the past, could threaten the culture of limitation, and is thus branded as extreme. However, without irony, anti-elitism becomes an absolute elite position, which undermines any possibility of a political challenge to a heteronomous culture of social limitation.

In making the point that both the rise in identity politics and the therapeutic turn represent responses to the demand for meaning, Füredi cites Taylor's (1992) *Politics of Recognition* as an example of how multiculturalism is paired with therapeutics in a way which overshadows the seminal influence of the latter on the former. "Taylor's own emphasis on the politics of recognition being driven by the goals of 'self-fulfilment and self-realisation' point not just simply to culture, but to the quest for identity in an intensely self-orientated form... Its core assumption is that driven by a deep psychological need, the self becomes actualised through cultural identity" (Füredi 2004a: 163–164). The link between emotion and identity is that individuals are deemed to be identical to their ethnically emotionalised constitution. Thus, psychological injury has become the pivotal "problem of injustice and inequality" (2004a: 164) and emotionalised ethnicity is established as a mechanism that makes people feel good

²⁰ That therapeutic intervention becomes a coercive force is clarified by Füredi's discussion of the Thatcher Government's policy of offering counselling instead of jobs to the unemployed, specifically after the defeat of the 1984–5 miner's strike. The "problem of job loss" was transformed into "one of psychosocial transition" (see Füredi 2004a: 94). For a discussion of these themes in relation to policy on health care see Fitzpatrick (2001); and in relation to current Trade Unionism and workplace practices see Wainwright and Calnan (2002).

about their selves. Thus, Honneth's dictum that "the experience of being socially denigrated or humiliated endangers the identity of human beings, just as infection with disease endangers their physical life," (2004a: 164) influences 'anti-racist' thought. The logic lends itself to a demand for increased state-regulation of behaviour deemed psychologically traumatic. It seems we have moved from a time when "suffering confer[red] no virtue on the victim" (Gilroy 1990: 60). Justice is now psychologised because it is

the diminishing capacity of contemporary institutions – formal and informal – to confer and affirm identity that fuels the demand to be recognised. In turn, institutions have seized upon this demand in order to enhance their authority through providing recognition for a fragmented public. Traditional national identities have become highly problematic but public institutions have never been so busy offering recognition and respect to anyone who demands it through a bewildering variety of initiatives around the aim of "inclusion". (Füredi 2004a: 164)²¹

The flattened or diminished contradiction, as Heartfield (2002: 174 – 201) notes, is that New Labour is a project without a subject. That is, the current British Government, unlike that of 'Old Labour' and previous Conservative administrations, is a top-down creation, not made by a constituency of supporters who attempt to hold it to account. The turnout for the 1997 general election, at 71%, was the lowest since 1935. New Labour was elected by approximately 32% of those qualified to vote, compared with 29% who did not vote. In 2001, the turnout was even lower at approximately 59% – the lowest since 1918. New Labour was elected by approximately 25% of the electorate – 41% did not vote. Moreover, membership of New Labour dropped by 25,000 in 1999. The right to vote, and hence consent, integral to the formation of 'universal' British national citizenship, enjoys little popular resonance. Additionally, the Conservative Party, the traditional party of capitalist ruling elites, who held government for a total of 70 years throughout the twentieth century, has seen its vote and membership collapse. With no politicised labour movement to vote for or against, the middle-classes need new reasons to vote (see Füredi 2004c and Sutherland 2004). Moreover, the collapse of British nationalist structures of welfare capitalism has not brought a revenge of history (Callinicos 1991), nor has liberalism won (Fukuyama 1992). In short, with the erosion of the Left, the Right has collapsed into the vacuum vacated by its historical opposition, such that the political realm is in disarray. This does not, however, pave the way toward a Third

²¹ In citing Füredi's thesis I do not wish to deny the psychological impact of racism upon the subject target, nor denigrate people who have negative experiences of racism. The point is made in order to illustrate how psychology can take on an incorporative character vis-à-vis the state's therapeutic praxis.

Way in any real sense, because, as Jacoby (1999: 8) notes, in the absence of a Left, “liberalism bleeds”.

The problem this raises for ruling elites is that without significant public confidence in the institutions of Governance, Government cannot confidently exert its authority over society. With no coherent moral vision, the disaggregated institutions of post-war welfare capitalism cannot be replaced. New Labour’s inability to cohere a political vision manifests in internal fragmentation, and a deficient democratic mandate, all of which precipitate authoritarian intervention in a bid to cohere a social base: authoritarianism in the name of ‘care’. As Heartfield (2002) notes, Third Way politics is ‘therapolitics’, appealing to emotional vulnerability whilst banishing ‘dangerous emotions’ from the terrain of legitimate political action. For example, New Labour, in holding the previous Conservative government responsible for increased criminality and social breakdown, attempts to tap in to a disinterested public on the basis of fear and anxieties (which can apparently culminate in ‘anti-social behaviour’); anxieties which the Government attempts to alleviate, thus legitimising itself through the governance of emotion. State surveillance is vociferously extended to the private sphere. Thus, diminished subjectivity works as an accomplice to the legitimacy deficit and the Third Way provides a theoretical justification for such intervention.

In the light of academic literature which alerts us to the perils of psychologising ‘race’ (cf Gordon 1999, Lasch-Quinn 2001), I have begun to spell out the underlying presuppositions informing the policy intervention of the current British ‘anti-racist’ State. These presuppositions become clearer on closer examination of the work of Third Way theoretician, Anthony Giddens.

1.8 Emotionalising ‘Race’ in the Era of Risk

According to Giddens, “welfare is not in essence an economic concept but a psychic one, concerning as it does well-being”, thus, “welfare institutions must be concerned with fostering psychological, as well as economic benefits” (1998: 117). In an article titled *The Third Way can beat the Far-Right*, Giddens subsequently makes the point that,

Among the emphases of Third Way thinking are two prime elements: reform of labour markets and welfare systems, to place an emphasis on job creation; and the need to address issues traditionally dominated by the right, such as crime and immigration. (*Guardian* 2002a: web ref.)

For Giddens, increased economic interdependence between states via the expansion of financial markets is accompanied by a temporal and spatial impact on individual experience. Seemingly distant events more profoundly affect and are affected by a changing local dimension, transforming individual experience and social/political institutions. In this sense migration is the consequence of manufactured risk intensified by globalising tendencies. As the latter need regulation, so does the former. “Immigration has long been fertile breeding ground for racism” (1998: 135), contends Giddens, because despite having “energising effect upon the society at large... cultural differences... may *cause* resentment or hatred” (1998: 136, emphasis added). Giddens begins from the assumption of “cultural difference” as potential cause of “cultural aversion”; however, the new globalised order requires that states embrace “cosmopolitan nationalism”, because “[c]osmopolitanism and multiculturalism merge around the question of immigration” (1998: 136). Consequently, a number of factors can act as barriers to the development of “cosmopolitanism”²².

Racism does not figure prominently in Giddens’ theory, but “xenophobic ethnicities or nationalisms” (1995: 129) are key. What he is concerned with is the relationship between global change, ontological security, and the problem of violence, and migration is a central component in the equation. A key question for Giddens is “[u]nder what conditions are the members of different ethnic groups or cultural communities able to live alongside one another and in what circumstances are the relations between them likely to collapse into violence?” (1995: 243). Furthermore, “[d]ifference... can become a medium of hostility, but it can also be a medium of creating mutual understanding and sympathy” (1995: 244). This is because, “there is a tension between communication and violence”. Adopting “Gadamer’s ‘fusion of horizons’, which can be expressed as a virtuous circle” (1995: 244), Giddens posits dialogue as a means through which “[d]ifference” must not procure “a degenerate spiral of communication... where antipathy feeds on antipathy, hate upon hate” (1995: 245). The latter is most likely to occur “[w]herever fundamentalism takes hold, whether it be religious, ethnic, nationalist or gender fundamentalism” (1995: 245). In making this point Giddens delineates a deviant sub-group as a component of ‘healthier’ social groupings.

²² “By cosmopolitanism I mean a preparedness precisely not to be too swayed by, or dependent upon, the ways of life of any group or community of which one happens to be a member. For the key to social order today – locally, nationally and on a global scale too – is being able to get along with, and perhaps positively to value, ways of life which are different from one’s own” (Giddens 1996: 246).

For Giddens, fundamentalism; that is, absolutist truth, is not essentially tagged to ethnicity because its aetiology is, to a large extent, psychological. Anxiety is an essential state of humanness, requiring the acquisition and maintenance of a protective cocoon which develops through relationships of basic trust in early childhood. However, in post-traditional societies, where submission to a given authority is replaced by radical doubt and the proliferation of authorities, “[t]he dilemma of authority versus doubt is ordinarily resolved through a mixture of routine and commitment to a certain form of lifestyle, plus the vesting of trust in a given series of abstract systems” (2001: 196). Yet, such a “compromise” can “disintegrate under pressure”, especially where “individuals find it psychologically difficult or impossible to accept the existence of diverse, mutually conflicting authorities” (2001: 196). Such individuals have a predilection for dogmatic authoritarianism, which Giddens distinguishes from faith, because where the latter “rests on trust”, the former represents an abrogation of trust through the “slavish adherence” to “overarching systems of authority” (2001: 196). The propensity for intolerance to ‘conflicting’ abstract systems is the character trait of the dogmatic authoritarian, not those who have faith. That is why the UK Home Office *Faith Communities Unit* is

keen to assist faith communities to develop their individuals and organisations in order to reach their full potential. The positive effects of this work will include an increased ability for faith community members to motivate and improve their own community as well as strengthening their links with the wider community. (Home Office 2004: web ref.)

Crucially, because anxiety “is a generalised state of the emotion of the individual” (Giddens 2001: 43) and fear is “apprehension that has an externally constituted object” (2001: 45), migrants and ethnic groups can become the subject-object of fear which threatens the generalised state of anxiety, and the stirring of emotions creates a space in which dogmatic authoritarianism grips via the promotion of hate. Such an outcome could result in a degenerating spiral of inter-ethnic fragmentation and violence which must be prevented via the promotion of inter-ethnic dialogue. Thus, anything that may penetrate the protective cocoon needs to be regulated. That is why,

The Home Office welcomes all projects and organisations which encourage dialogue and co-operation between the different faith communities of the UK. (Home Office 2004: web ref.)

For Giddens, emotional governance is a requisite for the ‘essential’ human requirement for ontological security. In a historical period of high modernity where experience of risk is bolstered by globalising tendencies, the potential for penetration of the protective cocoon is heightened. Consequently, Giddens rationalises an approach to immigration via a purported need to harness the security of a threatened psychological state (both institutional and individual). The emotional subject underpins both Giddens’ social theory and his prescription for governance – emotional governance. More specifically, Governance must orientate itself toward management of the private sphere via the promotion of self-reflexivity, the *management of emotions* requiring an ‘ethics of care’. The salience of this point becomes clearer when we look more closely at legislative anti-racist measures taken by the UK Government.

1.9 Managing Migration, Hate Crime and the Unconscious

The Oxford English dictionary defines hate – as noun, “[a]n emotion of extreme dislike or aversion; detestation, abhorrence, hatred”, and as verb: “[t]o hold in very strong dislike; to detest; to bear malice to”. Following Fairclough (2001), the former can be conceptualised as a condition, the latter as process²³. The latter has both subject and object predicates: the subject (perpetrator) of hate holds the object of hate (subject target) in contempt. The condition has neither subject nor object. The subjectlessness of the condition inheres in its definition as an emotion, *unless* emotion is given a heightened significance in the constitution of the human subject and/or specific individuals/groups can be characterised as more or less emotionally destructive.

Iganski (1999a 1999b) has explored the development of the concept of ‘hate crime’ in relation to racially aggravated offences and legislative measures instituted against such in New Labour’s 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. The underlying principle is that racial attacks are “socially divisive and morally repugnant.... We believe that if racism is allowed to grow unchecked it will begin to corrode the fabric of our open and tolerant society” (cited in Home Office 1998: 44). The idea of social corrosion underpinned the 1997 Crime and Disorder Bill, and as Iganski suggests, the severity of racist expression is ‘perhaps’ related to “the common-sense assumption that hate speech leads to, or provokes, violence and discrimination against

²³ Fairclough makes this distinction in reference to New Labour’s ‘social inclusion/exclusion’ rhetoric.

the groups concerned” (1999b: 133). The severity of racial hate crime, i.e. the expression of racialised emotion, is predicated on its relationship to ‘inter-racial’ violence and the consequences of such for social breakdown. Thus, hate crime is placed high on the scale of governmental priorities, and because expressions can be reflective of hate, racist expressions are reflective of dangerous emotion. The logic lends itself to the conclusion that expressions should be curtailed and emotions governed as a means of circumventing degenerate spirals of communication.

Whilst the criminalisation of incitement to racial hatred was reinforced by the Thatcher government²⁴, and the 1994 House of Commons Committee on Crime and Disorder was an initiative of the Major Government, the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, which reinforces incitement to racial hatred, falls in place within New Labour’s policy rationale: ‘Tough on Crime, Tough on the Causes of Crime’ (TOCTOCC). However, when the problem of racialised emotion is framed by the rationale underpinning immigration legislation, it is re-contextualised with renewed significance, for as Giddens summates, TOCTOCC should require the Government to be “tough on immigration, but tough on the causes of hostility to immigrants” (*Guardian* 2002: web ref.). What causes hostility toward migrants? As noted above, Giddens begins from an assumption that “cultural differences... may *cause* resentment or hatred” (1998: 136, emphasis added). This is in keeping with the Government’s White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Havens* (Home Office 2002b: 1) which states:

having a clear, workable and robust nationality and asylum system is the pre-requisite to building the security and trust that is needed. Without it, we cannot defeat those who would seek to stir up hate, intolerance and prejudice.

The logic of TOCTOCC when applied to ‘hate crime’ is as follows – because hatred can lead to crime, a tough response to hatred is required. However, the ability to stir up hate is predicated on the availability of *anxiety* which the presence of ‘un-integrated’ migrants (as object of fear) is deemed to heighten, especially amongst certain groups: “It is”, states the Home Office (2002b: 12), “in those communities least likely to have benefited from added value economic activity and entrepreneurship where the biggest challenge lies. For even at a time of high levels of economic activity and buoyant employment, the low skill or no skill

²⁴ The 1986 Public Order Act, Section 17, defined racial hatred as ‘... hatred against a group of persons in Great Britain defined by reference to colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins’ (cited in Home Office 2002a: 47).

groupings are likely to be most fearful of the low skill, no skill entrant into the local economy". Here economic utility is tied to emotion. As increased anxiety is perceived to be a potential consequence of the presence of migrants who may threaten jobs, and anxiety is preyed upon by perpetrators of hate, the 'wrong type' of migration is a potential cause of hate crime, and hence social polarisation. Government needs to 'manage migration' in order to stem the tide of hate crime, and hence, the spiral of inter-racial violence which may follow. Ironically (or not?), tough controls are tied to the need to protect those migrants whom the Government designates as 'legitimate victims', from the hatred that their presence may incite. Moreover, this policy orientation simultaneously allows for the regulation of 'poorer' sections of the working classes: the 'emotionally inadequate lumpen poor'. Such is the demand of utilitarian non-retribution – 'an ethics of care'.

In the words of Cohen, "crime may be presented as part of the wider discourse of risk" (2002: p. xxv) and, from the above, we can deduce that migration has become a medium through which the relationship between crime and globalisation is linked. In a 'cosmopolitan society', hatred toward the 'cosmopolitan other' becomes a crime. This leads to the posited need to control immigration in order to alleviate public anxieties, so that those who wish to spread racial hatred against asylum seekers have no influence²⁵. Moreover, the aversion of such risk and the building of trust are imperative to fulfilling Government's requirement for legitimacy:

Strong civic and community foundations are necessary if people are to have the confidence to welcome asylum seekers and migrants. They must trust the systems their governments operate and believe they are fair and not abused. They must have a sense of their own community or civic identity – a sense of shared understanding which can both animate and give moral content to the benefits and duties of the citizenship to which new entrants aspire. Only then can integration with diversity be achieved. (Home Office 2002b: 9)

The 'inefficient management of migration' erodes people's sense of belonging and affinity with Government. Consequently, the presence of migrants who purportedly challenge a shared sense of civic space must be regulated, first through entry-control mechanisms, and second, through integration programmes in order to render less visible those 'elements'

²⁵ Additionally, the causes of migration are considered the causes of hate crime and this can include people-smugglers and conditions in the 'sender' countries. Being tough on migration thus also provides a justification for global intervention and regulation.

deemed most likely to stir anxieties²⁶. The common denominator is that the socio-economic and/or character traits of certain migrant groups can elicit the anxiety of the underprivileged, upon which dogmatic authoritarianism can prey. The policy response is to ‘protect’ both migrant and non-migrant from dangerous emotions.

1.10 Managing Diversity

Matters are made more complex when the Government is confronted by the claims of British born ‘ethnic minorities’ against British institutions (Virdee 1999; Virdee and Cole 2000). The report of Sir William Macpherson (1999) into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and the subsequent verdict that the Metropolitan Police is institutionally racist was hailed as an anti-racist victory²⁷. However, closer scrutiny of both the inquiry’s terms of reference and of the report’s findings reveals two salient points. Given that the Lawrence campaign, and its charge of racism, held a mirror up to the immorality of the British police force, and the government’s concern with the ability of British institutions to command legitimate authority, i.e. trust, amongst the British populace, the Government agreed to the inquiry because of the purported impact that the campaign could have on the legitimacy of British institutions more widely. Announcing his decision to hold a public inquiry, Home Secretary Jack Straw said:

I believe this inquiry . . . will allow the concerns of the Lawrence family and others to be fully addressed and will identify the lessons to be learned from this tragic case which will be relevant to the future handling of racially motivated crimes by the criminal justice system. (*Independent* 1997: web ref.)

Consequently, advice submitted to the inquiry, which stressed the concern to establish trust, was highly significant. “[A]s Dr Oakely points out”, states Macpherson, “the disease cannot be attacked by the organisation involved in isolation. If such racism infests the police its elimination can only be achieved by means of a fully developed partnership approach in which the police service works jointly with the minority ethnic communities. How else can mutual confidence and trust be reached?” (Macpherson 1999, chap 6. para 35). The

²⁶ The establishment of immigration controls, Refugee Integration Forums and citizenship ceremonies, whilst portrayed as beneficial to migrants, are highly symbolic policies devised in order to obviate social disintegration by sending a message to the wider population that ‘all is under control’.

²⁷ The CRE called the report’s publication “a defining moment for race-relations in Britain” (Connections 1999: 3).

subsequent definition of institutional racism reflected the need to be responsive to the campaigner's demands, and so facilitate trust, but this requirement also necessitated that the police as an institution not be undermined in its capacity to confer trust. The concept of 'unwittingness' therefore provided the required bridge over the public inquiry's contradictory terms of reference.

Following Scarman (1981), who "accepted the existence of what he termed 'unwitting' or 'unconscious' racism", Macpherson's criticism rested on 'unwittingness' not being given 'equal weight' to that of intentional racism, and that 'unwittingness' had not previously been sufficient to warrant the charge of institutional racism. On day three of the Macpherson inquiry, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) raised the following concerns:

If this Inquiry labels my service as institutionally racist, the average police officer, the average member of the public will assume the normal meaning of those words. They will assume a finding of conscious, wilful or deliberate action or inaction to the detriment of ethnic minority Londoners... [] I actually think that use of those two words in a way that would take on a new meaning to most people in society would actually undermine many of the endeavours to identify and respond to the issues of racism which challenge all institutions and particularly the police because of their privileged and powerful position. (chap 6. para 46)

Macpherson responded,

We hope and believe that the average police officer and average member of the public will accept that we do not suggest that all police officers are racist and will both understand and accept the distinction we draw between overt individual racism and the pernicious and persistent institutional racism which we have described. (chap 6. para 46)

Moreover,

Nor do we say that in its policies the MPS is racist. Nor do we share the fear of those who say that in our finding of institutional racism, in the manner in which we have used that concept, there may be a risk that the moral authority of the MPS may be undermined. (chap 6. para 47)

The concern of the MPS Commissioner and Macpherson revolved around the idea of wilful intent. The pairing of institutional racism with wilful intent would undermine the institution. Consequently, post-Macpherson, an accusation of institutional racism easily translates into 'not of the will of the perpetrator'. Moreover, "[w]ithout recognition and action to eliminate

such racism it can prevail as part of the ethos or culture of the organisation. It is a corrosive disease" (chap 6. para 34). The unwitting perpetrator of racism becomes a victim of his/her thought processes which are shaped by forces external to the individual but which enter the individual's head, making him/her act against his/her own will. In addition to the 'unknowing' element, unwitting can be defined as "unsoundness of mind; insanity" (OED web site). The only way an individual agent can be held responsible is to *treat* him/her via thought reprogramming so that he/she is no longer the victim of 'diseased' thoughts. By this definition, neither perpetrator nor institution can be held responsible under liberal law, unless greater weight is given to the emotional constitution of the human subject. However, this would require a *redefinition* of the human subject, such that agent autonomy (and hence responsibility) is diminished. As Nolan (2001) has noted, perpetrators of actions who claim that they were compelled to do so by external forces must be conferred a diminished capacity to act, and consequently, a diminished responsibility for said actions.

A similar point is made by Füredi, who argues that "[t]he key word, in the Macpherson definition of institutional racism is, 'unwitting': an unconscious response driven by unregulated and untamed emotions"; Macpherson "helped codify feelings and emotions into law" (2004a: 26). The overall outcome is to redefine racism as the symptom of a sick society and the perpetrator as a psychologically aberrant victim. Whereas previously Government was castigated for constructing the subject target of racism as a 'victim' with 'special needs' to be helped via legislation (cf Bourne 2001), now the perpetrator is also cast in a similar role. Consequently, Macpherson's preferred 'cure' was that of 'race-awareness training'- therapy for 'unwitting racists' as a means of promoting self-reflexivity²⁸.

Hall (2000: 8) has also objected to the privileging of the unconscious that is entailed by 'unwittingness'. However, it could be argued that a diminished conception of human subjectivity has been adopted by the anti-racist state, and that this is in keeping with the Althusserian conception of 'history as process without a subject', which continues to

28 The Macpherson definition of institutional racism has been criticised both by Home Secretary David Blunkett (*Guardian* 2003: web ref.) and CRE Chair Trevor Philips (BBC 2003: web ref.); both were heavily criticised for their comments. Blunkett's inability to 're-individualise' the conception in itself illustrates a weakness of 'heart' on the part of Government. Trevor Philip's recent worry that multiculturalism can act as a barrier to inclusion, is somewhat misplaced (*Times* 2004: web ref.). The problem for elites is that there is currently no political ideology which can offer a vision beyond fragmentation, whether or not that fragmentation takes on a multicultural form.

influence some theorists who draw on Foucauldian conceptions of subject formation²⁹. Indeed, Heartfield's (2002: 174) categorisation of the Third Way as "project without a subject" is intended precisely to draw attention to the impact of diminished subjectivity on New Labour policy; that is, racist subjects are considered to be the products of cultural discourses of power. This is a 'racism' where all trace of state culpability melts into air, whilst 'conservative' individuals, regardless of 'race' or 'ethnicity' are subjected to increased surveillance and regulation. Note the important reversal – the wilful rational subject is problematised in favour of an anti-autonomous turn to emotion (Malik 1996); the 'anti-racist' state legitimises itself through the recognition of ethnicised emotion as an essential behavioural norm to be utilised for the public good. Speaking more abstractly, this move is reflective of the secular heteronomous. A secular project of heteronomy places the source of externality within 'man', such that 'man' is controlled by his/her impulses. In short, Macpherson laid the groundwork for the institutionalisation of emotional (heteronomous) governance in the form of 'anti-racism'- Third Way anti-racism.

The Lawrence inquiry led directly to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. The Act became a tool for generating community cohesion, which is, in effect a pseudonym for the opposite of social breakdown caused by violence. The aims and objectives of the Home Office Community Cohesion Unit inform its remit and mirror that of tackling issues raised by the reports of Denham, Cattle, Clarke and Ritchie following the urban uprisings in the summer of 2001 in Burnley, Oldham and Bradford³⁰. All the reports into the 'events' stress the need to re-unite polarised communities by building a sense of security through alleviating the 'anxiety' which 'race-relations' can bring in the absence of 'sensitive' management. The Government's 'Connecting with Communities' programme reflects an understanding that cultural attachments are deemed to be important as a means of fostering psychological attachment both within and between communities. The state is invited to recognise the

²⁹ A comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the Althusserian conception of interpellation and the Foucauldian theory of subjection is beyond the remit of this thesis. Suffice it to say that I currently follow Žižek who applies his critique of 'interpellation' to 'Laclau's theory of hegemony, Balibar's theory of égaliberté, Rancier's theory of mécontentement, [and] Badiou's theory of subjectivity as fidelity to Truth-Event' (2000: 3). For a related critique of Hall's New Ethnicities position see Heartfield (2002). Of course, as noted above, 'interpellation' figures prominently in the work of Goldberg (see 1997:2; 2002:57), who posits a pre-discursive "immediate intuition", adding that "[s]ome physical states and psychological dispositions (e.g. emotions) may be innate although incapable of recognisable expression in a discursive vacuum" (Goldberg 1990: 317 n46). For a critique of the irrationalist basis of 'intuition' see Lukács (1980).

³⁰ See Home Office (2001a 2001b), Ritchie (2001) and Burnley Task Force (2001)

multiple victimisations which have led to/create cultural segregation. The subsequent diagnosis of 'parallel lives', as cause of social breakdown, creates a space for psycho-cultural intervention.

Despite some disagreement between then CRE Chairman Gurbux Singh and Ted Cantle (*Guardian* 2002b/c/d: web refs.), the community cohesion agenda laid forth by the government set a standard adopted by the CRE (CRE/CAB 2002; CRE 2002). The CRE states:

We will identify and work with key players nationally, regionally and locally to take forward the community cohesion agenda. We want to particularly focus on cross-community activities and models that will enable functional, cohesive communities across Britain.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 provides an opportunity for public bodies to promote community cohesion. Particularly in relation to the third aspect of the general duty: promoting good relations between different racial groups. (CRE/CAB 2002: 5)

The logic of 'race-relations' is incorporated under the dominant framework of the 'community cohesion' narrative. The main body charged by the government with ensuring the maintenance of a racialised civil order, the CRE, and the Third Way position of the Government mutually reinforce and re-interpret the construction of the racially risk-averse human subject, placing both Government and the CRE in the position of managing relations between racially risk-prone communities.

Anti-racism is therefore constructed as a therapeutic intervention into the thought processes of unwitting individuals in order to circumvent the potential for a degenerating cycle of inter-racial violence. The logic upon which such intervention rests is that unregulated anxiety leads to social breakdown, especially when 'culturally distinct groups', threatened by 'globalising processes', interact in an area of high social deprivation. Additionally, institutions must not perpetuate such a cycle. As Government attempts to appeal to emotion through tapping into fear, it is confronted by the consequence of conferring its authority through the legitimisation of the perceived victimisation of the unwitting perpetrator. Where the perpetrator acts wittingly (i.e. wilfully), anti-racism provides a causal story which takes its cue from the relationship between authoritarianism and hate crime. Both require the intervention of the Therapeutic State; the former through 'awareness training', the latter through criminalisation.

1.11 Conclusion

What I have attempted to chart in this chapter is the changing dynamic of the state-society relation vis-à-vis racism and anti-racism. I have argued that the social-historical conjuncture straddling the post-WW2 period to the present can, in short, be delineated as a move from Welfare State to Therapeutic state: a society which operationalises a 'cure' to diminished subjectivity; that is, a sense of vulnerability which emanates from the lack of political alternatives to capitalism. The 'cure' represents the institutionalisation of heteronomy amidst the collapse of autonomy. What the position adopted by those who claim that New Labour is assimilationist in orientation omits is that the post-war project of assimilationism took place within an overarching rubric of national identification, coherently espoused and institutionalised via the reformist British Welfare State. The latter was the product of tension precipitated by the existence of a direct ideological challenge to capitalism. The challenge was possible as a result of radical utopias. There are three problems with such an omission. First, the analyses offered do not make enough of the centrality of universalism and the collapse of competing political ideologies equated with a modernist orientation to the project of nation-building. Ideological contest framed the tension between universalism (autonomy) and particularism (heteronomy). Second, they therefore omit the significance of heteronomy in the current historical juncture, which is demarcated by the collapse of the very ideological tension which gave coherence and dynamism to the modern nation-state – the contradictory nature of capitalist social relations is flattened. Third, the project of multiculturalism is in fact a rationalisation of the fragmentation occasioned by the collapse of competing visions of the world. The vacuum created by the absence of vision is filled by 'multiculturalism', which characteristically adopts a relativistic world-view. Enter the recognition of difference.

It was Left/Right ideological contestation over the last two hundred years which constituted the pluralist formation of the British state. The ideological defeat of the Left in the 1980s precipitated the collapse of the Right such that the state is reconstituting itself in a context of ideological disarray. Political ideologies informed the public sphere with a sense of mission through which people could engage in pursuit of a better world. Oppositional political ideologies were mutually reinforcing. The collapse of this ideological contestation has led to increased fragmentation and atomisation. Thus, previous social webs of meaning have been undermined leading to greater atomisation. With no ideological contest to orientate policy

intervention in the public sphere, institutions are unable to confer identification. The state is therefore re-orientating itself towards the private sphere – the private is made public.

Consequently, social policy takes on the form of conferring legitimacy via recognition of the atomised individual. Because the psycho-legal orientation of the Therapeutic state reflects an attempt to ‘build strong communities’, reward is conferred on those who can consolidate a group identity around victimisation. The multicultural community therefore becomes an amalgam of psycho-legal groups who are vertically segmented, ethnically bound individuals whose attachment is signified by historical attachment. However, historical attachment must be devoid of rigid tradition – a potentially conservative force. Thus, historical attachment is increasingly undermined, leading to further atomisation. The more the state attempts to intervene in the private sphere, the more the public sphere is undermined. Consequently, the UK Government’s ‘anti-racist strategy’ incorporates certain continuities with the ‘race-relations’ policy of previous administrations whilst incorporating a significant psychological dimension prevalent in the current historical juncture.

In the absence of political vision, the positing of threats to the integrity of the nation become highly pronounced ‘panics’. So-called threats to such integrity have historically taken on a myriad form. Today, the authoritarian personality type has become integral to that which threatens social and hence national cohesion. The ‘multicultural nation state’ legitimates itself via its opposition to the culture of authoritarianism. The state re-casts itself in opposition to authoritarianism. It cannot thus be seen to be acting in an authoritarian manner toward its own citizens, so its relationship to the citizenry is recast through therapeutic intervention. In such a climate racism becomes conceptualised as the product of ‘unwittingness’. This unwittingness provides a policy space through which government can intervene in the private world of individuals. Thus, consultation is promoted because lack of consultation is deemed to make people feel excluded. Consultation is promoted as a means of legitimating governance through the cultivation of feelings of ethnic inclusion. Civic attachment is thus cultivated therapeutically, and anti-racism becomes a means by which the emotionally racialised victim is conferred recognition. This is Third Way anti-racism.

Our intellectual ‘allies’ are those who hail from a tradition of marxist pro-modernist anti-structuralist critique: Lukács, Žižek, Füredi and Malik enable us to re-orientate our ‘Marxism’ toward a critical space which is not held to ransom by the inter and intra-statal power-relations of the Cold-War epoch. Here the question of consciousness is critical in privileging

subjectivity as an aspect of material being – live, thinking, acting subjects who mutually self-determine their states of existence through the teleological positing of ends and means towards their realisation. Castoriadis provides the key. Our subjects are deep and social-historical – social-individuals who institute their social imaginary, an interminable creative imagination from which they draw the power to critically reflect upon and build their cosmologies. Their power is circumscribed only by their decision to stay within the realms of the political and their inability hence to challenge through Politics. It is from ‘moments of rupture’ in the social-historical symbolic order, facilitated by reflective human-centeredness that critical movements have drawn their strength.

Seen in this light, any state-society relationship is rendered inherently more complex. Whilst it can be accepted that objectively, capitalism is an exploitative, crisis-ridden system, and that the modern state is its authoritative reflection, the question of legitimacy is all-important. Justification forms a core element in state legitimation. The state cannot exist merely as a slave to capital, for the conditions of both state and capital are products of those moments of rupture which render their existence inherently contradictory; that is, the promise of equality in a system which cannot deliver – the assertion of the contrary. The problem is that social limitation constantly requires justification. It is not essential that appeals to ‘race’ be the justificatory determinant. The importance of this point is that it is within the realm of politics that we decide how problems are to be tackled. The subjective element in political action is decisive. If we begin from the understanding that the state, operating as the executor in a capitalist system, must assert the contrary to equality – for capitalism is inherently unequal – then we must also accept that the anti-racist state cannot divorce itself from this contradiction. In short, the anti-racist state must rationalise the continuance of inequality, whilst holding itself up as a moral standard-bearer for anti-racism. The meanings and significations of the state’s construction of ‘racism’ must reflect this contradiction in relation to the subject of its policy. However, this dynamic is diminished in the absence of any Political alternative to capitalism. The absence of utopian vision in political action flattens the contradiction such that policy, reflective of a culture of limits, legitimises a diminished subjectivity – a diminished project of autonomy.

This chapter has demonstrated that New Labour’s ‘race strategy’ can be situated within a social-historical framework delineated by what Giddens prescribes as *emotional governance*. Giddens is ideologue of a culture of limits. The prescription, which rests on a posited need for

ontological security in a 'globalised' world, comes to full fruition on the question of 'race/culture' and immigration in 'post-traditional societies'. Emotion is elevated as a universal. Thus rationality is diminished, and hence, any effort to posit liberatory means/ends is considered extreme, because of the ascribed relationship between the ideologies of the past and authoritarianism. Emotional intervention underpins UK 'cohesion policy' as a means of harnessing 'trust' in a world where both 'discursively articulated' and 'fundamentalist' 'identities' are considered salient to the negation or promotion of 'inter-racial' violence. However, the renewed process of psychologism has its roots in a cultural turn towards the elevation of therapeutic explanations for social conditions. This turn is predicated on the changing relationship between the state and citizen in the post-cold war context and is most clearly captivated in the Third Way ideology which underpins New Labourite social policy.

Following from this, I am now in a position to reconstruct the relationship between the British state and the development of anti-racism in Scotland so as to provide a robust framework from which to situate an exploration of the 'Scottish context'. In setting out this position I provide the changing social and political terrain of the symbolic order from which the mapping of anti-racist meaning-making in Scotland is illustrated. First, it is necessary to detail the methodology utilised in this regard – the subject matter of Chapter Two.

Chapter 2: Investigating the Contextual Construction of 'Racism'

2.1 Contextualising Constructions

Laying bare the complexity inherent in the state's recognition of racism as a social problem lends itself to a constructionist approach. Following Becker (1966: 11), the understanding of a social problem requires an appreciation of how the problem "came to be defined as a social problem" in the first instance. In the words of Berger and Luckmann (1966), I am concerned with how a problem comes to be socially constructed historically: the relationship between problem construction and any given "ideology... taken on by a group because of specific theoretical elements that are conducive to its interests" (1966: 124) has a history.

Researchers working within the field of public policy analysis have drawn attention to the relationship between the setting of policy agendas and the definition of 'public problems' (van der Eijk and Kok 1975; Cobb et al 1976; Cobb and Elder 1983; Benyon 1987; Studlar and Layton-Henry 1990). Methodologically, 'problem definition' or 'problem structuring' is a general procedure which "yields information about the conditions giving rise to a policy problem" (Dunn 1994: 14). The 'problem' can be seen to sit analytically within a policy cycle or map: a heuristic device or explanatory framework which helps to cast light on the setting of policy agendas and intervention. However, Parsons (1999: 87) explicitly draws attention to the relationship between 'issue', 'problem' and 'policy', making the point that "what counts as a problem and how a problem is defined depends upon the way in which policy makers seek to address an issue or an event". For example, 'people sleeping rough on the streets' is an issue which can be presented as a problem of 'homelessness' or of 'vagrancy' depending on the perspective of those who are in a position to define 'a public problem' at any given time. The resultant policy interventions of 'more housing' or 'tougher law and order' are therefore dependent upon what comprises the definition of the 'problem' to be addressed.

The setting of policy agendas thus embodies a number of processes and assumptions.

A problem has to be defined, structured, located within certain boundaries and be given a name. How this process happens proves crucial for the way in which a policy is addressed to a given problem. The words and concepts we employ to describe, analyse or categorize a problem will frame and mould the reality to which we seek to apply a policy or 'solution'. The fact that we share the same data does not mean that

we see the same thing. Values, beliefs, ideologies, interests and bias all shape perceptions of reality. (Parsons 1999: 88)

The problem identified embodies a number of assumptions which have shaped the primary conditions in which 'the problem' has been debated. As Atkinson (2000: 211) highlights, policy analysis requires that we "understand the 'problems' to which policy is responding... why, and how, a particular issue... comes to be defined as a problem," and that, "the definition and construction of a 'problem' contains within it the 'solution' to that problem. Moreover, the construction of a 'problem' (and its 'immanent solution') involves the development of a particular discursive narrative (a 'story') depicting/portraying the evolution and causes of the problem". From this insight it is possible to surmise that the way in which racism as a 'problem requiring state intervention' is defined has an important bearing on policy intervention. However, 'problem definition' can be shaped by a myriad of conditioning factors.

Anticipating the proliferation in social movements analysis (c.f. Crossley 2002; Della Porta and Diani 1999), Cobb and Elder (1971 1972) usefully demonstrated that 'issues', in themselves, can be 'manufactured' by political parties, individuals or groups in a bid to contest perceived bias in resource distribution or in order to gain some other positional advantage. Unanticipated events can also help to determine 'problem' definition. In turn, internal and external factors can 'trigger' issue emergence. Internal triggers can range from natural catastrophes, unanticipated human events, technological changes, imbalance or bias in resource distribution, and ecological change. External triggers can consist of acts of war, innovations in weapons technology, international conflict, and changing patterns of world-alignment. However, in order for an issue to become an agenda item, 'trigger' must link with 'grievance'. The link provides a mechanism through which an issue can become a systemic agenda item and subsequently move to the formal or institutional agenda. The systemic agenda is composed of "all issues that are commonly perceived by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as involving matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority" (Cobb and Elder 1972: 88). For example, Witte's (1996) study of state responses to the 'problem' of 'racial violence' identifies four phases through which the phenomenon elicits recognition. Racist violence can be recognised first as an individual and then subsequently as a social problem. From the second position, racist violence can enter the public agenda and ultimately reach the 'formal agenda'.

However, a number of sociologists have argued that contextualising the construction of a 'condition' enables us to draw a distinction between (objectively) *what* the phenomenon actually is and (subjectively) the construction of the condition as a social problem (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 2003: 96-100). Following Bakhtin's 'postformalist' position (Bakhtin and Medvedev 1991), and Brown's (1987) 'symbolic realism' thesis, contextual constructionism incorporates an understanding of human beings placed at the centre of the construction of their own realities. That is, we can situate the subjective construction of a social problem as bearing resemblance to the objective conditions in which people experience their reality; however, we can add that the subjective definition of a social problem can represent a struggle over the legitimacy of the objective condition.

Contextual constructionism posits no strict one-to-one relationship between the objective existence of a harmful phenomenon and the constructed social condition. For example, racism may exist as a harmful phenomenon but it does not become recognised as a social problem until it is subject to action which successfully draws public attention to the condition. Such an approach emphasises that a condition becomes a social problem through 'claims-making' – "conditions are the subjects of claims" (Best 1999: 6). Importantly, as Best and colleagues (1999) demonstrate, in addition to their instrumentality in transforming a condition into a recognised social problem, 'claims-makers' also selectively shape the definition of the problem. 'Typification' refers to the process of emphasising and/or de-emphasising specific elements of a condition, such that these elements come to frame the parameters of a social problem. Social problems have a subjective history. Thus contextualising the construction of 'racism' enables us to draw a distinction between (objectively) *what* racism actually is and (subjectively) the construction of 'racism' as a social problem: there is no strict one-to-one relationship between racism and 'racism'³⁰. The bridge between racism and 'racism' is provided by the narrative of anti-racist claims-makers, but it is within the policy response of the 'anti-racist' state that powerful claims can discursively coalesce. It is with the latter, the 'anti-racist' state, that this thesis is concerned.

³⁰ Inverted commas are placed around the term 'racism', not as a means of denying that racism exists objectively, but to signal that its definition is subjectively contested. The subjective definition of 'racism as social problem' represents a struggle over objective conditions.

2.2 Representing 'racism'

As noted above, anti-racism is under-researched³¹; 'anti-racism literature' generally presents a 'social movements' approach (Anthias and Lloyd 2002; Browning et al 1994; Davis 1990; McAdam 1982), emanating from the work of Touraine (1981 1985). In this respect Taguieff (1995) has been highly influential. Indeed, drawing critically on Taguieff's work, Lloyd (1998) situates her investigation historically, adopting a conjunctural approach to the emergence and formation of anti-racist groups in France, whilst employing discourse analysis in deconstructing the texts of anti-racist representations. This is broadly in keeping with the approach adopted in this thesis.

Lloyd makes the point that, "if we begin from the viewpoint of antiracism as expressed through antiracist associations, and attempt to understand their discourses and practices, it becomes easier to comprehend the diversity of approaches which are labelled antiracist" (1998: 245). However, this position prompts the additional insight that such a study will also help to unravel the various claims which produce conceptions of 'what racism is'. Lloyd's analysis is a useful corrective to Taguieff's position in that she contextualises anti-racist narrative via a historical approach. However, following Fairclough (1995a: 188), one criticism that can be made of Lloyd's discursive analysis is its concentration on content and neglect of form³². Lloyd's use of antiracist 'representation' connotes the

intent[ion] to convey the idea of 'speaking on behalf of' a group of people who may not have access to the means of self-expression. It involves a mediating function, between a particular, excluded group and authorities who exercise power.... Also carries the broader meaning of depiction, which involves antiracists in transmitting a picture of people who are experiencing racism in public. (1998: 3)

³¹ As exemplified by the absence of an entry for 'anti-racism' in the most recent (fourth) edition of the *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations* (Cashmore 1996).

³² 'Content' commonly refers to what is said, as opposed to how it is said (that is, to the form or style). Distinctions between form and content are necessarily abstractions made for the sake of analysis, since in any actual work there can be no content that has not in some way been formed, and no purely empty form. The indivisibility of form and content, though, is something of a critical truism which often obscures the degree to which a work's matter can survive changes in its manner (in revisions, translations, and paraphrases); and it is only by positing some other manner in which this matter can be presented that one is able in analysis to isolate the specific form of a given work.

Lloyd's inclusion of depiction within 'representation' as that of "transmitting a picture of people experiencing racism" is pertinent. What is missing is that an anti-racist representation includes a whole lot more than this. As Katznelson's (1973) thesis reminds us, even if the aim of the anti-racist is to avoid the politicisation of 'race', such a decision is a political one. The anti-racist discourse which Lloyd explores is political discourse, and therefore falls under the rubric of political rhetoric. Not only does anti-racist discourse transmit an image of the person experiencing racism, it also represents a claim which tells a story about the perpetrator. As Stone (1989: 282) makes clear, "problem definition is a process of image-making, where the images have to do fundamentally with attributing cause, blame and responsibility". Problem definition therefore takes on a specific form in political rhetoric: "political actors use narrative story lines and symbolic devices to manipulate so-called issue characteristics, all the while making it seem as though they are simply describing facts" (1989: 282). The importance of causal theories in political rhetoric refers to the systematic process by which political actors "struggle to control interpretations and images of difficulties" (1989: 282). Causal stories have both empirical and moral content. That is, actors claim to reveal the mechanism by which a perpetrator induces harm on a victim, and thereby apportion blame to the perpetrator of harm. In the study of anti-racism, 'accusation' is inseparable from racism the 'concept'.

Nelson-Rowe (1999) provides a useful analysis of multiculturalist claims-making in the USA. Describing multicultural education as "a social movement within education which seeks to transform the organisation, practice and ideological content of schooling" (1999: 81), Nelson-Rowe uses the concepts of "presentation of self, altercasting, and identity bargaining" as a means of analysing "the construction of collective identities by social problems claimsmakers and social movement actors" (1999: 83).

Social problems claimsmaking can be analysed in terms of its role in the rhetorical construction of collective identities. Claimsmakers use a variety of rhetorical idioms to persuade themselves and others about the moral competence of various collective actors with respect to controversial issues. This occurs through a process of collective identity bargaining in which individuals and groups impute identities to themselves and others. Collective identity construction is characterised by imputations of power, interests, values and motives, and these imputed attributes reveal ideas and imagery of the moral order in which claimsmakers act. (1999:83)

The relationship between collective identity construction and moral competence is a central component of claims-making. Nelson-Rowe's study concludes that claims-makers typically construct a melodrama or moral order, the cast comprising a victim, villain, and a hero. The

claim presents a narrative which says something of the identity of the characters. Ultimately, it is the claims-maker who is the hero of the claim. The construction of identities involves claims pertaining to the identity of self and other, and is inherently imbued with binary opposition. However, altercasting is the means by which claims-makers attempt to persuade others to take on the identity of the claims-maker (Goffman 1959). In this sense, claims are addressed not only to an audience outside the claims-making group, in a bid to persuade and possibly attract new recruits, but also to the constituency of claims-makers themselves in a bid to self-reinforce the moral authority of their arguments and actions. In relation to political 'state' actors, this position corresponds to Bourdieu's (1991) categorisation of political discourse as a field of internal/external struggle comprising the political habitus. Political rhetoric must compete not only with contesting positions from groups external to the imputed political boundary, but also within that boundary.

A semiological rule of combination holds that various meanings given to cultural phenomena are conditioned or structured through syntagmatic rules which sequentially order the possibilities of any given discursive construction (Saussure 1974). Such meanings are culturally specific in that they are not given by any natural capacity inherent within the object so structured, but in the interface between the object and the process of structuring which is deemed essential to human mental organisation and appropriation of the external world. In this formulation the concept 'racism' is the *signified*, whilst the speech sound (in English) 'r-a-y-s-s-i-s-s-i-m', is the *signifier*. The combination of the two is the linguistic *sign*. However, neither the nature of the signified, signifier or the relationship between them is naturally fixed – the sign is arbitrary. Indeed, phenomena can be conceptualised in a myriad of ways. To give but a few illustrative examples: despite their very different speech sound, two different signifiers, 'dog' and 'chien' can both be said to represent the signified 'furry animals with four legs that bark'; the distinction made in English between 'sheep' and 'mutton' is absent in French where 'mouton' signifies both animal and meat; in English 'river' and 'stream' are differentiated by size, whilst in French 'rivière' and 'fleuve' signify that the latter flows into the sea, the former does not (Potter and Wetherall 1987: 25). What gives a phenomenon its particular meaning lies in its relationship to other phenomena within an underlying classificatory system. Thus, both signifiers and signified are interconnected in signs through the process of signification.

Barthes (1964; 1972) extended the ‘science of signs’ with the suggestion that signs can signify new or alternative meanings. For example, whilst the signifier ‘penthouse’ can signify a type of accommodation, it can also signify status, luxury and wealth. Hence, a second-order signification is possible. In this sense a representation of ‘racism’ or ‘racisme’ is problematised. A representation of ‘racism’, i.e. ‘racism’ as a sign, can have both first and second order significations. ‘Racism’ represents attributes or characteristics ascribed to ‘racism’, i.e. ‘the ill-treatment of blacks by whites’. But the representation also carries with it a moral connotation which is historically specific. When used in anti-racist narrative³³, the signifier ‘racism’ tells us something of the racist subject, i.e. ‘he/she is immoral because he/she ill-treats blacks’. In attributing the sign ‘racism’ to an actor, the attributer attempts to take the moral high ground. The claim is inherently an accusation. Thus, to call someone a racist is to situate both self and other at opposing ends of a normative spectrum. The moral problem therefore says something of the claimant’s perception of what it means to be human – what correct human behaviour *ought-to-be* requires a conception of what a human is; that is, the claim is generated on the presumption of the nature of the human subject.

To build on the last point, ‘expectation’ must be added to the rhetorical orbit of ‘persuasion’ and ‘accusation’. The accuser must be in a position where he/she can expect some form of modification of the offending behaviour: expectation must have authority. Politically, authority is derived, and in the modern liberal democratic polity, the authority of state actors is purportedly derived from the sovereignty of the people, the people in this instance being composed of (potentially if not actually) equal rational actors who are able to take responsibility for their actions. Accusation therefore “raises matters of guilt, blame, judgement, and standards... a useful accusation seeks not only to have blame attributed to the guilty, but also to begin the process of putting the situation right” (Mulholland 1994: 28). In this sense, accusation attempts to define the nature of the guilty subject so as to enable change, but the accusation relies on the assumed nature of the subject as derived from accepted social standards and statutory norms.

³³ Narrative is used here to denote a “socially ratified story type” (Fairclough 1995a: 213)

To summarise thus far, anti-racist representations embody a narrative which automatically sets up subject positions. The narrative includes both membership categories and category bound activities (Sacks 1972): the particular behaviours/characteristics associated with membership of the 'racist group'. Consequently, it is important to unravel the 'presuppositions' (Fairclough 2001) that implicitly inform anti-racist narrative to unveil the 'causal story' (Stone 1989) advanced through 'anti-racist' policy.

Most recently, Bonnett (2000: 4–8) has listed seven precepts which commonly inform anti-racist narrative. Developing this point, we can re-configure anti-racist argument into 'explanatories': a conceptual schema applicable to understanding the reproduction of 'racism' as a social problem (See Table 1, over. col. A.)³⁴. We can deduce that all anti-racist explanatories require four inter-related conceptual components (see Table 1, cols. B, C, D, E):

1. moral problem
2. subject perpetrator
3. subject target
4. object target

Focussing on columns B, C, D and E, it is clear that the problem in and of itself does not tell us what racism is. Rather, the problem sets the parameters for *why* racism is deemed to be a social problem. For example, the argument that 'racism is socially disruptive' sets up a moral problem – 'society should not be disrupted/social harmony is good'. The moral problem in and of itself does not tell us what racism is, whilst the object target – 'the preservation of social harmony' - tells us what the anti-racist agent advancing the claim aims to achieve in tackling racism. However, none of the above can tell us what the nature of anti-racist action should be, only that action *should* be taken for a specific purpose. The moral problem sets the parameters for *why* racism is deemed to be a social problem, but does not essentially include a subject perpetrator (the agent who/which causes the problem), or a subject targeted by the perpetrator. The course of action depends on defining agent causation, and such definition relies upon the assumed nature of the *subject*. It is the *implicit assumption* of *what* constitutes the racist subject/agent, within the process of typification, which is essential to the causal story advanced via anti-racist narrative.

³⁴ These precepts are not exhaustive and often appear in various forms of combination.

Table 1. Anti-racist explanatories

	A	B	C	D	E
	Anti-racist argument*	Moral Problem	Subject Perpetrator	Subject Target	Object Target
1	Racism is socially disruptive	Society should not be disrupted – social harmony is important	X	X	Preservation of Social harmony
2	Racism is foreign	Nation should not be complacent toward foreign influence – nation is important	X	X	Preservation of ‘our’ nation
3	Racism sustains the ruling class	Ruling class should not be sustained – working class is important	X	X	Preservation of working class interests
4	Racism hinders the progress of ‘our community’	Community progress should not be curtailed – communities are important	X	X	Preservation of community progress
5	Racism is an intellectual error	Intellectual errors should not be made – intellectual rigour is important	X	X	Preservation of intellectual rigour
6	Racism distorts and erases people’s identities	Identity should not be distorted or erased – identity is important	X	X	Preservation of identity
7	Racism is anti-egalitarian and socially unjust	Egalitarianism (e) and social justice (sj) should not be hindered – e and sj are important	X	X	Preservation of e and sj

* Anti-racist arguments cited in Bonnett (2000)

In a strict sense, a representation is a thing that stands for, takes the place of, symbolises, or represents another thing. However, the symbol is comprised of a sign whose signification in turn is constructed via a series of claims whose typificatory slant contextualises the construction of a social phenomenon. A representation of ‘racism’ is therefore not neutral but refers to the way in which images and texts reconstruct, rather than reflect, the original sources of racism they represent. In short, a representation of ‘racism’ points to the way in which the meaning of racism is constructed.

2.3 Research Questions

The analytical framework outlined above is pertinent to a study of the British state's and its Scottish subsidiary's recognition of racism as a social problem, for the policy of the latter cannot be understood in strict separation from the policy set by the former. Emphasising a dynamic state-society relation, this thesis therefore attempts to answer the following questions:

Question 1: How do the British state's requirements inform the Scottish Executive's recognition of racism as a social problem?

More specifically:

Question 2: How is the Scottish-based subsidiary of the British state defining racism?

A. This gives rise to two theoretically derived research questions:

1. How is racism being typified in the devolved Scottish context?
2. What are the historical and contemporary antecedents of such typification?

B. More specifically,

1. Who are the main claims-makers and what are they claiming?
2. How are the following being constituted:
 - The Subject Perpetrator
 - The Subject Target
 - The Object Target.

2.4 Methodology

Czarniawski (2002: 733) reminds us that “the taken for grantedness of institutionalised action sometimes leads to the mistaken conclusion that such action does not need to be justified or accounted for. In practice, an action, in order to be legitimate, requires an institutionalised account, which in fact is an inseparable part of action itself”. Following Brown's (1987) narrative mode of knowing we are therefore interested in “the proximity between literary metaphors and the notion of institutions, emphasising that institutions are not just patterns of action” (Czarniawski 2002: 733). An investigative method most suitable to uncovering

institutionalised accounts is Institutional Ethnography (IE) (Dobson and Smith 2002), an approach to empirical inquiry associated with sociologist Dorothy Smith (2002a).

Smith (2002a) developed the approach initially in a feminist context, calling it a method that could produce a sociology for women (rather than “about” them); however, it is an approach with much wider application, and those following Smith in the development of IE methods have taken up a variety of substantive topics, including the organization of health care (Campbell 1988; Mykhalovsky 2000), education and social work practice (Griffith 1992; de Montigny 1995; Stock 2000), the regulation of sexuality (Kinsman 1996; Kinsman and Gentile 1998), police and judicial processing of violence against women (Walker 1990; Pence 2001), immigration, employment and job training (Grahame 1998), economic and social restructuring (Ng 1996; Gee et al 1996), international development regimes (Naples 1997), planning and environmental policy (Turner 1995), the organization of home and community life (DeVault 1991), and various kinds of activism (Smith 1990; Walker 1990). The method is ethnographic, but more concerned with political-economic contexts than most qualitative approaches; it is sensitive to textual and discursive dimensions of social life, but grounded more firmly in fieldwork study of texts-in-use than most forms of discourse analysis. IE enables the researcher to combine theory and method, emphasizing the investigation of connections among the sites and situations of everyday life, professional practice, and policy making.

Such connections are accomplished primarily through what Smith (2002b) has labelled “textually-mediated social organization”, emphasising the relationship between ‘ruling relations’, ‘institutions’, and ‘texts’. Ruling relations are those “relations that direct people’s conduct across and beyond local sites of everyday experience, such as bureaucracy, management practices, mass media, and political institutions” (Smith 2002b: 45). Ruling relations “are extra- or trans-local and based in various texts of various kinds (print, computer, film, television...). Such concepts as information, knowledge, ‘culture’, science, are rethought as relations among people that rely on the materiality of the text and its increasingly complex technologies. Institutions are specific functional foci within the complex of ruling relations” (Smith 2002b: 45).

Smith (2002b: 45) thus uses the concept *institution*, “to identify a complex of relations forming part of the ruling [relations]” organised around a distinctive function – education, health care, laws, and so on. In contrast to such concepts as bureaucracy, ‘institution’ does not

identify a determinate form of social organisation, but rather the intersection and coordination of more than one relational mode of ruling. Characteristically, state agencies and laws are tied in with professional forms of organisation, and both are interpenetrated by relations of discourse of more than one order. We might imagine institutions as “nodes or knots in the [ruling] relations... coordinating multiple strands of action into a functional complex” (Smith 2002b: 45). Integral to the coordinating process are ideologies systematically developed to provide categories and concepts expressing the relation[ship] of local courses of action to the institutional function. The categories and concepts which express relations of ruling are to be found in institutional texts³⁵.

The textuality of institutions therefore refers to the media through which the ‘relations of ruling’ are generalised across many local settings. In this sense the state’s definition of ‘racism’ will reflect the relations of ruling within a given historical conjuncture. The state’s ‘anti-racist texts’, i.e. policy documents, committee meeting minutes, public statements, parliamentary debates and media campaigns pertaining to racism, mediate or transmit the relations of ruling. However, following Smith’s Bakhtinian position, historical delineations must be informed by the understanding that

any particular utterance (particular speaker, particular time, particular place, particular others) draws on what has been laid down in the past to get something said and at the same time launches the genre into the future with whatever modifications have been introduced to realise the speaker’s intentions. Her/his utterance is determined by what is already established; it depends on this utterly; using its terminology and syntactic strategies s/he reproduces the genre. At the same time s/he may refashion to meet what s/he is trying to get said and this refashioning is projected into the future. (Smith 2002b: 42)

In order to answer question A1 it is therefore necessary to answer question A2. The theory demands that we take a historical approach.

The methodology utilised in this thesis is therefore multi-dimensional, aiming to track and elaborate on the making of the meaning of ‘racism’ in Scotland; that is, how and what is the

³⁵ ‘Text’ is used here strictly to identify “texts as material in a form that enables replication (paper/print, film, electronic and so on) of what is written, drawn or otherwise reproduced. Materiality is emphasised because we can then see how they are used to create a crucial join between the everyday actualities of people’s activities and the social relations they coordinate” (Smith 2002b: 45).

word ‘racism’ made to mean? My methodology seeks to uncover a broad range of representations, but focuses on the main Scotland-based anti-racist actors in the contemporary-historical context, spanning 1968-2004. An exploration is undertaken of how ‘utterances’ inform and are informed by the state texts which supply the raw material underpinning the coordination of ‘anti-racist’ ruling relations which develop over pre- and post-devolution contexts. I aim to understand the contemporary historical textual mediation of anti-racist social organisation in Scotland. Anti-racist narrative is therefore explored in three main ways, through:

1. Archival recovery.
2. Mediatized and non-mediatized political discourse analysis.
3. Interviews with key anti-racist actors.

2.4a Historical Method

The historian Hofstadler has remarked that the ‘value’ of the social sciences “rests not in their ability to open new methods to bear upon old problems, but in their ability to open new problems which the historian has usually ignored” (cited in Stern 1970: 364). The historical element of this thesis aims to achieve both. In order to answer question A2, regarding ‘historical antecedents’, it is first necessary to answer B1, which brings us to the first limitation. In order to answer question B1 – ‘Who are the main (historical) claims-makers and what are they claiming?’ – it is necessary to begin from the only known published academic work on anti-racist mobilisation in Scotland, that of Anne Dunlop (1993). The first limitation placed on this thesis is therefore the under-researched nature of anti-racist activism in Scotland. There has been no work produced to date that either contradicts or elaborates on Dunlop’s findings. As the objective of this thesis is that of re-constructing anti-racist typification via an analysis of claims-making, the aim of questioning Dunlop’s findings is not significant. Rather, it is the aim of elaborating on the sources of available anti-racist knowledge which is of significance here. Dunlop (1993) provides an outline of the main players in anti-racism from 1971 to 1993, and of key events which took place during this period. Dunlop’s paper provides the first heuristic mapping of anti-racist agenda formation in Scotland. From this position the map is embellished with a detailed archival recovery spanning the period covered by Dunlop’s paper, 1971–1993.

History in the sense referred to here is not an inventory of facts (Carr 1961), but rather a historical reconstruction of the making of meaning by key actors who took it upon themselves to formulate an organised response to racism. In doing so they laid the foundations, the antecedents of anti-racist knowledge that contributed to the making of the meaning of 'racism' in Scotland. As Sharma (2000: 91) notes, "the meaning of texts which people have produced in the past must be understood in relation to their social setting". Consequently, we situate the emergence of Scottish-based anti-racism via a historical reconstruction of Scottish-based anti-racist typification. The first two empirical chapters (three and four) seek to elaborate on Dunlop's work via a detailed historical recovery of information pertaining to the anti-racist actors cited in her paper. In doing so, five archives are utilised, including that of

1. Strathclyde Community Relations Council (SCRC);
2. The Scottish Immigrant Labour Council (SILC);
3. The Scottish Asian Action Committee (SAAC);
4. The Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC);
5. The Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance (GARA).

With the exception of GARA, established in 1999, these organisations form the basis of anti-racist action in the West of Scotland, dating from the late 1960s to the early 1990s. Another possible limitation is in the area of coverage. All of the organisations investigated were/are based in the West of Scotland, and this would at first glance make it difficult to extrapolate beyond this geographical location. However, all organisations had/have developed vast affiliated networks stretching across Scotland. Secondly, approximately half of the Scottish population lives in the geographical area comprising the West of Scotland. It is also home to the largest population of racialised migrants, both past and present. As, according to Dunlop (1993), the issue of racism in Scotland was continuously denied, the focus on 'West of Scotland' based groups who professed the opposite does not therefore significantly affect our ability to generalise beyond their immediate locus.

This recovery includes a detailed analysis of primary sources – official letters, minutes from key meetings and conferences and reports regarding significant events (Plumber 2004). The archival search aims to illustrate the interaction between these actors and the formation of responses to the issue of racism in Scotland in order to ascertain their typificatory relation to the agenda of the British State. Using a chronological table of key events outlined by Dunlop, the aim here is to chart representations of 'racism' as typified by key actors. This begins from an understanding that the dominant political anti-racist player in the field during the 1970s was SILC. In reconstructing the trajectory of this organisation it has been possible to illustrate

the dynamics between it and other groups and how each group came to play a key role in the shaping of collective responses to racism in Scotland. The recovery therefore begins with the archives of two main players, the earliest, SILC and SCRC. A further possible limitation is that the historical recovery builds mainly from these two organisations. However, both organisations were the two main anti-racist formations throughout the 1970s, and it was only in the 1980s that other groups such as SAAC emerged and began to elicit some public attention. According to Dunlop, SCRC and SILC still remained dominant in the field even throughout the 1980s. So although this thesis presents a bias in their favour, I take these two groups and their activists to be the principal organisational players who mobilised in large part over the period studied, which ends with Dunlop's paper in 1993. An important consideration is that SCRC begins as a state-backed formation, whilst SILC is orientated towards the labour movement. Nevertheless, their respective remits increasingly coalesce. It should also be noted that Dunlop was secretary of the Scottish Asian Action Committee, but affords them an emergent rather than a dominant position in organisational terms throughout the 1980s.

Whilst both SCRC and SILC begin with different aims, there is, increasingly, considerable overlap between their respective memberships and this coalitional grouping informs the shaping of issues and how such issues are responded to. This is demonstrated via their correspondence with other institutional bodies such as the CRE, the STUC and the Scottish Office. Of particular help here was SILC's quarterly publication *Equality*. A detailed analysis of all copies from 1972 to 1986 has been possible. Each copy lists a calendar of key events occurring in the Scottish and UK context, involving Scottish-based anti-racists. This has enabled a detailed recovery of the events that SILC and other organisations responded to over this period. The Bulletin directed the trajectory of the investigation. For example, through an investigation of joint actions with other groups such as the STUC and SCRC, which were verified by their respective archives, a broader picture was built of the problems being responded to and the sources of anti-racist knowledge that were being disseminated into the public domain.

The bulletin also provided a rich source of visual representations of 'racism' which give an elaborated insight into their purported reading of 'the problem' that they were involved in constructing – their anti-racist typification. SILC's influence in the Trade Union movement led to interventions in other trade union publications. One, of particular prominence, was the

paper of the Scottish branch of the National Union of Miners. Their paper, *The Scottish Miner* provided a rich source of anti-racist typification, and, where correspondence was ascertainable through SILC's archive, such representations were investigated. Examples of eleven cartoon visuals are presented here. Previous studies of cartoons have typically involved research into representations of stereotypes, racism, and ideology (Alba 1966; Coupe 1966; Nir 1977; Streicher 1966; Walker 1978; Chavez 1985; Matacin and Burger 1987; Penner and Penner 1994). Cartoon representations of an issue are generally considered to give a more complete historical record, in that they elicit more attention from readers than do standard advertisements or photographs (Emmison and Smith 2000). In concentrating on cartoon visuals, awareness is maintained of the understanding that the cartoon embodies what is considered by the editorial team to appeal to the common-sense assumptions of the readership. The editorial objective is to elicit, expand and maintain the support of the readership whilst maximising the moral advantage of the organisation (Morris 1992).

The analysis seeks to uncover the material culture of anti-racism in Scotland, whilst remaining conscious of Burke's (2001: 15) caution that "the testimony of images, like that of texts, raises problems of context, function, rhetoric, recollection (whether soon or long after the event), second-hand witnessing and so on". Following Alexander (1994), I am interested not only in the content of visuals but also in the messages that can be extrapolated from the relationships or interactions they depict. The archival work therefore provides the data for the mapping of networks, the human relationships which contextualise visual images and thus enable them to take on meaning (Collier and Collier 2004: 278). In adopting the precepts of 'narrative visual theory' (Plummer 2004), a visual representation is here construed as a typification artefact which embodies and transmits a claim, or set of historically specific claims, contextualised by the institutionalisation of 'race relations' in the post-war welfare compromise. Visual images are de-coded using the anti-racist explanatory, which as noted above includes Binary Opposition, Subject Position, Frame, Signifier/Signified and Narrative (Emmison and Smith 2000: 66-68). Anti-racist visual representations give a rich insight into the typification of 'racism' in Scotland in the 1970s.

Both the archives of SILC and SCRC include detailed text-mediated correspondence with Government ministers – Scottish Office and Westminster – related to key issues of significance in Scotland. Exchanges and contributions to *Equality* by representatives of mainstream political parties, from the Labour Party and the Scottish National Party, give an

indication, both of the importance attributed to SILC, and to the tensions emanating from the increase in a nationalist anti-racist position in Scotland. Such correspondence extends throughout the 1980s, thus facilitating a reconstruction of anti-racist formation throughout the decade, from the challenge posed by the emergence of Scottish Asian Action around the Sheriff Middleton Affair in 1981, the 're-claim the Saltire' annual St Andrew's Day anti-racist rally, which began in 1984, Strathclyde Regional Council's decision to declare 1985-86 Strathclyde Multi-Racial Action Year, and the continuing significance of the STUC in determining the shape of Scottish-based anti-racism. In addition to the tracking of events, the various textual representations uncovered are subjected to analysis. With the aid of the anti-racist explanatory developed in the previous section, tensions in typification of 'racism' in Scotland are uncovered over the period as divisions began to pose a challenge to the imagined egalitarianism of the 'Scottish Community'. This facilitated the building of a knowledge base from which a wider textual analysis of 'racism' in the 1990s could emerge.

2.4b Political Discourse Analysis

The historical method outlined above is supplemented by a systematic political discourse analysis covering the period 1994 to 2004. In choosing 1994 as my year of entry, I begin from where Dunlop's analysis left off. However, in adopting a different methodological approach, advantage is taken of a combined quantitative/qualitative analysis (Bryman 2004) of the making and placing of 'racism on the Scottish agenda'. In choosing varied sources of data I triangulate, thus testing the power of the explanatory framework adopted (Berg 2004).

The study of political discourses pertaining to racism, 'race' and immigration is well established (c.f. Reeves 1983; Solomos 1988; Asante 1998; Brown 1999). A study of discourses of anti-racism need not deviate from such a tried and tested methodological approach: the subject matter may differ, but the method of uncovering discourses need not. Fairclough (1995b) has, however, drawn an important distinction between mediatised and non-mediatised political discourses. Drawing on Bourdieu's 'field of politics' formulation which posits a 'political habitus' doubly determined; that is, by internal and external demands, Fairclough develops a method for a systematic account of the field of political discourse. A solid analysis should be aware of the dual relations of political discursive orders; that is, the internal relations within an order of discourse of professional politics as it manifests – for example in parliamentary debates – and the external relations between political and other orders of discourse. The latter focuses on the relationship between politics

and publics and on the discursive properties underlying interfaces with, for example, discourses of anti-racism (Fairclough 1995b: 184)³⁶.

A key external relation is that existing between the political order of discourse and that of the mass media; a relationship which has significantly increased over the last three decades through the televising of parliamentary debates, the employment by political parties of media specialists, and the addition of corporate media teams dedicated to the presentation of governmental activity through the issuing of press-releases and coordinated press conferences (Franklin 1994; Pippa 2000). Increasingly, political discourse is mediatised discourse, thus alerting us to Miliband's (1973) posited role of the media as an agent of legitimation³⁷. However, there can be a tension between the form that political discourses take and the way in which they are presented in the media. The tension relates to genres. Genre refers to "a socially ratified type of linguistic activity with specified positions for subjects" (Fairclough 1995a: 213). Political genres consist, for example, of parliamentary debates, party conferences and international conferences. Different media genres such as news, documentary, current affairs discussion, can selectively recontextualise set political genres according to their own assumptions and considerations (Fairclough 1995b:188). Media practices constitute frames within which political actors make claims. Political discourse is situated and shaped both by its own and the media's genres. A study of the public availability of anti-racist claims therefore needs to take genres into account.

There are three main aims here. The first is to ascertain whether or not the idea of 'racism as a Scottish problem' gained increased publicity over the period specified. This would enable us to conclude that a noticeable change had occurred from the time of Dunlop's assertion that the Scottish media, academics, politicians, and even some anti-racist activists had contributed to the impression that racism was not a Scottish problem. Hence, the focus adopted here is on Scottish newspaper coverage spanning the allotted time frame. In this respect, 'genre' refers

³⁶ It should be noted that this thesis does not accept the Foucauldian/Althusserian rationale for the discursive analysis adopted by Fairclough. Hence, I do not begin from the understanding that human subjectivity is made by the text. Rather, I accept that human consciousness is objectively both individual and social in *reality*. Thus, human consciousness can move to dimensions situated beyond the text. This does not however mean that the methods of textual analysis adopted by Fairclough are inadequate to an analysis of the construction of 'racism' through an investigation of the ideas that inform political discourses.

³⁷ The case could be made that politicians, when making parliamentary contributions, have long been aware of the public availability of minutes through e.g. Hansard. However, with increasing reliance of political actors on the media, political rhetoric in general could be constructed in anticipation of mediatisation.

to a formal/informal distinction between broadsheet and tabloid formats. As a media source, newspapers provide the opportunity for a systematic analysis of the public representation of issues/events. Despite some inherent limitations, improvements in web-based search technologies enable the recovery of vast amounts of data, with good validity, in a very short time³⁸ (Soothill and Grover 1997; Pearson and Soothill 2003)

The second aim is that of ascertaining who is making public anti-racist claims, and relates to the understanding that orders of mediatised political discourse are also shaped by 'voice'.

Fairclough (1995b:185-186) develops five voices of mediatised political discourse:

1. political reporters – journalists, correspondents, radio and television presenters;
2. politicians, trade union leaders, archbishops etc;
3. experts – academic, policy analysts;
4. representatives of New Social Movements;
5. ordinary people.

For the purposes of this investigation the above categories were modified so as to render them more specific to the topic at hand. They are as follows:

1. Journalistic commentary including leaders and opinion columns.
2. Institutional:
 - a) State-institutional: commentary by political party, civil servant and statutory agent representatives;
 - b) Civic-institutional: commentary by Trade Union, Church, Voluntary and Charity representatives.
3. Anti-racist activist :
 - a) Institutional – commentary made by spokesperson of an organisation set up with the aid of public-money for the express purpose of addressing racism;
 - b) Non-institutional – commentary made by self-organised anti-racist group representative.
4. Experts – academics, policy analysts.
5. Individual statements:

³⁸ A full breakdown of method of retrieving Scottish press data relating to 'racism on the Scottish agenda', and limitations pertaining to such, is provided in appendix 1.

- a) Non-aligned individual commentary (letters);
- b) Statements made by non-aligned individuals involved in discrimination/harassment cases.

In the sense adopted here, 'voice' is equivalent to 'claims-maker'. The isolation of voice enables an investigation of the relative access of different claims-makers, and hence to the fulfilment of the third aim, which is to ascertain how claims shape representations of 'racism'. However, a consideration is that as well as being externally diverse, voices are internally diverse. For example, just as there are differences between and within political parties, there are also political differences between and within anti-racist organisations and activists.

A recent ESRC study, *Racist Sentiments, Movements and the Mass Media: A Mediated Xenophobia* (Stratham 1999a, web ref.), was able to ascertain and compare the respective press access and claims of three groups, demarcated as:

1. "ethnic minority claims-making – by minority groups making demands on state and majority British society, typically for an extension of rights";
2. "xenophobic claims-making – by groups from the majority public, making demands on British State and society, reacting against the presence of minorities"; and
3. "anti-racist claims-making – by groups from the majority public, making demands on British State and society, reacting against xenophobic claims-making, and on behalf of minorities".

The study drew on the 'political opportunity perspective' which holds that 'ethnic minority' claims-makers may draw on the legitimacy conferred by the state's political identity configuration as a means of furthering their claims (see also Stratham 1999b). The structuring capability of 'race-relations' was tested across groups, categorised by the author as 'ethnic minorities'. The study found that the majority of 'ethnic minority' claims-makers described themselves in 'racial' terms, revealing that the British State's 'race-relations' policy provided an 'integrative function' which also structured the 'dissociative' claims of Muslim claims-makers.

There are problems with the conceptualisation of claims-makers adopted in Stratham's (1999a) study. The reader should note that the attribution 'xenophobic claims-making' is itself a claim made by the author of the cited research. The researcher's claim structures the meaning of 'racism' as a psychological problem related to the fear of strangers. It is doubtful

that the claims-makers he is referring to in group 2 would self-ascribe their claims as xenophobic, although they may indeed have no qualms about claiming a 'racism epithet', both for themselves and for their targets. Moreover, it is difficult to see how groups 1 and 3 can readily be differentiated, especially since group 3 purportedly makes claims on behalf of those whom the author assigns to group 1. Additionally, it may be the case that those in group 1 are also making anti-racist claims, but the three-way conceptualisation adopted here would exclude them from the 'anti-racist' claims-maker group 3. The conceptualisation is unhelpful for a study that seeks to unravel the meaning of 'racism'.

Nevertheless, the data collection and sampling techniques used by Stratham are rigorous and can be utilised here. Stratham's study sampled news coverage from the *Guardian* covering the period 1990–1997, concluding that "ethnic-minority claims-makers" made approximately 20% of "political demands relating to ethnic relations in Britain" over this period (1999a, web page). The seven-year sample was further sub-divided by examining Monday, Wednesday and Friday issues, giving a good representation from across the week's news coverage. The study used two units of analysis – news article and individual claims-making – thus facilitating the study of press reporting of 'migration and ethnic relations', and also enabling a reconstruction of the political issue field pertaining to these issues. Statistical comparisons were then calculated via SPSS. The dual approach utilised in Stratham's study made an original theoretical and methodological contribution.

The same techniques are adopted here, whilst adding an agenda-building component in order to ascertain any possible rise in anti-racist claims over the period 1994–2004. The key task was to search for the availability of 'racism' discourses, and more specifically those discourses which construct the idea that racism is a problem in Scotland.

Objectives:

1. To explore the relationship between mediatised political discourses and problem shaping.
2. To explore the relationship between claims-making and problem typification.
3. To ascertain the prevalence of anti-racist claims in the Scottish Press and to map the process of typification which emanates from such claims.
4. To distinguish between access-levels of various claims-makers in the media construction of racism.

Research Questions:

1. To what extent is the issue of racism being located within a Scottish context?
2. Is racism being typified as a Scottish problem?
3. Who is locating racism within a Scottish context?
4. How is racism being typified as a Scottish issue?

The newspaper analysis outlined above, extends across both pre- and post- 1999 devolution time spans. Using events analysis, the search and analysis isolates six key 'events' which elicited heightened coverage of political discourses pertaining to 'racism' post-devolution:

1. 'The murder of Imran Khan' (1998-1999)
2. 'The murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar' (1999-2001)
3. 'The murder of Firsat Dag' (2001)
4. 'Dungavel Detention Centre' (2001-2003)
5. 'Le Pen/BNP' (2002)
6. '*One Scotland Many Cultures*' (2002)

An analysis of political discourses surrounding these events is included with a further seven visual representations. The pattern of these events matches news briefs released by the Scottish Executive. News releases were obtained via the Scottish Executive's website, which stores all news releases, both paper and video formats, issued by Scottish Ministers³⁹. This provided a further source of textual data for analysis. Press-releases provide a particularly useful source of data pertaining to political discourses of 'racism':

1. they are less mediatised than those appearing in the press because they avoid the interpretation of newspaper editors and other multi-layered production biases associated with news media (Fairclough 1995b); and
2. they give a clear representation of the message that the Scottish Executive intended to send to the public via the media. (Franklin 1994).

Thus, although governmental statements can be constructed in anticipation of consumption by the media, a press-release is a mediatised discourse in purified form. It is not interpreted by an

³⁹ For methodology pertaining to Scottish Executive news-release data retrieval, and a full list of 'racism' news-releases retrieved see appendix 2.

‘outside agency’ prior to articulation by the Government institution. Again, the data were subjected to an analysis using the anti-racist explanatory.

From this position, a multi-dimensional analysis of OSMC is conducted. Campaign materials – TV, radio and cinema advertisements, plus billboard ads – are subjected to a dual interpretation, both realist and subversive, as facilitated by the anti-racist explanatory. Focussing on campaign material gives us an institutionalised snapshot of the reality being preserved in the image. Initial interpretation is then subjected to scrutiny by interviewing those responsible for producing the campaign at ministerial, civil service and media/research levels.

2.4c Elite Purposive Interviews

Interviewing is an integral part of IE methodology (DeVault and McCoy 2002). IE research is not committed to elaborating a descriptive account of a given population and does not therefore require a sample population. I am not here concerned with ‘ethnic’, ‘gender’, ‘status’, or ‘class’ variables in my analysis. Rather, I seek an account of the development of anti-racism and accompanying discourses of anti-racism within the institutionalised orbit of ruling-relations in Scotland. I seek an account of how official anti-racists, working within the organisational processes of the state, ‘make the meaning’ of ‘racism’. “Fieldwork and interviewing are driven by a faithfulness to the actual work processes that connect individuals and activities in the various parts of an institutional complex” (DeVault and McCoy 2002: 764). Attention was thus focussed on coordinated and intersecting work processes occurring in multiple sites pertaining to state-backed anti-racism. Interviewees as political ‘meaning-makers’ (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) were selected according to their recognised experience and qualification in this regard. They are conceptualised here as elites because they have and/or do occupy/ied a state-recognised position at an official level (Odendahl and Shaw 2002).

2.4ci Interview Solicitation Strategy

The selection of interviewees was guided to a large extent by my knowledge of the field, acquired primarily through work as researcher in four related projects previously funded by four West of Scotland Local Authorities – Glasgow City Council, North Lanarkshire Council, West Dunbartonshire Council and East Renfrewshire Council. Prior to embarking on this

thesis I also worked as a Racial Equality/Research Officer with the West of Scotland Racial Equality Council. This post included designing and implementing research projects pertaining to 'minority ethnic exclusion' in Scotland. I also worked on a wide array of harassment and discrimination casework across the West of Scotland pertaining to housing, criminal justice and employment. For example, I undertook close work with Muslim groups in North Lanarkshire immediately following attacks on the local Mosque and destruction of the Islamic cemetery in Carfin, and played a significant role in police and local authority liaison. These incidents followed the 'events of 'September 11th'. Over a period of approximately three years I developed a working knowledge of the 'movers and shakers' in 'anti-racism' at an institutional level. This prior knowledge and the development of a credible reputation in such circles made accessing elites easier in respect of this thesis.

Two blocks of interviews were carried out for the purpose of eliciting 'meaning making'; however, because people do not fit neatly into time phases, discrete issues or organisational forms, there was significant overlap both historically – traversing pre- and post-devolution periods – and in the range of organisational positions and issues that each respondent was/is qualified to articulate. This was an advantage. Informants with direct involvement in key governmental areas regarding 'race-equality/anti-racism', and who subsequently were/are in a position to impart specific details of how 'race' issues were/are perceived at varying institutional levels of Government in Scotland, were selected for interview. Because a specific focus of this research was OMSC, elites who had hands-on involvement in the process of devising the campaign at a Government level were selected in order to ascertain what they perceived the issues around anti-racism to be. Fortuitously, both the MSP and the civil servant with responsibility for 'anti-racism' were also responsible for devolved issues relating to immigration.

One-to-one, semi-structured interviews were carried out with eleven key elites who have a history of involvement in 'anti-racism' at an institutional level in Scotland. All the informants were/are involved in more than one key institutional mechanism which has a remit for tackling racism in Scotland. They are key claims-makers charged by Government with the purpose of tackling racism at a Scottish level. They have also all been involved in significant developments in the provision of Government-endorsed anti-racism and are active post-devolution. In addition to elite interviews with close involvement in the development and production of OMSC, key interviews were conducted with policy elites who played a crucial

role in the development of GARA following the murder of Imran Khan, and in formulating and implementing a policy response in the period immediately following the murder of Firsat Dag, the demonstrations that followed, and in the formation of a response to the Government's asylum-seeker dispersal programme (See Table 2, over).

Method of contact was mainly by formal letter, which intimated relevant biographical details, purpose and remit of study, followed by a request for interview (see Appendix 3). Where necessary, letters were followed up by telephone after a period of one week. This was only necessary on one occasion. One request was declined due to lack of time; however, another suitable interviewee was offered as a replacement and was duly accepted. Interviews were also elicited via e-mail correspondence with Rhona Carr (Scottish Executive), with whom an e-mail correspondence developed upon requesting OMSC campaign materials. E-mail correspondence with Rhona Carr snowballed into an informal 'cyberspatial' network, including Chris Dempsey, Scottish Executive Marketing Unit, who later put me in e-mail contact with Chris Wallace, Managing Director of Barkers Advertising, commissioned by the Executive to produce OSMC. Chris Wallace agreed to be interviewed, and through this came an introduction to Chris Eynon, Managing Director of NFO System 3, who had carried out the market research on which the campaign was based. Chris Eynon subsequently agreed to be interviewed.

Before beginning each interview, details of the research study, aims, and the broad areas to be covered were explained to each interviewee. Once informants confirmed that they understood the nature of the project and the purpose of the interview each was informed that they would be asked to sign a consent form, which offered anonymity, at the end of the interview (see Appendix 4). All interviewees signed the consent form; none took the option of anonymity.

Table 2. Interviewees and their organisational history

Interviewee	Organisational History
Mrs Rowena Arshad (OBE)	Formerly of Lothian Black Women's Group, Director of CERES, Director Equal Opportunities Commission, STUC Black Workers Committee, Scottish Black and Ethnic Minority Researchers Association, Scottish Executive Racial Equality Advisory Forum.
Mrs Maggie Chetty	Former Secretary and founding member of the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council 1971–1986, Former Director West of Scotland Racial Equality Council 1986–2003, Convenor of the West of Scotland Unitary Authorities Racial Equality Forum 1996 – present, Convenor of West of Scotland Unitary Authorities Education Racial Equality Forum 1997– present, Former Board member and founding member of the Glasgow Anti–Racist Alliance.
Dr Edelweisse Thornley	Senior Race Advisor for Glasgow City Council 1989–present, West of Scotland Racial Equality Council (Board Member), GARA (Board member and founding member), Executive member of WSREC.
Councillor Archie Graham	Scottish Executive of Labour Party, Glasgow City Labour Councillor 1995 – present, Chair Glasgow City Council Race Sub–Committee 1995–2003. Founder member of GARA.
Ms Dawn Corbett	Head of Corporate Policy Glasgow City Council 2001–present, responsibility for Equalities and the Dispersal programme. Formerly of Fife Racial Equality Council. Since 1986 has held corporate positions dealing with equalities issues with Fife District Council, Edinburgh District Council and Stirling District Council.
Inspector Tom Harrigan	Inspector Strathclyde police 1975–present, Race Equality Co–ordinator 1998–present, Multi–Agency Racist Incidents Monitoring group (MARIM).
Mr Mick Conboy, CRE	Acting Director, CRE Scotland (post–devolution), former Racial Equality Officer with Central Racial Equality Council 1986–1994.
Jackie Baillie MSP	Deputy Minister for Communities 1999–2001, Minister for Social Justice 2001–2002 (Cabinet Minister under Henry McLeish, with responsibility for OSMC and devolved aspects of asylum policy.
Ms Yvonne Strachan	Civil Servant. Head of Scottish Executive Equality Unit 2000–present. Corporate responsibility for equalities issues including racism and race–related issues.
Mr Chris Wallace	Director Barkers Advertising, responsible for writing/production of OSMC.
Mr Chris Eynon	Director NFO System Three, responsibility for carrying out research which contributed to the development and focus of OSMC.

2.4cii Limitations

There are two limitations in the selection method adopted here. First it was beyond the logistical remit of the research to interview all of the ‘elites’ involved in anti-racism across Scotland. There are six Racial Equality Councils in Scotland in addition to approximately four hundred voluntary organisations connected to Government either local and/or national, funded through a diverse range of policy instruments. Interviewing was therefore selectively curtailed to elites focussed primarily on the West of Scotland, as is the case with Maggie Chetty, Edelweisse Thornley, Archie Graham, Dawn Corbett and Tom Harrigan. However, all five engage significantly at a national level in daily correspondence both with Home Office and Scottish Executive networks regarding ‘race matters’. This is also the case for Rowena Arshad, based both in Glasgow with the EOC and Edinburgh with CERES, also participating in other Scottish-wide organisations such as the STUC Black Workers Committee and SABRE. Mick Conboy has responsibility for coordinating the CRE’s remit at a local level across Scotland. This limitation was not a significant problem with regard to the Scottish Executive level, whose focus is inherently national. However, whilst MSP Jackie Baillie was initially responsible for the development and production of OSMC and devolved aspects of dispersal, she was, as is predominantly the case with government officials, replaced in subsequent cabinet reshuffles, first by MSP Iain Gray and then by MSP Margaret Curran who currently holds the portfolio covering migration and racism. Nevertheless, the chief Civil Servant responsible for both, Yvonne Strachan, has maintained her position over this remit across the two consecutive reshuffles. Furthermore, the campaign was developed before MSP Jackie Baillie was replaced. Whilst MSP Margaret Curran declined to be interviewed due to lack of time, Yvonne Strachan was recommended in her stead. Ms Strachan confirmed that no significant departure from the remit laid down by MSP Jackie Baillie had occurred under the new ministers in respect of OSMC. With regards to dispersal policy it was not possible to conclusively ascertain any change in direction under the Minister responsible. However, MSP Jackie Baillie did comment on changes that had occurred since her departure from the post.

2.4ciii Interview approach

The purpose of the interviews was to elicit information regarding the assumptions which underpinned policy formation/intervention and the implementation of such policy at a Scottish Executive and local level. There were obvious difficulties in unravelling this process over a historical period which traverses the institutional changes comprising the shift from a

Scottish Office, and hence more direct Westminster based policy response, to that now occupied by the Scottish Executive/Parliament. Interview schedules had to be constructed to reflect a difference in experience between those actors who have been involved at an institutional level over both periods at a local level, and hence whose experience has possibly altered in the latter, and those actors whose remit was directly defined by the post-devolution settlement.

Topic guides were constructed according to the specific remit and what was known of the interviewee. My primary interest was in the collection of more general meanings, political orientation and complex types of arguments underpinning tacit knowledge. Interview style was orientated according to an interview guide, but one that allowed freedom of movement in the formulation of questions, follow-up strategies and sequencing (Hopf 2004). Relatively flexible semi-standardised topic guides were developed, thus anticipating the introduction of unexpected information.

In interviewing elites, use was made of theoretical understanding of racism, nationalism, and the state's policy on 'race' and migration, but focus was specific to definite constellations, such as 'historical involvement in anti-racism', 'relationship with Scottish Office prior to devolution', 'relationship with Scottish Executive', 'consultation', 'Imran Khan', 'Chhokar', 'McPherson', 'Firsat Dag', 'Asylum', and 'OSMC', putting the discussion of these at the centre.

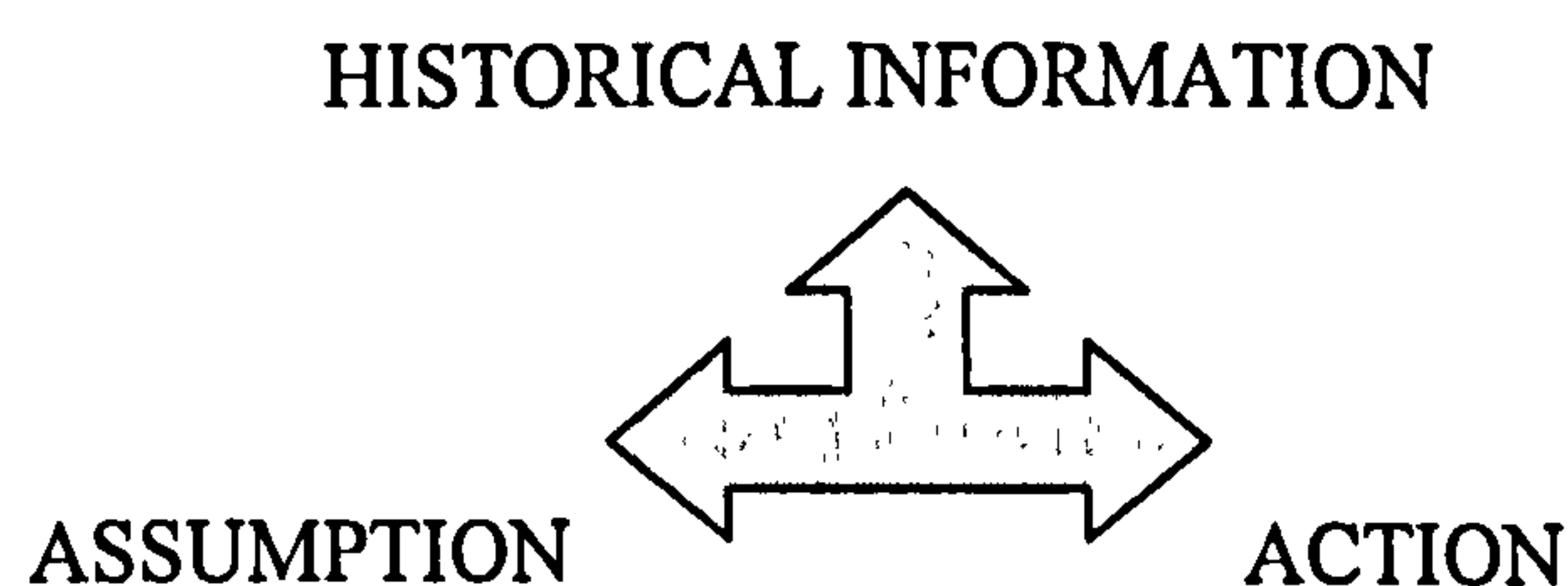
OSMC figured prominently during interviews with those who had been selected primarily because of their involvement with the campaign, such as Chris Wallace and Chris Eynon, less with those who had not. However, invariably discussion moved when probing assumptions. Without wishing to pre-empt the results presented in subsequent sections it is necessary to say something of the probing strategy. For example, whilst neither Wallace or Eynon had experience of thinking about racism prior to their commission, they did not seek advice from 'academic experts'; rather, many of their assumptions were drawn from a 'race relations' logic paired with the legitimacy requirements of the Scottish polity, i.e. it was important to keep 'ethnic minorities' on board as a constituency, whilst not attacking the 'majority white' population. The aim was to obviate a 'race relations' problem. Such information was elicited when asking what they felt the consequences would have been without the specific policy intervention under discussion. To be more specific, this was the case with Jackie Baillie, who was given responsibility for asylum policy after the murder of Firsat Dag. Here discussion

was directed by press releases issued by the Scottish Executive which referred specifically to Baillie's visit to Sighthill after demonstrations took place following the murder. Direct questioning such as 'did you fear?' elicited a negative response, whilst 'what do you think the consequences of your intervention were?', moved her response from denial to confirmation that in her view a 'rivers of blood' scenario was avoided, thus suggesting that she did indeed 'fear' the development of a 'race relations' problem. In interviewing elites about their personal decisions, the latter, more open type of questioning style, elicited a less defensive, but more revealing response.

The object of the interviews was not to examine the structure of 'narrative' so as to compare the responses of each interviewee; I was not in search of personal stories which could be compared between interviewees. Rather, my aim was to elicit information regarding the relationships, assumptions and interventions which underpin(ned) the institutional parameters of meaning-making pertinent to 'racism' in Scotland. I therefore adopted a multi-stage iterative thematic-based analytical strategy when coding and analysing the interview transcriptions, which included the,

1. setting up of categories for the analysis in response to theoretical material;
2. bringing together of categories in an analytical guide, tested and revised;
3. coding of all applicable interviews according to the analytical categories;
4. production of case overviews;
5. selection of individual cases for in-depth single-case analysis.

Cases followed the iterative relationship between:



In this way, I sought to apprehend the reproduction of knowledge in the formulation of policy goals. For example, in relation to OSMC, whilst remaining cognisant of the relationship engendered by the state, between 'race relations' legislation and immigration law, I aimed to unravel the following:

- What were the aims of the anti-racist campaign?
- What assumptions regarding the human subject underpinned the anti-racist campaign?
- In what way did these assumptions inform decisions?

- How does/do the strategy/assumptions link in with the policy narrative of the state towards 'race'?

2.5 Reference/Bibliographic Note

Throughout the thesis reference is made to the original empirical data gathered. So as to clearly delineate primary data from published academic texts, the former are referred to throughout the text in annotated form and listed in a separate Primary Data bibliography.

There are five forms of primary data cited in the thesis:

1. Scottish Immigrant Labour Council, referred to as (SILC) followed by a numeric sequence, e.g. (SILC1) refers the reader to the Primary Sources bibliography, subheading Scottish Immigrant Labour Council, data item 1.

The same method of referencing is applied to:

2. Srathclyde Community Relations Council archive (SCRC);

3. Newspaper data (NS);

4. Scottish Government News Releases (NR);

5. Television News Broadcast (TV).

Chapter 3: The Formation of Anti-Racist Consensus, 1968–1980

3.1 Introduction

Writing in 1986, Miles and Muirhead made the point that “without exception, analysis of racism in Britain tends to refer in fact only to England so that the Scottish dimension is completely ignored” (1986: 108). Elsewhere, Miles and Dunlop have argued, “yet within Scotland a clear differentiation is made between England and Scotland, sustained by the claim that ‘race relations’ is an English problem, absent north of the border” (1987:119). Furthermore, such claims have been “widely articulated in the Scottish press and in the Scottish political process and have been endorsed by a number of academic observers” (1987: 119; see also Miles and Dunlop 1986). By 1993, the conclusion Miles and colleagues had reached was that whilst racism existed in Scotland as an ideology, there had been a relative absence of the racialisation of the political process. Moreover, Miles and Muirhead (1986: 128) state that their case “may...appear to sustain arguments” that “race-relations” are not problematic in Scotland, but that “such a conclusion would be mistaken”. Miles and colleagues were not arguing that racism did not exist in Scotland; they *were* arguing that the absence of a racialised political process in Scotland could explain why ‘race relations’ were not *considered* to be problematic when they were writing, and furthermore, that ‘race relations’ may be *seen* to be problematic in future if the political process is racialised. The second factor relates as much to anti-racists as it does to racists.

To date, Dunlop’s (1993) work represents the sum total of academic publication given to the issue of anti-racist political action in contemporary Scotland⁴⁰. Importantly, Dunlop’s paper demonstrates that whilst the existence of racism in Scotland was continuously denied by political, media and community representatives, other key actors *were* mobilising against racism. For our purposes it is these actors who provide the embryonic typification of racism in the Scottish context. Using Dunlop’s paper as a historical framework, this chapter aims to provide a more elaborate understanding of anti-racist formation, and hence anti-racist typification in Scotland prior to devolution. This work constitutes an attempt to contextualise the Scottish situation via a wider exploration of key events and the claims

⁴⁰ See Crawford (1981); Dunlop and Lloyd (1991) for unpublished contributions.

they represent. A profile of the contemporary-historical antecedents of anti-racist typification in 1970s Scotland is developed by illustrating the historical context from which such anti-racist typification emerged.

As is demonstrated, it was the nature of anti-racist mobilisation and its embryonic target of defending the 'Scottish' labour movement against fascism within a historical context – where the post-war welfare settlement was presented as being compromised by 'English Toryism' – that provides the background for popular definitions and representations of 'racism' in Scotland. As Gilroy has contended, such appeals in England problematically aligned anti-racists with the national-cultural chauvinism of the British state. Moreover, as will be demonstrated, anti-racists who organised in Scotland very quickly incorporated the logic of the British state's response to 'race' and immigration, such that the state's agenda, shaping as it did the post-war welfare compromise, came to influence the trajectory of anti-racist typification in Scotland. This in itself differs little from the English context. However, in laying bare the formation and limitations of anti-racist action in Scotland throughout the 1970s a curious hybrid linking Nazism to Englishness becomes apparent. Our understanding of the dynamic behind the response to racialised migration in Scotland is therefore rendered significantly more complex, as is the process of anti-racist typification and concomitant representations of 'racism'.

3.2 Anti-Racism in Embryo

Dunlop (1993) makes two points of note. First, in comparison with England, 'black' self-organisation in Scotland occurred rather later with the establishment of the *Indian Workers Association* (IWA) in 1971⁴¹. Second, Scottish-based anti-racist political mobilisation in the 1970s was not largely initiated by racialised 'non-white' groups. According to Dunlop, up until the 1980s, anti-racist political mobilisation was largely led by the 'white Left', primarily members of the Communist Party and the Labour Left⁴². Dunlop's conclusion that the 'IWA was the first migrant organisation in Scotland which was overtly political in character' (1993: 94) is pertinent. Other groups such as the *Pakistani Social and Cultural Association*, the *Bengali Cultural Association* and the *Indian Social and Cultural*

⁴¹ The IWA had been established in Coventry, England shortly before WW2 (Josephides 1990).

⁴² the Anti-Nazi League established a Scottish branch in 1978.

Association, were largely apolitical. At its launch the Glasgow IWA passed four resolutions:

1. Glasgow University authorities re-instate Punjabi as a foreign language entry qualification. This had been withdrawn in 1962.
2. The Secretary of State for Scotland implement the recommendations of the Kilbrandon report – Hindu, Muslim and Sikh weddings should have legal recognition on a par with Jewish and Christian weddings.
3. The British Government stop the selling of arms to the South African Government,
4. The immediate withdrawal of the Immigration Bill.

Whilst this statement presents demands for the cultural particular to be recognised, Gurnam Singh, IWA National General Secretary, added that the 1971 Immigration Bill was the “most shameful and disgraceful ever proposed by a British Government” (NS1). The exclusionary universal is being attacked.

Contra Dunlop, it is clear that the IWA *did* establish an independent presence, and formed part of the originating force which developed in 1971 under the nomenclature of the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council (SILC). On 9th October 1971, members of the Communist Party, Labour Party, the IWA, Pakistani Community, and educationalists, met with the support of Glasgow District Trades Council (GDTC) and the STUC for the purposes of demonstrating against the 1971 Immigration Bill and the 1971 Industrial Relations Act. The *Glasgow Herald* reported that “about 80... demonstrators, white and black persons whose ages ranged from 6 to 60 years, marched from Blytheswood Square to Strathclyde University by way of Sauchiehall street, Renfield Street, St Vincent Street, and George Square. There were no incidents”. Protestors,

carried home-made banners proclaiming ‘Kill the Bill’ and ‘Integration not Segregation,’ and one young girl carried a card-board sign with the legend ‘Disembowel Enoch Powell’. Later, both James Milne, Assistant General Secretary of the STUC and Neil Carmichael, Labour MP for Woodside, spoke at the rally at Strathclyde University. Carmichael saw the bill as ‘a retrograde piece of legislation, which would mean that some people in Britain for the first time in the country’s peacetime history might have to carry identity papers’. (NS2)

The Herald reported that “Milne criticised the Government for introducing ‘discriminatory legislation’ and added that this was being done on the eve of possible entry to the Common market when Britain would have to accept citizens of the present member countries

without demur” (NS2). It should be noted that Milne was not objecting to the control of immigration per se, but rather that such control should not target New Commonwealth migrants. Milne recognises that the 1971 Act is racist, but his argument still amounts to support for controls as a means of protecting ‘British jobs’. Such a stance weakened any possible argument against the implicit control of ‘black’ immigration, for the logic of such control, that poorer migrants would be more of a threat to British wages, housing, welfare rights could not counter the view that migration from the ‘Third-World’, i.e. ‘black’ migration, was a legitimate threat and should be controlled. A tension is therefore instituted within the coalitional grouping.

Nevertheless, the outcome of this demonstration was that a liaison committee was set up to co-ordinate opposition to racist immigration legislation and to bring to the attention of the trade union movement the problems that migrants faced in order that migrants would also see the labour movement as the leading force in society. But, in effect, the argument for the institutionalisation of racism in British immigration law, and hence the *assertion of the contrary* to equality, was conceded from the start, rationalised via the political economy of welfarism.

The founding of SILC paralleled that of Scotland’s ‘race-relations’ infrastructure with the establishment of Strathclyde Community Relations Council (SCRC) in 1971. The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) did previously have a branch in Scotland, but this had all but disbanded by the time activists were meeting with a view to establishing a Scottish-based CRC (Handley 1969). In response to an invitation by Reverend Iain Whyte of the Iona Community, Nadine Peppard, from the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (NCCI) visited Glasgow at the end of 1968⁴³. Peppard replied,

⁴³ In July 1962 the Home Secretary appointed a Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (CIAC), which had a secretary from the Home Office and produced regular reports. The CIAC had advised the Home Secretary on matters relating to the ‘welfare of Commonwealth immigrants’ since 1962. It was on a recommendation of the CIAC that the National Advisory Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (NACCI) was set up in March 1964. The NACCI was a ‘voluntary independent body’ under the chairmanship of Mr Philip Mason. Its first members were nominated by the CIAC, the National Council of Social Service and the Institute of Race Relations. In 1964, the CIAC recommended that an advisory officer be appointed to collect and circulate information and to advise local authorities and other bodies which had hitherto worked quite independently. Nadine Peppard had been appointed as Advisory Officer to the NACCI in April 1964. The 1965 White Paper Immigration from the Commonwealth (Cmnd 2739), developed at the short-lived department for Integration of Commonwealth Immigrants in the Department of Economic

Further to my assistant’s telephone conversation with you I should like to confirm that I will be visiting Glasgow from the evening of 4th November until the morning of 7th November and I should be happy to meet you and members of the Iona Community to discuss the possible development of our work in Glasgow (SCRC1)

On 2nd May 1969 the Community Relations Commission held a meeting in Glasgow City Chambers at which 120 delegates attended. The delegates comprised,

Social and community workers	26
University lecturers, administrative staff and teachers	19
Staff of local authorities (Education Officers, medical managers, probation officers, Child care Officers and Youth and Community Officers)	14
Representatives of student organisations	16
Representatives of religious organisations	12
Representatives of immigrant organisations	10
Members and staff of the Race Relations Board (or its Scottish Conciliation Committee)	5
Representatives of trade unions	4
Chief Constables	3
Staff of the United Nations Association	3
Members of Parliament	2
Staff of High Commissions	2

(source: SCRC2)

At the meeting three presentations were given. One presenter, James Robertson (Iona Community), opened as follows:

The subject of race relations is one which has been around numerous conferences and socially conscious gatherings for many years. Indeed, Bishop Ambrose Reeves has reminded us that racial prejudice is even more of a threat to world peace than

Affairs, proposed the replacement of both the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council and the NACCI by the NCCI. The new committee was established in September with the Archbishop of Canterbury as chairman, and the aims of promoting goodwill and of integrating Commonwealth immigrants into the community. Peppard’s work included the encouragement of the establishment of voluntary liaison committees in areas where immigrants had settled, which received both local and central funding. The main areas of activity were the dissemination of information, welfare, public relations and the fight against discrimination – a role which the NCCI continued to pursue (Information cited at <http://www.casbah.ac.uk/cats/archive/138/PROA00027.htm> on 20/3/03).

nuclear weapons. Without doubt, looking at South Africa and Rhodesia, the force of his argument is clear.

He went on,

Just over two years ago, a small group of interested people in Glasgow came together united by their concern that problems which had arisen in England over the settlement and integration of New Commonwealth citizens should not be allowed to develop in Glasgow. (SCRC2)

The above report confirms that some prominent activists considered 'racial prejudice' to be a potential source of social disorder between 'races'. That this was a concern is made clear in the following statement made by the 41-member working group established with the aim of formulating a structure and constitution for a Glasgow-based CRC:

It should be seen that the situation for Community Relations in Scotland is opportunative rather than the treatment of a problem [sic]. Whilst acknowledging this, the working party should be without haste in devising their plan and structural system (SCRC3).

Incorporated within the logic underpinning the establishment of a CRC in Scotland was the purported need to act so as to obviate a 'race relations problem' that had not as of yet appeared. Thus, the racialised fears of Westminster elites provide a logic which underpins the setting up of the institutional framework in Scotland for the management of 'race-relations'.

Whilst it would be unfair to suggest that all those party to the establishment of CRCs in Scotland had the prevention of social disorder as their primary aim, it is clear that the logic of the British Government's 'race' policy was being adopted and hence institutionalised within the fabric of mainstream 'anti-racism' in Scotland⁴⁴. This logic laid the basis for SCRC's future public interventions⁴⁵, and hence for the typification of 'racism as a social problem'.

⁴⁴ There is evidently a strong welfarist component in the logic of conciliation. This should not, however, be taken as evidence that a 'social control' element was not pervasive. For a discussion of various theories of welfare as social control see van Krieken (1991).

⁴⁵ The establishment of SCRC in 1971 was followed by a second CRC, based in Edinburgh, later that year.

3.3 Anti-Fascist 'Race Relations' as Nation Building

The reason for outlining the origin of SILC and SCRC is that over the course of the next two decades, both organisations would increasingly coalesce, sharing platforms primarily on the issues of immigration, welfare, education and eventually on the need to prevent the rise of the National Front (NF). Consequently, SILC's approach both cohered and was cohered by the 'race relations' logic set by the CRC, which steadily expanded its affiliation list with 'ethnic minority' groups. Moreover, SILC grew its affiliation list within the Labour Movement considerably over the 1970s and provided a substantial source of 'anti-racist' knowledge through a wide network of affiliates. Additionally, the activities of both groups fed, in various ways, into the wider agenda set by the STUC, such that the issue of racism as a social problem germinated within a framework laid down by an institution which took its mandate from its role as defender of 'Scottish working class' interests, albeit within a framework set by allegiance to workers on both sides of the border. The bridge for such representations was provided by the Communist Party, who actively campaigned on a pro-Scottish platform. As Keating and Bleiman (1979: 157) note, at an STUC major set-piece debate in 1968,

The devolutionist view was put by the Communist Mick McGahey, of the Scottish miners, who reminded congress that Scotland was a nation, not merely a region, and had a right to determine its own future. He himself favoured a federal system. This was in accordance with the Communist Party line since the policy shift of 1964, when the Party had come out in support of the right of self-determination.

However, the Communist Party's mobilisation on the right to self-determination was a product, not of Lenin's delineation between oppressed and oppressor nations, but of the Stalinist doctrine of 'socialism in one country' which incorporated rhetorical elements of the former in justification of the latter. The Stalinist position is significantly different⁴⁶. Whereas Lenin placed the universal over the particular in pursuit of internationalism, Stalin inverted this logic, pursuing national cohesion as an end in itself, albeit through the promotion of socialism (Liebman 1980; Harding 1986; Hume 1989). In this sense the particular is placed above the universal. Whilst two founding members of SILC, John Foster and Maggie Chetty, both Communist Party activists, differed in their opinions of

⁴⁶ For a discussion of Stalin's nationalist position see Davidson (2000).

Scotland's right to self-determination (see Foster 2004 for a current opinion), the former maintains a commitment to the *British* working class. SILC Secretary Maggie Chetty, who later became Director of SCRC, confirmed the Scottish-centred approach which she continues to support,

The Communist Party had a pro-Scottish line from MacDiarmid's time⁴⁷. The first motion was moved in the STUC, I mean the STUC claim it, but the first motion moved was actually by Mick McGahey⁴⁸.

A significant consequence of such political alignments was that whilst UK immigration laws were regularly attacked by anti-racists, rarely was it suggested that the act of controlling immigration, based as it was on racist assumptions, should be abolished as an institution outright. Groups would only go as far as to advocate the abolition of the overt 'racial element'. The problem with this tactic is that, no matter how vociferous the condemnation of 'racist laws', the context of their implementation would mean that people rendered 'phenotypically visible' by demarcations of 'race', as institutionalised via 'race relations' legislation, would be readily identifiable, and hence 'justifiably' so, both as a potential threat and as a 'legitimate' target for concern. The 'threat' emanates from the logic of control which institutionalises a defensive and divisive position. Such alignments would have a significant effect on the public representation of 'racism' in Scotland. The evolution of this process is mapped in the remainder of this chapter.

3.3a Educating for 'Race'

SILC affiliated to SCRC in 1972, and the delegate was Maggie Osbourne (later known as Maggie Chetty). An issue that intermittently brought both organisations together was discrimination in education and employment. Following a statement by a "Race Relations Board spokesman" in Glasgow on 21st June, which drew attention to the observation that,

⁴⁷ This is a reference to Hugh MacDiarmid, a Communist and Nationalist, and founder member of the Scottish National Party (also a leading light in the 'Scottish renaissance'). Expelled from both parties in the 30s, he rejoined the Communist Party after the Hungarian uprising in 1956. Keen to develop a new Scots language for literary purposes, he has been accused of synthetic speech because he drew on dictionaries and other sources as well as contemporary speech, particularly Lowland Scots ('Lallans', which was regarded as a dead form of speech because it had been subsumed under English). Later he would develop what he called 'synthetic English', derived from diverse vocabularies including technical language. He also advocated the setting up of a Scottish state following the example of Mussolini's Fascist Party in Italy.

⁴⁸ Interview with Maggie Chetty conducted on 24/04/04.

“immigrants in Scotland appear reluctant to complain about cases of discrimination which they encounter, they do not want to get legally involved”, SILC responded that, “one of its objectives [was] to establish an organisation which will enable cases of discrimination to be tackled with the support and backing of the labour movement, so avoiding the necessity of complainants having to put themselves in an isolated position” (SILC1).

SILC had earlier commissioned research into discrimination against “immigrant school-leavers” in Glasgow, carried out by the Department of Sociology, University of Glasgow (see Fowler et al. 1975). Following from this, on 2nd June 1973 SILC attended a “Labour-Immigrant conference” in Birmingham, organised by Trade Unions and Race Relations (TURR), a body which brought together Trade Unions, Labour Party branches and CRCs. Secretary of TURR Winston Pinder said that “[i]t is up to us rank and file trade unionists to see that youth get the future they deserve” (SILC2). The topic was discrimination and the need to secure “equal opportunities...for all young people, white or black” (SILC3). SILC stated that “it is a conference of a kind that SILC could well be thinking about as a follow-up to its research project on immigrant school leavers” (SILC4). In June 1974 an International Summer School was held at Adelphi Secondary school. One hundred primary school children and 100 tutors from Glasgow secondary schools attended. The aim was “to improve English and establish relations between Scottish teenagers and young immigrants in an informal and interesting setting” (SILC5). Following this, the Glasgow Branch of the National Association of Multi-Racial Education (NAME) held a “Festival of Friendship” at the Teachers’ Centre, Dundas Vale, which brought together children from various Primary schools for the purpose of preparing projects on different countries. SILC stated supportively that “[t]he choice of countries reflected the origins and cultures of the children taking part” (SILC6)⁴⁹. The problem of ‘racism’ was being defined as an issue of misunderstanding the ‘cultural origins’ of migrants which was, in effect, deemed as causally linked to the development of ‘cultural’ polarisation. The cultural particular is embryonically taking the place of ‘race’ and being integrated into educational policy aimed at ‘immigrants’.

⁴⁹ Scotland Street primary focussed on Scotland; Cuthbertson Street primary, Ireland; Pollockshields primary, Pakistan; Willowbank primary, an African country (not specified); the Language Teaching Centre, Hong Kong and India.

The concomitant development of an SCRC Education sub-committee, and the educational affiliations of prominent members of SILC, eventually led to the CRC sponsoring an educational trip to India and Pakistan in 1976. SILC secretary (and, by this time, SCRC vice-Chairwoman) Maggie Chetty, who had been interviewed for the scholarship by Nadine Peppard, stated in *Equality*,

The opportunity came through a scholarship from the Community Relations Council, the government sponsored body set up to promote projects and community education, to develop good race relations. As Vice-chairwoman of Strathclyde Community Relations Council, and Assistant Headteacher of the Language Teaching Centre, it was felt that a trip to Punjab would not only be of immense help to the work at the Language Teaching Centre, but also in the community at large... (SILC7)

Prominent anti-racist activists evidently shared the idea that education could be used to circumvent a 'race relations problem'; culture being homologue of 'race'. State-endorsed institutional support for this logic came to underpin the framework adopted by SILC. A CRE donation of £250 to the publication costs (£400 in total) of a SILC 'School leavers pamphlet' published in 1978, provides further evidence not only for the desirability of educational intervention but also of further coalescence between SILC and the main institutional body charged by the state with the role of incorporating racialised dissent (SILC8).

3.3b National Affront

Whilst constitutionally SCRC could not engage politically, two main campaign issues increasingly linked it with SILC – immigration control and the rise of the NF. In 1973 the STUC passed a resolution in protest against the "retrospective" elements of the 1971 Immigration Act. On 6th July SCRC held a "Public meeting in protest against the 'retrospective' nature of the immigration Act". By 1974, UK immigration legislation was being portrayed in SILC's bulletin as a divide and rule tactic employed as a means of splitting working class solidarity – the object target – along racial lines, thus pairing the Conservative Government with colonial strategist (see Visual 1). The subject perpetrator's

goal is that of fragmenting the working class, i.e. the subject target. This moral story had been strengthened by recent Trade Union affiliates⁵¹.

Visual 1: 'Black and white unite' against the 'colonial divide and rule' tactics of the Tory Government.



Source. *Equality* 1974 no. 5, front-page.

It is important to note that what was being objected to here was not the principle of immigration control per se, but rather the purported racially discriminatory element of current legislation. To oppose immigration control would undermine the nationalist premise upon which workers' protective agreements were based within the post-war welfare compromise: workers rights were citizen rights were national rights were welfare rights. Consequently, the need to repeal immigration legislation was further portrayed as a means of obviating 'inter-racial' disorder; the role which the Labour Government was expected to play was that of circumventing such disorder. This was further demonstrated by a call for the strengthening of legislation upon which the formation of SCRC depended,

The relaxing of racial tensions and the creation of racial harmony can be assisted by the following:- Repeal the 1971 Immigration Act and compel the Labour

⁵¹ They were East Kilbride Trades Council, Edinburgh and District Trades Council, several branches of AUEW (TASS) and UCATT NUPE (Airdrie & Coatbridge Branch), and Edinburgh Community Relations Council. "We wish to thank Yarrow's Shopstewards' Committee and Sogat (Glasgow & West of Scotland Branch)" stated SILC's secretary, "for their consistent support of SILC". (SILC9)

Government to introduce new legislation on a strictly non-racial basis. Strengthen the Race Relations Act with prosecution for all cases of systematic racist propaganda and incitement to racial hatred (SILC10)

Following Roy Jenkins' announcement that entry vouchers were to be extended to "foreign husbands of women already settled in this country", SILC congratulated the "Executive of Glasgow Community Relations Council for their principled stand against the retroactive legislation of the 1971 Immigration Act, and their support for the steering committee which successfully put pressure on the Government to change its retroactive interpretation of the 1971 Immigration Act" (SILC11). Previously this right had only been extended to female migrants in cases of hardship. This 'relaxation' in immigration restrictions was considered by SILC to be a result of pressure placed on the Home Secretary by "organisations such as SILC, the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain" (SILC12). In a letter to SILC, an SCRC Officer wrote,

...many of the immigration problems created by the retrospective nature of the 1971 Act have been ameliorated since the change of Government. We hope soon to have a leaflet in which the Home Office will explain the latest situation and we hope that this will be available in different languages.

As you know, the 1971 act itself stands and we still require to work hard particularly to remove the parts that are openly racist. We would not however have been at the stage we are at the moment if it had not been for the tremendous help given to us by such organisations as SILC and the steering committee which developed out of our public meeting. Our Council would like to take this opportunity of thanking your organisation for the help you gave and of expressing our hope that we shall enjoy the same degree of co-operation in the future. (SILC13)

It is clear from this exchange that the interests of both SCRC and SILC merged significantly around the issue of immigration. However, the reluctance of SCRC to take a political stance publicly meant that SILC could still enjoy a relative hegemony of politically orientated activism on the issue of racism. In August 1973, H. Wyper, J. Reidford and M. Chetty of SILC had written to all 'affiliated' shopsteward's committees:

As you probably know the National Front have greatly increased their confidence and their activity in the last six months. A sign of this is their determination to hold National Front demonstrations in Leicester on 24th August and in London on 7th September, despite requests to cancel these demonstrations by local trade union branches and Labour Party branches. GDTC have written to the Home Secretary asking him to ban the Leicester demonstration.

They continued,

The choice of Leicester for a rally of this nature confirms their racial bias and their intention for their own perverted purposes. Demonstrations like this destroy the growing unity and strength of black and white workers in joint struggle.

We must show the National Front that the trade union movement utterly rejects its inhuman poisonous racism and its anti-working class ideas. We can do this by having a massive orderly demonstration with an array of banners [] please send delegates from your committee with banners, if you cannot send delegates please send financial contributions. (SILC14)

The NF announced a series of rallies and meetings in August/September. SILC and the IWA sent delegates to the Leicester counter-demonstration in August. In September SILC and the National Union of Students (NUS) organised three coaches of students, IWA and trade union delegates to a further counter-demonstration in London. Three thousand people turned out at Speakers Corner, which resulted in the police diverting the NF to another route (SILC15). On 4th November, SILC wrote to trade union branches and shop stewards committees:

Two situations in recent weeks have caused us concern in SILC. One is that the National Front Organisation obtained over 100, 000 votes in the recent election. They also put up a candidate in Scotland for the first time (although his vote of 86 seemed to indicate that Govan voters have sent the National Front packing).

The second situation that worried us, was the Law Lords recent decision to allow black workers to be denied admission to working men's clubs.

Both situations show that there are right wing elements in this country who will use racialism, to divide workers, to suit their own ends. The long term work of SILC in encouraging immigrant workers to participate in the trade union movement and encouraging trade unionists to tackle the particular problems which their immigrant brothers and sisters face (like racialism), must be developed (SILC16)

It is clear that the link between the NF presence and the Conservative government is being established as a cause of concern – a coalitional subject perpetrator of racism.

At SILC's AGM on 21st November a target was set to "broaden our base within the Labour movement by increasing our contact and affiliations with trade unions and the Labour Party at grass-roots level, and also by extending our base beyond the west of Scotland" (SILC17). A resolution to build closer links with the Pakistani Community was also passed. Following a forum on trade unionism on 2nd December, a SILC delegation was

invited to meet with the STUC's education committee on 5th December. The committee pledged "support for SILC's immediate fight against the Immigration Act and acknowledged the need for involving and assisting immigrant workers to join and become active in their unions" (SILC18). The STUC recommended that all trade councils, trade union branches and shop steward committees should invite speakers from SILC, that the larger Trades Councils, in conjunction with SILC, should hold schools on the Act, and that there should be a Scottish conference on the Act sponsored by the STUC. On 7th December Grant Thomson and Alec Waters of SILC spoke at a quarterly meeting of TGWU shopstewards, "and through this received some new affiliations to SILC including that of the TGWU committee"⁵¹.

On 18th March 1975, Labour MP Dennis Canavan spoke at a public meeting chaired by SILC, titled 'Immigrant Workers and the Common Market'. The meeting drew up a motion for the repeal of the 1971 immigration act and for the strengthening of the Race Relations Act. At SILC's behest, Dennis Canavan later proposed a motion in Parliament calling for the repeal of the Immigration Act (SILC20). It is clear that SILC was establishing a strong network across trade unions and councils, the force of which added to their lobbying potential. The degree of support precipitated by SILC was called upon when confronting the NF in Glasgow.

On 23rd March, Glasgow and District Trades Council called a peaceful picket at 24 hours' notice in response to a proposed NF meeting at Glasgow's Kingston Halls. A demonstration of 400 people, representing unions, anti-racist and migrant support organisations, gathered outside the hall in protest. The IWA wrote for *Equality*,

[t]he demonstrators were met with brutal police action which resulted in the arrest of 78 people. Among the arrested were prominent members of the Labour movement, CPGB, IWA, and other progressive organisations. The police used physical force and obscene language to disperse the demonstrators, whose only crime was to show their opposition to the building of a fascist base in Glasgow. (SILC20)

⁵¹ On March 16th 1975 an 'afternoon school' for trade unionists on the Immigration Act was held at Edinburgh Trades Council. Speakers included Gurnam Singh, General Secretary IWA Great Britain, F. Hasmi, Senior Officer UKIAS, J. McCartney YGWU, Maggie Osbourne and Dr Bedi, SILC, Alec Watters from SILC was Chairman'. The Trades Council pledged "full support for SILC's struggle against the Act" (SILC19).

Following the arrests, SILC, in conjunction with the IWA, the STUC and GDTC, mounted a campaign for a public enquiry into accusations of police brutality. At SILC's request Dennis Canavan raised a parliamentary question over police brutality at Kingston Halls during Scottish question time on 9th June. However, a demand for a Public Enquiry was refused by the Secretary of State for Scotland (SILC21). Nevertheless, 8 MPs discussed the issue of the NF in Parliament ⁵².

The Kingston Halls' demonstration and subsequent exchanges with the police led SILC to increasingly draw parallels between the then British Government's reluctance to ban the NF, and the 'complacency' of democratic institutions towards the rise of national socialism in 1930s Germany (see Visual 2, over). SILC's goal here was to push the state toward acting as an anti-racist state by appealing to the moral 'victory' of Britishness over fascism, thus taking the moral high ground against a defensive establishment, whilst simultaneously placing itself as a standard-bearer of the post-war class settlement. SILC altercasts against the British state. The contradiction as far as SILC is concerned emanates from the liberal state's predilection to favouring 'Right-wing elements'.

⁵² Dennis Canavan raised the issue of the Immigration Act in parliament on 2nd February 1976. The act was the subject of a further parliamentary question on 12th February 1976 which initiated a debate between Canavan and Jenkins (see Hansard cited in SILC22). See also SILC23.

Visual 2: The Liberal-Fascist State



Source. *Equality* 1978, 12: 5

The image of the liberal state as protector of the ‘immoral nazi’ would increasingly inform anti-racist representations. In Visual 2 we see the police, representative of state power, as angel of mercy to the immoral NF. The association is that the liberal state is facilitating the development of fascism. Here the subject perpetrator of racism is the authoritarian state, but racism is being paired with fascism such that the two become actors in partnership. The logic of this representation is that the authoritarian state should use its coercive powers against the Right. This call would increasingly have to be juggled with a state’s ‘right to control immigration’, for this ‘right’ was beyond question when the welfare rights of British workers were at stake. This was of course the logical outcome of the ‘socialism in one country’ position of the British Communist Party, and it would not sit well with those subject to controls, although they had little alternative.

Following a delegation to the Pakistan Social and Cultural Association in July 1975, SILC reported,

a very positive discussion which we hope will lead to co-operation between our organisations in various aspects of the fight against racialism. Our campaign against the Immigration Act 1971 has been consistent and active. We’ve held three

public meetings to spread awareness within the movement about this racist Act. We have also published a leaflet to circulate through the STUC. (SILC24)

It was this meeting which stimulated a move to publish significant parts of *Equality* in Urdu and Punjabi translations. SCRC had earlier given SILC a cheque for £50 to publish pamphlets on 'Racist Trade Unionism and the Immigration Act'. The pamphlet 'Solidarity', came to the attention of James Jack, General Secretary of the STUC who, on 6th August 1975, sent two official letters: one to all Scottish District Trades Councils, and the second to all affiliated organisations (SILC25). Both were variations on the following theme:

Dear Colleague

Scottish Immigrant Labour Council

Mainly through the efforts of Glasgow District Trades Council, an organisation was established several years ago to actively encourage immigrant workers in the Glasgow area to become involved in the labour movement.

The organisation was named the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council and has subsequently developed into a body which has been giving detailed consideration to many aspects of race relations. The Council has recently published a leaflet on race relations in Scotland. I enclose a sample copy and additional copies can be obtained on application from the secretary, Mrs. M. Osbourne.

You will note that the leaflet also contains a form for affiliation by trade union branches. I hope you will give this leaflet every publicity.

Yours sincerely

James Jack
General Secretary

Jack's letter makes it clear that the STUC saw SILC as a major player in the area of anti-racism. Consequently, the SCRC funded leaflet, sent to all affiliates, was given considerable authority across the labour movement. As the leaflet represents a significant intervention, its message being disseminated to wide sections of the labour movement in Scotland, its content provides a rich example of the construction of knowledge regarding 'racism'. It is therefore pertinent to explore its content in more detail.

The leaflet 'Solidarity' (SILC26) begins as follows,

RACIALISM – A problem that exists in places like South Africa, involving people like the Klu-Klux-Klan, Vorster, Ian Smith, etc. It means the white rulers of these countries creating laws against people purely on the colour of their skin.

It means civil rights struggles in Selma.

It means apartheid – working in your own country for £2 per week awarded only on condition that you move into a work camp, away from your family.

It means being jailed or killed for belonging to a Trade Union. It's a horrible subject. It doesn't exist in Britain, at least not in Scotland.... Or does it?

The question of whether or not racism exists in Scotland is already being asked. Implicit in such a question is the sub-question 'what do people understand by racism?'. The narrative therefore seeks to question a misplaced assumption, but by doing so places the idea of misplaced assumptions on the agenda of 'anti-racism'. The narrative therefore seeks to challenge 'commonly held assumptions' by *placing* the idea that 'assumptions are misplaced' on the agenda. Additionally, the narrative seeks to draw a connection between Trade Union activism as a valuable endeavour and the threat to such posed by the immorality associated with familiar targets of anti-racism, e.g. South Africa, Ku-Klux-Klan.

Next, the powerful images of 'racism' included in the previous paragraph are compared with 'British racialism'.

British racialism

Racialism, British style, is different, more subtle. It's "funny". It's growing and could come divisive and very dangerous but only if we as trade unionists allow it to do so.

Many leading trade unionists recognise this and they have been working hard to expose and remove the practices of racialism from within our movement. The situation now demands the attention of the lads on the shop floor.

Racialism in this country takes various forms – insults, jokes, contemptuous attacks on different cultural traditions and accusations of industrial incompetence.

Here, 'racism' referred to as 'racialism', is associated with Britishness which, unbeknown to many workers, facilitates seemingly benign but dangerous behaviours, attitudes and beliefs which can pave the way towards dividing the working class, weakening the gains and protection which Trade Unionism is effective in harnessing via solidarity. The object target is the maintenance of working class strength through unity. The subject target is the working class. The subject perpetrator is the holder of erroneous beliefs including prejudicial views about workers from different 'races', and that racism was not an issue in Britain/Scotland.

Much to our shame, it is alive and kicking within the trade union movement, at all levels. This is an undisguisable fact, which, unpalatable as it is, will have to be faced up to by many of us who seem to prefer to cross our fingers and hope this so-called "problem with the coloureds" does not arrive on our particular doorstep and will go away, given time.

The attitude reflects a sad lack of consciousness on our part as trade unionists. The "problem with the coloureds" often referred to in discreet whispers, is a fallacy. It does not have a separate existence.

The Trade Union Movement has not as of yet challenged 'British racialism'. This casts a shadow of immorality over the movement and indicates that many workers are not 'for themselves'. That is, they do not have the necessary consciousness to circumvent narrow divisions within the movement. Of importance here is that such consciousness requires an understanding of the perils of 'British racialism'. 'British racialism' brings 'shame'.

Additionally, 'British racialism' can be used by the capitalist bosses against you (the subject target):

Racialism as a bosses weapon

Workers the world over, face the same difficulties – long hours, low wages, bad conditions, bad health, shortage of leisure time, unemployment, poor housing, high rents and high prices. The only difference between ourselves and black British workers is that they are faced with the extra problems of dealing with racialism. All the traditional attacks on workers we recognise instantly. We know they are created deliberately by the bosses to confuse, divide and, hopefully, demoralise us into accepting the impossibility of getting together, changing society and our way of life.

We in the Scottish Immigrant labour Council argue that racialism in any form is simply and clearly another weapon forged by those who seek to divide the working class and prepare the way for a far right Tory Government.

‘British racialism’ as a ‘bosses weapon’ is now tied to the ‘far right’ and ‘Toryism’. The subject perpetrator of racism is the immoral capitalist class. This immorality is personified and made more concrete in the following stanza.

Right wing prophets

Examine the people who warn us of the ‘dangers’ of allowing these Africans, Pakistanis and Indians to interrupt ‘our’ way of life, threaten ‘our’ jobs, undermine ‘our’ traditions and, the most alarming thought of all, marry ‘our’ daughters.

Who are these prophets, so concerned about us workers? Floating near the surface of the racist cesspool are such well-known friends of the workers as Robert Carr, Keith Joseph, Margaret Thatcher, Colin Jordan, Martin Webster and that well known workers’ advocate destined for a place in heaven, Enoch Powell. All so concerned about ‘our’ way of life being disturbed. What way? Whose life?

Do these characters suffer from low pay and threats of unemployment? Of course they don’t! Their motives are clear. They seek to turn black worker against white worker. They need divisions within the working class in order to survive. Creating these divisions has been made more difficult for them because of the general advances made by the labour movement in this country....

They fear withdrawal from the Common market and urge membership at any cost, including our sovereignty. They tremble at the thought of a Scottish parliament and know better than most all these major issues have been put on the country’s political agenda because of the great unity of purpose forged by the progressive Labour movement they desperately need to split that unity. They need unemployment, conspiracy laws imprisoning trade unionists, Britain in the Common Market AND the 1971 Immigration Act to create division and disunity among working people in the interests of the boss class. These are the people behind the recent upsurge of extreme right groups who encourage and spread racist propaganda into all types of apparently innocent situations (Books, films, even children’s comics). They are the architects of the inhuman Immigration Act.

The personification of immorality in the figures of Conservatives such as Margaret Thatcher is paired with attacks on working class conditions. The ruling class does not share the same experience as workers because they belong to an opposing class. However, this class position is paired with a nationalist slant, for not only is the subject perpetrator right-wing, Tory and pro-capitalist, he/she is also anti-self-determination for the Scottish people. Here ‘our traditions’ are being questioned. By implication, such traditions are British traditions, not Scottish. Additionally, they are not the traditions of the working class. Furthermore, the maintenance of sovereignty is under threat by pro-European agenda builders who seek to erode the national bargaining power that trade unions enjoy via the

post-war class settlement. According to this logic, it is such a tactic that underpins the Right's implementation of 'racialist' immigration controls.

Finally, an anti-racist intervention is constructed,

Insults in racist jokes

We should remember that it is these people we assist if we continue to ignore the dangers contained in the practice of insulting and making jokes about 'pakkies' and 'darkies'. Surely we devalue ourselves and our fellow workers with these cheap jibes. Let's think what we are doing the next time someone asks us to have a laugh at a coloured worker's expense – a man who probably shares all our problems plus many more and is then subjected to the sickening experience of fellow workers being used by conscious racialists like Powell and company to hurl abuse. It is certainly no joke and should be guarded against.

Get the branch to order a few copies of the Immigration Act 1971 (it makes the Industrial Relations Act look like a workers' charter). Most importantly of all, don't delay! Think about the benefits of winning fellow workers to trade unionism and the fight for socialism. In doing so we can begin to bring about a better understanding among all workers and play our part in fighting for a multi-racial socialist society!

Remember: Racialism is the enemy of progress

Remember: Racialism is the enemy of the working class.

The above subject perpetrators and their actions are tied to the barriers placed in front of Enlightenment principles. Progress and Universalism are linked to the working class as the historical agent of social change. However, a particularist position is being incorporated into the agenda set via the promotion of a nationalist position as a means of achieving socialism. In a self-determined Socialist Scotland people from 'different races' will be able to live in harmony – or so the thematic goes.

This logic increasingly fused with an anti-nazi position. On 26th August a public meeting on "The Growth of the Extreme Right and the National Front" was held in the AUEW Hall, West Regent Street, Glasgow with speakers from the Labour Party, Indian Workers Association, GDTC and Maurice Ludmer, Editor of the Anti-Fascist magazine "Searchlight". The meeting was chaired by Alec Waters, Chairman of SILC. Following a SILC delegation to an anti-NF Demo in Hackney on 5th September, SILC's 1975 annual report made the following points:

[t]he increasing activity of the National Front Organisations has demanded systematic work on the part of SILC – selling more anti-fascist bulletins and pamphlets and warning organisations and the Labour Movement of the need for increasing vigilance'. 'The other immediate campaign is to persuade Glasgow District Council (and all district councils in Scotland) that Halls should not be let to a self-confessed racist organisation like the National Front. (SILC27)

The issue of 'race relations' was also being extended across the labour movement. In October a forum was held at Dundee Trades Council on 'The Need for Trade Unionism', with contributions from John Sheridan, Shop Steward and Regional Council member of UCATT⁵³. After the discussion, Ted Ratnerajah, Senior Development Officer of the Race Relations Board, commented that "in all the meetings he had attended in the whole of Britain", he "had never come across a meeting where immigrant organisations and trade unions worked so closely and fruitfully together in the fight to eradicate racialism and establish 100% trade unionism" (SILC28)⁵⁴.

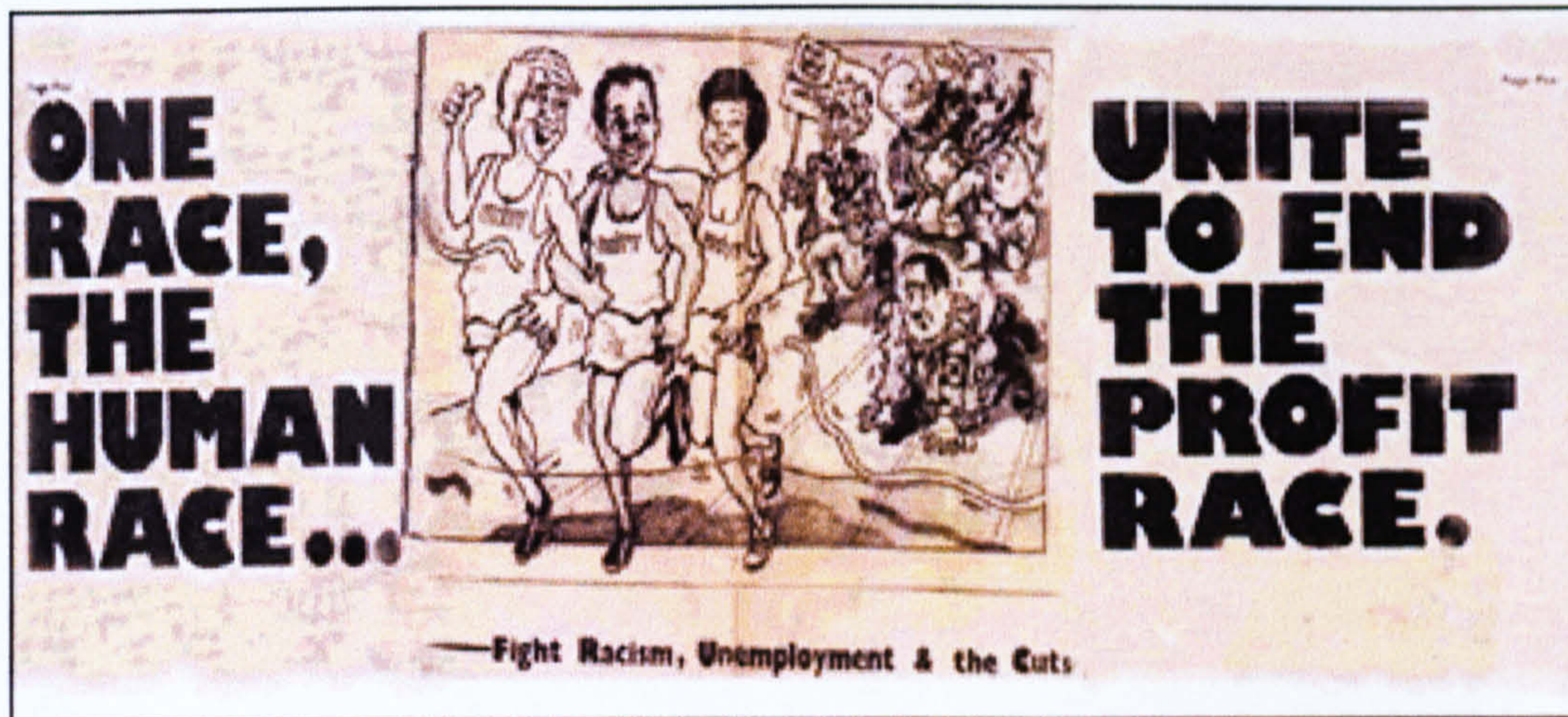
SILC's campaigning also carried significant weight amongst sections of the Scottish mining community – the most militant section of the Scotland-based working class. The movement against the NF had an impact on the local representation of 'racism in Scotland'. 'Racism' gradually became associated with 'Englishness'. This is confirmed by more widely publicised representations of 'racism'. A centre page article by SILC secretary Maggie Chetty in the Scottish Miner (published by the Scottish Area National Union of Mineworkers) carried the following visual anti-racist representation.

⁵³ There were also contributions from Jimmy McCartney TGWU Shop Steward Larchfield Garage, Kashmira Singh, Indian Workers Association, James McCall, Boilermakers, Yarrow's Shipyards. Bob Chadha, former treasurer of SILC, was chairman.

⁵⁴ By early 1976 the following organisations had affiliated to SILC – IWA (Glasgow Branch); AUEW No. 3D.C AUEW (TASS) Hillington Branch; ACATT Partick 1st Branch; UCATT Whiteinch Branch; Yarrow's Shopstewards Committee; NUPE Airdrie and Coatbridge branch; NUPE Lanark Branch; Glasgow District Committee TGWU; SOGAT Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch; TGWU Civil & Public Services Association; DNS Glasgow Branch; Paisley District Council Shopstewards Committee; East Kilbride Trades Council; Edinburgh & District Trades Council; Dumfries Trades Council; Clydebank Trades Council; Hillhead Constituency Labour Party; Strathclyde Community Relations Council; Bangladesh Social & Cultural Association; Pakistani Social & Cultural Society; Kelvin Branch (Communist Party); Glasgow College of Technology Students' Association; Jordanhill Students Representative Council; Glasgow Area National Union of Students; ASTMS No. 12 Divisional Council; Albion Motors Shopstewards Committee; Craigton Constituency Labour Party; Stirling Council of Students Association; Glasgow Indian Youth Organisation. (SILC29)

secretary Maggie Chetty in the *Scottish Miner* (published by the Scottish Area National Union of Mineworkers) carried the following visual anti-racist representation.

Visual 3: Anti-Fascism Against the Profit Race

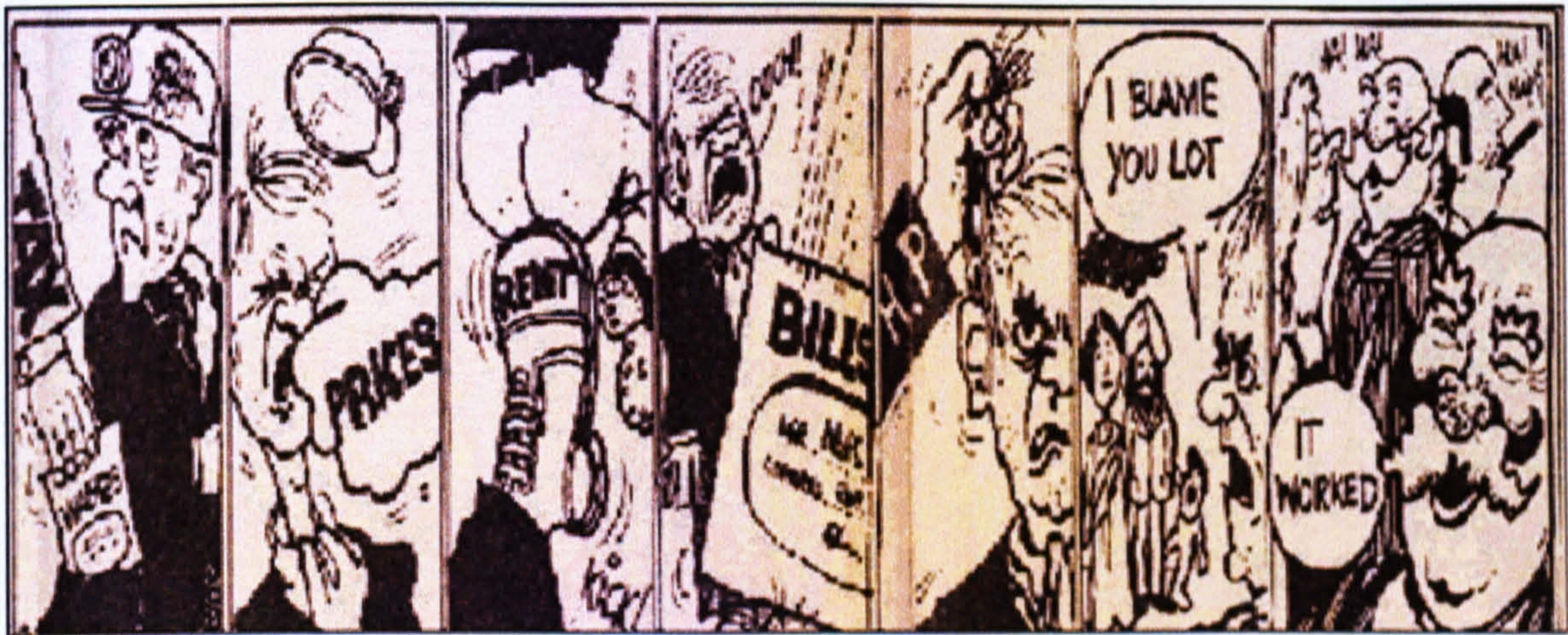


Source. *Scottish Miner*, September 1976, no. 231: 4-5.

‘Racism’ and attacks on working class living standards are paired via the by-line ‘Fight Racism, Unemployment and the Cuts’, thereby making the point that ‘racism’ is a working class issue. The ‘storm-troopers’ and ‘Hitler’ are no match for the unity of the working class which is held together by the principle that ‘all men are equal’ and not divisible by ‘race’ – a divisive mechanism employed for the sheer purpose of making profits. However, the placard, carried by an ‘NF member’ reads ‘For sale to an English Only’. This explanatory captures well the tension between a Universalist project and the particularism of the Scottish context. What is interesting here is that preferential treatment of ‘the English’ is being alleged and paired with Nazism, whilst ‘Scottish workers’ are being hailed as victims of the aforementioned allegiance. The logic of this explanatory is that Scottish unity is more egalitarian than the ‘English sell-outs’. The subject perpetrator of racism is pro-English and nazi-‘orientated’. The subject target is the Scottish working-class. The object target is that of preventing attacks on Scottish working-class living standards.

The relationship between capitalist exploitation, profit-maximisation, attacks on working-class living standards and racially divisive political tactics is elaborated in the following cartoon strip from the same article.

Visual 4: Scapegoat



Source. *Scottish Miner*, September 1976, no. 231: 4-5.

Working class living standards are being attacked through taxation on wages, escalation in prices, high rents and utility bills. The final straw, indicated by hire purchase repossession, is met by the tactic of shifting the focus onto immigrants. The 'tactic' 'works' to the benefit of the capitalist bosses and to the detriment of the working class. The point is repeated in SILC's bulletin *Equality* which also provides a solution – trade union solidarity (see Visual 5):

Visual 5: Colour of Y'er Union Card



Source. *Equality* 1976, 9: 20

Furthermore, the nazi threat is confident, it is emerging from the 'dustbin of history' and specifically targets trade unions (see visual 6).

Visual 6: From the Dustbin of Industry



Source. *Equality* 1976, 9: 9.

On 28th February, 'Open door', a film made by the *British Campaign to Stop Immigration*, was shown by BBC television. This was repeated again on 6th March. Despite protests, the BBC had responded that the views expressed in the program were lawful. SILC organised a demonstration outside BBC offices at Queen Margaret Drive in Glasgow. The demonstrators concluded that 'race relations' legislation needed to be strengthened to stop anti-immigrant views from being aired on television. The BBC's 'liberal' position was considered by activists to be a medium for the propagation of nazi propaganda (see Visual 7).

Secretary in his efforts to promote more effective anti-racist legislation.
(SILC30)

In addition to the posited relation between Nazism and the British state, John Reidford, Secretary of adopted the logic of ‘fear of racial revenge’:

Complacent attitudes to the integration of ethnic minorities as full British citizens will only lead to an upsurge in demands for confrontation. Recent American history has already shown that even by violence and confrontation limited advances are made. The capitalist system encourages racialism and only by socialist change will we improve the lot of all members of the working class. (SILC31)

Lack of integration leads to social disorder. Orchestrated by capitalism, the negative effect of racism can only be ameliorated by socialism. Those subject to racism should adopt the cause of socialism.

SILC’s campaigning increasingly led to closer collaboration with SCRC. At a CRC “conference for Scottish ethnic minority groups”, the aim of which was to discuss the Race Relations Bill, Mark Bonham Carter, Chairman of the CRC, made the point that ethnic minorities “should not be putting too much financial pressure on the government at this time of economic crisis”. SCRC Officer Mohammed Akram complained, “Not Good enough Mr Carter!” (SILC32). The criticism was in line with that of some members of SCRC, who, feeling increasingly frustrated at their constitutionally bound apolitical stance, began negotiations with SILC with a view to establishing an independent, politically motivated campaign group.

SILC had been arguing for the need to build a broad Scottish campaign against fascism at SCRC, who then held a meeting on 1st September to discuss the possibility with a number of organisations⁵⁵. Consequently, on 24th October SCRC held a “broad conference” on “The Dangers of Racialism” at Strathclyde University. The conference marked the establishment of Scotland’s first Campaign Against Racism (CAR) which was led by SCRC⁵⁶. In reference to the campaign, SCRC chairman, Reverend John Langdon, made

⁵⁵ The response was encouraging, with support for a Scottish conference on ‘The dangers of racism’ from the presbytery of Glasgow, Archbishop Winning, TGWU, GMWU, STUC, Yarrows Shopsteward’s Committee, Indian Workers Association, Glasgow District of the Communist Party, the Tory Party, the Liberal Party and the Labour Party.

⁵⁶ Geoff Shaw, Honorary President of the CRC, chaired. Maggie Osbourne from SILC and Walter Fyfe from CRC spoke at the conference, as did Amanda Schrire, a lawyer with the UK Immigrant Advisory Service;

the point that, “[o]ver the last ten years or so race relations in Scotland have been given the reputation of being good and that no real problems existed”. However, the campaign emerged “against a background of deteriorating race relations”. Langdon added that whilst “...we do not have the problems that tend to hit the headlines as in parts of England [] the National Front... are ever ready to stir up latent racialism” (SILC34). A phenomenon understood as ‘latent racism’, i.e. hidden within the thought processes of the unwitting subject perpetrator, can be preyed upon and turned into a more explicit force by the Right, thus leading to an escalation of ‘inter-racial’ conflict. This statement further symbolises the embryonic emergence of the idea that racism is falsely denied as a Scottish problem. But the representation incorporates a logic in keeping with the object-target of state-institutional anti-racism – the need to obviate inter-racial disorder.

The meeting coincided with a rise in the presence of the NF in England. On 3rd September the Labour Party NEC had called for a national campaign against racism. This was followed by a TUC resolution to “campaign against racism and racist organisations” (SILC35). The resolution was moved by Bill Keys of SOGAT, “a Union which has supported the work of SILC since the early days”, who argued, “for the campaign to include meetings, demonstrations and publicity with a possible national demonstration in Hyde Park in the autumn” (SILC35). Alex Watters, co-chairman of SILC, supported this motion, adding that “It is now up to each and every one of us to struggle and ensure that these motions are not just bits of paper. At all levels the fight must go on” (SILC35). On 11th September an anti-racist/fascist demonstration took place in Blackburn. SILC organised a delegation from UGATT, Yarrows Shopstewards, NUS, TGWU, Boilermakers and the IWA. The delegation received messages of support from Dennis Canavan, Lothian Community Relations Council, GDTC and Rolls Royce 1971 Ltd. Shopsteward’s committee⁵⁷.

Lord Avebury, Liberal peer; James Milne, General Secretary of STUC; Mohammad Akram from SCRC, and a delegate representing the Jewish Community. (SILC33)

⁵⁷ By early 1977 the Office Bearers of SILC were Alex Waters (Yarrows Shipyard), Gurdial Singh Soofi (IWA) and Mr Bashir (Secretary of Pakistan Social and Cultural Society) – Co-chairmen; Maggie Osbourne – Secretary; Rhadda Chetty – Assistant Secretary; Kathleen Smyth – Treasurer; Tom Allan – Editor. Honorary Auditors were Grant Thomson and Maureen Kilgour. Executive committee – Dr Huq, Bangladesh Association; Gurdev Dhesi IWA (Glasgow Branch); Iqbal Atwal, Glasgow Indian Students Association; John Sheridan, GDTC; Shaukat Hussain, Pakistan Social and Cultural Society; Puran Singh Pal, Pattra Singh Sabha; Peter Brandwood, CPSA; Jean Allan, Craigton Constituency Labour Party. New affiliates included:

On 12th May 1977 SILC held a public meeting where Maggie Osbourne (Chetty) reported back on her trip to India and Pakistan, which had been sponsored by Nadine Peppard of the CRC. The aim of this meeting was “to give Scottish Trade Unionists the chance to find out a bit more about the life and customs of their fellow workers who came originally from the Indian Sub-Continent” (SILC36). Mr Bashir, Secretary of Pakistan Social and Cultural Society, and Mr Soofi, IWA, received questions and commented “on statements about the background of Scottish Indian and Pakistan workers and their families”. Here we can see how the state-institutional body which Peppard represented pulls an influential activist into its orbit, thus facilitating the dissemination of a multiculturalist perspective to the labour movement. Such institutional networking paralleled the increasingly anti-fascist focus of Scottish-based activism.

In June, John Tyndall, NF organiser, gave a press conference in Edinburgh where he announced the NF’s intention to stand in a number of seats at the next general election. Two Edinburgh seats were named – Edinburgh Central and Edinburgh South – and confrontation was sparked when he later opened a new NF office in Edinburgh. Tyndall was physically assaulted by an anti-fascist activist and the incident gained prominent coverage in the Scottish press (SILC37). In response to the visit, CAR held a conference on 18th June, chaired by Archbishop Winning, Archdiocese of Glasgow⁵⁸. The conference passed a resolution calling on “councillors to refuse hall lets to the NF and all other racist organisations”. The reason given was that such organisations were a threat to democracy. Mrs Hamid, Convener of the Education sub-committee of SCRC “spoke on the root causes of racism in education”. Johnny Walker, Chairman of also spoke on the NF threat to working class solidarity and emphasised the role of the TU movement in combating this. Anne Dummett, *Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants*, spoke of the green paper on the proposed British Nationality Act, and the need “to oppose the undesirable parts of the paper”. A resolution was passed on the letting of halls to the NF, repeal of the 1971 Act and opposition to the proposed British Nationality Act on the basis that it continued the “racialist elements” of the 1971 Act (SILC38).

NUJ Glasgow Branch; NALGO Glasgow Branch; Glasgow Indian Students’ Union; South Edinburgh Constituency Labour Party. (SILC35)

⁵⁸ 45 organisations were in attendance, as were some 150 delegates. These included the Presbytery of Glasgow, NUM, AUEW, NALGO, CPSA, Yarrow’s Shopstewards Committee, Scotstoun Marine Shopstewards’ Committee, NAME, and student representative organisations. (SILC37)

On 1st August SILC started a campaign promoting the following slogan: “No hall lets or facilities to National Front”. On 17th August a delegation of CAR met with the Lord Provost of Glasgow, to “urge no hall lets for National Front”. It was claimed that the NF’s continued attempts to build a base in Edinburgh was the cause of growing Trade Union attendance at SILC and CAR meetings. That week, General Secretary of the STUC, James Milne, sent a letter to SILC outlining details of a resolution passed by the 80th Annual Congress of the STUC opposing all “racialist propaganda” (SILC39). NALGO sent a letter to Glasgow City Council Lord Provost and all District councillors attacking the decision to let halls to the National Front. The consequence of this lobbying was that in June 1977 Glasgow City Labour Party agreed to oppose hall lets to the National Front. Following this decision, West Lothian District Council also took the “decision to ban the National Front from public halls in the District”. Visual 8 indicates that this outcome was obviously a cause for much celebration, representing as it did a core element of Scottish-based anti-racist campaigning.

Visual 8: N. Flash



Source: *Equality*, 1977, 11: 18

In October, Maggie Osbourne and Rhadda Chetty spoke at AUEW (TASS) weekend school, and the inaugural conference of the Scottish Council of Liberation was held at Strathclyde University Union⁶⁰. Topics included “Southern Africa, the Middle East, Racism and Fascism in Britain”. A further meeting was held on 20th October in order “to discuss some of the key questions facing the campaign to isolate the racists and build

⁶⁰ On 23rd May a meeting organised by SILC, and attended by Tony Gilbert, now General Secretary of the organisation Liberation, infamous for his anti-fascist activities at Cable Street, took place at Glasgow Trades Union Centre. The aim of the meeting was to set up a Scottish Council of ‘Liberation’ (SILC40).

solidarity in the Trade Union and Labour Movement”⁶⁰. On 2nd November Osbourne and Chetty spoke on ‘racialism’ at Irvine Trades Council where a resolution was passed urging Cunningham District Council to refuse hall lets and facilities to the NF. On 8th November Osbourne spoke at a Communist Party Branch public meeting at Glasgow College of Technology, and on 14th November Osbourne, R. Chetty and Watters spoke at Law Labour Party Branch⁶¹. SILC’s’ anti-racism was reaching a wider audience.

From 1977 onwards, SILC solicited increasing contacts with political elites. In an article titled ‘Socialism versus Racialism’, published in the 10th edition of *Equality*, Labour MP for West Stirlingshire Dennis Canavan made the case for the ‘incompatibility’ between ‘socialism and racialism’ (SILC42):

Real socialism is not confined by any boundaries, whether artificial or geographical or ethnical. Socialism is about equal rights the world over and as such there is no compromise between socialism and racialism. The two are absolutely incompatible in concept and in practice. Socialism is of its nature universal, unifying and constructive; racialism is of its nature chauvinistic, divisive and destructive. That is why the Labour Party and the Labour Government should give top priority to the campaign against racialism...

The object target is here being constructed as universally predicated equal rights – a moral good – which the Labour government should aim toward realising. ‘Racialism’ is antithetical to the realisation of such a project. In the following stanza the subject perpetrator is being constructed.

It is surely the most irrational of acts for one human being to judge another on a superficiality like the pigmentation of the skin. This is the illogicality of many racials. Their ambivalence is such that they deplore the “mass immigration” of coloured Commonwealth citizens, yet the same people will talk about our moral obligation to welcome white Rhodesians into this country when that racist regime is about to fall, as inevitably it must, The “Kith and Kin” argument is apparently only skin deep.

⁶⁰ Speakers included Tony Gilbert, Liberation; John Reidford, Secretary of GDTC; Charan Athwal, Secretary IWA, and John McFadden Secretary of NALGO Glasgow branch (SILC41)

⁶¹ By the end of 1977 the following organisations had newly affiliated to SILC – Tayside Community Relations Council; Scotstoun Marine Shopsteward’s Committee; Scottish District Council, Nalگو; Kelvingrove Constituency Labour Party; Langside College Students Union; Aberdeen District Trades Council; AUEW (TASS) Hillington Branch; Glasgow District Branch; Lothian Community Relations Council; Mitchell Library. (SILC40)

The subject perpetrator of racism is 'irrational'. The claims of subject perpetrators are therefore morally 'illogical'.

Racialism as a Political weapon

Racialism as a political weapon is nothing new. Throughout the history of mankind, it has been used as a force to divide and rule, and it is a weapon which is particularly powerful in times of economic depression. Faced with raging inflation and soaring unemployment, Hitler blamed the Jews. There is a tendency now for people to use the coloured population as a scapegoat.

'Racialism' is a universal problem whose specificity in any historical juncture is related to the group targeted. The immorality of racism is reinforced via the memory of Holocaust. Racism is a diversionary tactic used as a rationalisation of the unequal distribution of resources – a rationalisation which appeals to the 'jealous' working class subject.

Faced with a shortage of jobs, a shortage of houses, and a shortage of essential facilities in health and education, too many people give in to the temptation of putting the blame on overcrowding caused by our coloured immigrant population. Yet the truth of the matter is that there are more people leaving the country than coming in. In 1975, there were 230,000 emigrants compared with only 190,000 immigrants. Most of that 190,000 were white immigrants from the EEC and other countries such as the USA. The number of Commonwealth immigrants was only 312,000, and even that figure would include white immigrants from Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Blaming immigrants ties the 'jealous' subject perpetrator to Nazism. Blaming migrants has no objective basis. It is predicated on the signification of phenotype and the erroneous pairing of such to distributional concerns.⁶² However, Canavan's argument, like that of Milne's earlier, does not defeat the 'what if?' argument; that is, '*what if* there were more people in need of welfare services wanting to get in?'

Social diseases

It is still too early to measure the success or otherwise of the 1976 Act but even its most fervent supporters would have to admit that, of itself, it cannot solve the problems of racialism. Racialism is like a cancer which thrives on the multiple

⁶² The argument being adopted here does not challenge the logic of immigration control. The 'need' for control takes its justification from the question 'what if?'

deprivation caused by soaring unemployment, slum housing conditions, poor health facilities, and lack of educational opportunities. Racism is a symptom of these social diseases and only when we effectively tackle the root cause of the disease, will the symptom vanish.

Racism is caused by the malignancy of poverty which can only be 'cured' by anti-poverty measures. 'Deprivation' is caused by the free-market. Legal sanctions cannot in and of themselves provide sufficient respite. Only socialism can provide such measures and the vehicle for achieving this is the labour movement.

Socialist cure

Which brings me back to where I started. The only way to tackle these problems effectively is by socialist policies and that is why it is all the more important for the entire Labour and Trade Union movement to continue the fight for socialism. The campaign against racism is an integral part of that fight.

Socialism, predicated on the equal distribution of resources, is racism's 'antidote'.

SILC's 11th publication of *Equality* marks a consolidation and movement of position toward an increasingly social-patriotic line, enjoying the support of growing trade union affiliation (see visuals 9 and 10).

Visual 9: Social Patriots

EQUALITY

Number **11** **10p**

Publication of the SCOTTISH IMMIGRANT LABOUR COUNCIL (S.I.L.C.)

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE S.T.U.C.
AFFIRMS ITS SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIALISM IN SCOTLAND AND TOTAL OPPOSITION TO ALL RACIALIST ORGANISATIONS SUCH AS THE NATIONAL FRONT.


GLASGOW DISTRICT TRADES COUNCIL EXECUTIVE
EXPRESSES SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIALISM IN SCOTLAND.

JOHN BROWN ENGINEERING SHOP-STEWARDS' COMMITTEE
OPPOSES RACIALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS AND SUPPORTS THE WORK OF S.I.L.C.

EDINBURGH AND DISTRICT TRADES COUNCIL
UTTERLY OPPOSES THE DIVISIVE AND ANTI WORKING CLASS POLICIES OF THE NATIONAL FRONT AND CALLS ON ALL TRADE UNIONISTS TO JOIN THE FIGHT FOR A JUST MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY.


SCOTSTOUN MARINE SHOP-STEWARD'S COMMITTEE
OPPOSES HALL LETS OR FACILITIES FOR THE NATIONAL FRONT OR LIKE ORGANISATIONS.

FASCISM — THEN AND NOW



1935 — 1945 — 1977

Visual 10: Patriotic Affront

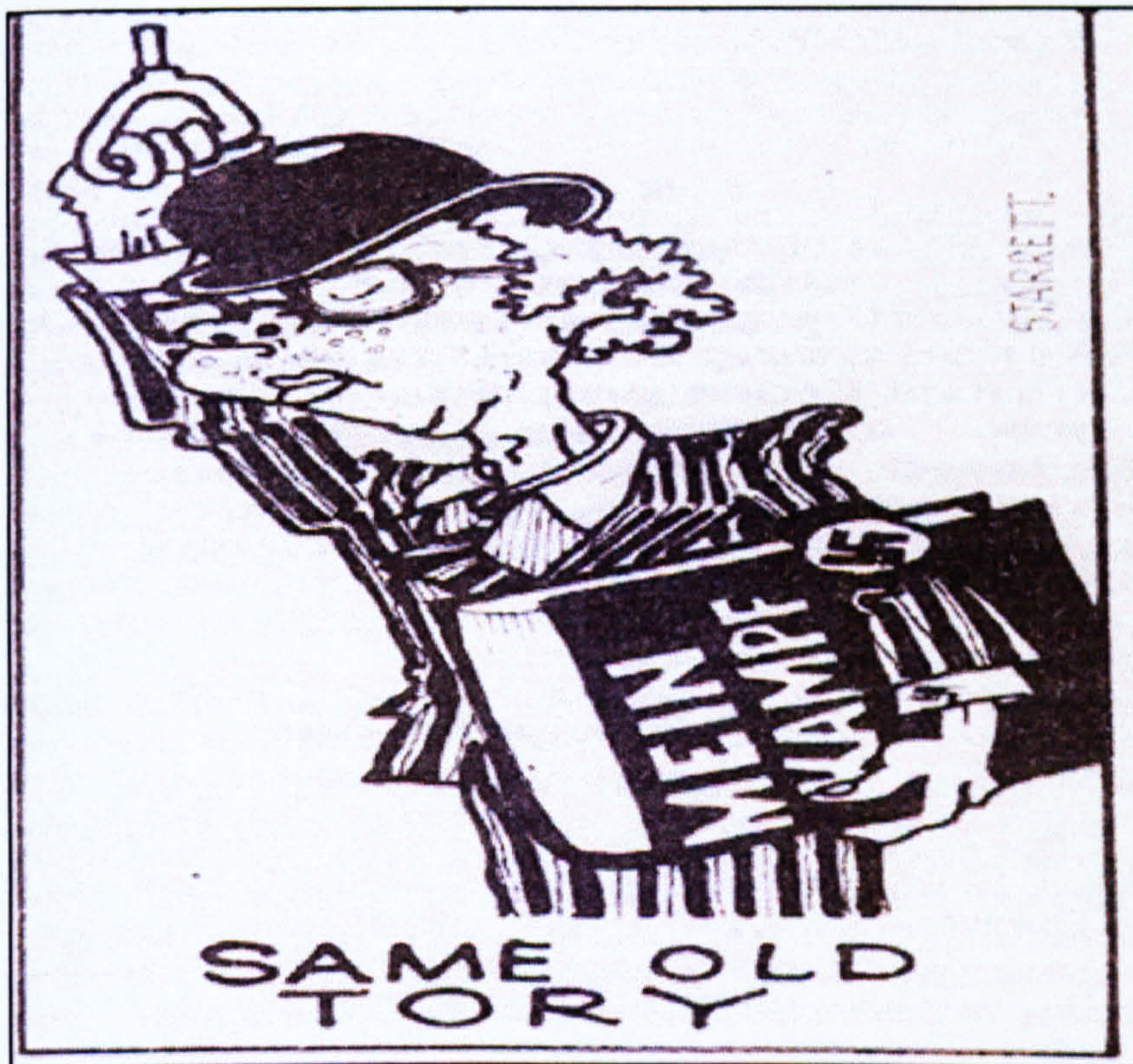


Source. *Equality* 1977, 11: 1 and 9

The rise of, and support for, the NF in England is being linked to anti-patriotism and the immorality associated with not respecting the sacrifice of WW2 by so many against Hitler's nazis. What is crucial here is that the NF presence, whilst of significance in England, was negligible in Scotland. Furthermore, the relative absence of an NF presence was considered to be a result of the actions of anti-racists. Such representations mark the seminal influence of 'Englishness as racist' in the Scottish anti-racist imaginary.

Additionally, the absence of any significant electoral support for the Conservative Party, and the overwhelming support for the Labour Party in Scotland, inevitably gave the impression that Toryism, linked to the English electorate, had accounted for the electoral profile of the NF in England. Thus, Nazism paired with Englishness is combined with the British ruling aristocracy embodied in the subject of 'Little England Toryism'. Visual 11 illustrates an 'English upper class Nazi' pulling the 'lavvy' chain on the post-war welfare settlement.

Visual 11: Tory English Nazi



Source. *Equality* 1978, 12: 12

The above visual was followed by an article titled 'No Immigration'.

Nobody has expressed support more clearly than Tory Cllr. Alan Fearn who, on August 8 last year wrote in the local paper “An Indian will always be an Indian, an Englishman will always be an Englishman. If an English couple go to Peking and have a baby it isn’t Chinese. I want to reassert the magnificent attributes of our English society and to do this we must say, in the interests of all, no more immigration whatsoever”. (SILC43)

In targeting such opinions, racism, through its association with Fascism, was linked to Englishness rather than Scottishness. However, the latter, not being immune to subversion by the influence of the NF, would need to be ‘ever vigilant’. This need for vigilance can only be understood within the context set by the post-war welfare settlement, which had laid the foundation for improvements in the living conditions of the British working classes. To support a Nazi position was therefore to oppose the welfare consensus built on the back of Nazi defeat. The rise of NF electoral support in England therefore represented an attack on the post-war welfare consensus. It is difficult to escape the conclusion drawn inexorably from the empirical absence of Nazis in Scotland – that racism was a problem of Englishness. Maggie Chetty confirmed this impression⁶³,

There’s no doubt about it... when I look at specific instances such as the question of immigration, or the Silver Jubilee in English towns, I get a sense of a different kind of approach to the monarchy or a more sympathetic approach to the monarchy which I think ties people to a less developed political awareness. I’m not saying that you don’t get sympathy for the monarchy in Scotland, but you never see quite that same rash of activity. Equally at the time of the Falklands war when the ships came back, and Thatcher, and really manufactured welcoming ceremonies and that kind of thing, huge swathes of red-white-and-blue, you saw the jingoism which I think is still in the bedrock of working class ideology in England. I don’t think that jingoism is present in the same way, and I do think it ties up, the formulation that we had at that stage in the Communist Party was that, you know we would say things like ‘racists are not always fascists but fascists are always racists’. The whole notion of the Scots, not being disassociated from imperialism because clearly we were as soldiers and missionaries etc etc, but the Scots were junior partners in the ‘great imperial adventure’, and I think to some extent that crystallises some of the difference.

Qu. It does strike me that anti-racism in Scotland tied itself to a sense of Scottishness?

⁶³ Interview with Maggie Chetty conducted on 24/04/04.

Ans. Yes.

Qu. Which is a curious combination when you think that pro-Scottishness targeted Englishness

Ans. Yes.

Qu. Anti-racism being tied to pro-Scottishness makes anti-racism anti-English – that's a difficult one to unravel

Ans. I was thinking about this, yesterday being St. Georges Day. We kept a very very close eye on the National Front, because we saw them as the spawn of imperialism, the ways in which imperialism promoted and continued to recreate ideas within the working class. You know people like Lady Birdwood and some of the kind of posh elements in the fascist movement were really quite smart in the way they got a hold of anniversaries like St. Georges day, and because of that whole jingoistic background and concept of Englishness, Englishness and Empire, St. George's Day became a fascist celebration. So to see it now being slightly liberated from that as a consequence of Scottish devolution and new formulations... If you're watching Last Night at the Proms and you're seeing this sea of red-white-and-blue and these middle-class, mostly white people, bouncing up and down to pomp and circumstance, that for most Scottish people is a revolting sight, singing Land of Hope and Glory, Mother of the Free. I think a lot of English people don't understand why that is so revolting to Scottish people and I think it's because of the way those ideas are interlocked into Empire, and a certain element of fascist organisations, but also that whole notion of a 'master-race' 'subject-race' issue. It's just very very different, I think, for Scottish people. I think notions around identity are much more tied into a kind of patriotic pride which is quite powerful, and quite moving, as opposed to a sense of racial superiority, or National superiority.

This position is reflected in an article written for *Equality* in 1977 by the then prospective SNP parliamentary candidate for Garscadden, Keith Bovey (SILC44),

The first thing to strike a Scottish Nationalist about the National Front is that the tag is a misnomer. There are four nations, not one, in the United Kingdom. To the charge that this is a doctrinal point, I answer that the Front feeds on the post-imperial pan-British nostalgia which Scottish Nationalism has done most to expose and dispel. When SNP leads month after month in the opinion polls it is apparent that the Scottish people are increasingly regaining self-confidence. Illusions of grandeur and influence, membership of the nuclear club, memories of the Raj, fear of over-population are among the syndromes which cut less ice north of the border. Hence the stony ground for the Front's seeds, producing the stark contrast between Birmingham where the Front beats the Liberals into fourth place and Dundee where the only Front candidate in the country has scratched.

Here, the 'Scottish nation' is being constructed as antithetical to Britishness, deemed to be predicated on the rise of imperialism. Scottishness is not a product of imperialism and therefore cannot by association be racist. Racism is thus completely merged with the presence or absence of the NF. The electoral profile of the NF in England therefore gives sustenance to the view that, in comparison with Scottishness, English identity is tied to Empire.

The Front's assiduous inspiration of fear in the minds of credulous and ill-informed listeners receives a check when its audience is experiencing an upsurge of morale, higher expectations and new challenges to latent capacity for enterprise and government.. A generation which finds it increasingly instructive to look across the North Sea rather than the Cheviots for precepts and example will inevitably find racialism not only offensive but irrelevant. And this doubly so when, even in the all-British period, race relations in Scotland, reflecting no-doubt a national characteristic of tolerance and absence of the assumptions of racial superiority which best so much of the English ethos, are immeasurably better than south of the border in general.

The profile of the NF is linked to 'morale': low morale facilitates the promotion of 'fear' upon which the NF capitalises. Additionally, the absence of 'inter-racial tensions' in Scotland 'even in the all-British period' in itself demonstrates the progressive nature of Scottishness. A higher voter turn-out for the SNP therefore provides a gauge of the 'nation's morale' and by association the inability of the NF to capitalise on fear.

In support of this point, Bovey quotes Tyndal,

"We are absolutely and passionately opposed to everything the Scottish National Party stands for" expostulated Tyndall. No wonder, for we stand for equality before the law, immigration control without reference to colour or creed, respect for minorities, and for bringing to bear on our population all the civilising processes that a highly-developed educational system can exert. True, one has to reckon with the rise of fascism in Germany and the failure of the German people, however civilised, effectively to oppose Hitler. I look to the SNP's policy of proposing a written constitution for Scotland as a source of strength in this connection. Two excerpts may be quoted "Everyone permanently resident in Scotland at the date of Independence shall have the right to stay in Scotland as long as he or she wishes, even if he or she does not take up Scottish citizenship", and "Fundamental rights and liberties of all citizens and all persons within the jurisdiction of the Scottish Courts shall be guaranteed without discrimination on any grounds such as sex, race, colour, religion, personal beliefs or status; the rights and liberties guaranteed shall be the same as those contained in the European Convention on Human Rights, except in so far as the legal and social traditions of Scotland justify a more extensive protection of rights.

Here Bovey attempts to square the tension between particularism and universalism in favour of the former, whose Scottish specificity appeals to the latter for justification. The latter in this instance is European and Enlightened. However, there is defensiveness on the subject of Holocaust. Scottish nationalism is therefore defined in opposition to English particularism, which through association with Britishness, carved via Empire and the subjugation of particularism, the 'Nazi' NF wishes to preserve.

Taking the risk that an expression of confidence will attract the reproach of complacency, and making more than a formal nod in the direction of eternal vigilance, I conclude that the Scottish nation is a healthy organism well stocked with antibodies to racist poison, and that the Scottish state after Independence can and will exemplify racial harmony so complete that a Front man will be a desert snowball.

An independent Scottish state will be better placed to manage particularism because Scottishness does not define its superiority against the particularisms of the oppressed. Rather, the inherent benevolence of Scottish particularism, because it is forged in antithesis to Imperialism, is what demarcates it as a superior form of national identification. The subject perpetrator of racism is therefore Englishness. The subject target is non-English particularism, and specifically that which has been subjugated by British imperialism. The Scottish nation is therefore identified with an oppressed nation which takes solidarity with the particularism of other oppressed nations against the oppressor. The object target in this explanatory is therefore Scottish independence or liberation from the 'imperialist English'.

By this time SILC had come to the attention of prominent Scottish-based Labour Party officials:

...as you are well aware, we are in support of all that SILC is attempting to achieve and I would be grateful therefore if it would be possible for us to send an observer to your AGM. If that is possible, and if we could have observer status at future meetings, our representative would be J. McCafferty. He is a member of the Scottish Executive and he will be able to let us know about your activities. – Helen Liddell, Scottish Secretary of the Labour Party (SILC45)

On 8th September 1979 a 'Scottish Conference on Labour Movement Unity Against Racism' was held in order to 'Oppose Racist Immigration and Nationality laws'. Speakers included Jack Dromey, Secretary South East Region TUC; Anne Dummet, ACIN and Naranjan Singh Noor, President IWA GB. The aim of the conference was to,

strengthen and renew the fight to unite our movement against racialism and to draw to the attention of the movement the attempts which will be made by this viciously anti-working class Tory government to divide the working class on the questions of Immigration laws and Nationality proposals next year.

Conference stated that,

The present 1971 Immigration Act has proved itself to be extremely racist and anti-working class with its patriality clauses guaranteeing ease of entrance to the mostly all white 'patrials' and humiliations, harassment and difficulties for the so-called 'non-patrials', largely from the Asian sub-continent and the Caribbean. We can be certain that the Tories have something even worse than the 1971 Act up their sleeves to try and weaken and divide our movement. This is why we must begin to prepare our offensive now, to ensure that our black brothers and sisters will not be used as scapegoats for the failures of British Capitalism. (SILC46)

On 11th December the Scottish Council for Racial Equality was established. Its *raison d'être* was that "Scotland could be on the verge of serious race problems", its aim "to prevent the burgeoning racial tensions...there is an urgent need for more multi-cultural activities in schools" (SILC46). Thus, a 'race-relations problem' was gradually being elevated onto the Scottish agenda. The object target, to avoid 'inter-racial disorder', required the purported 'cure': 'respect for cultural difference'. The subject perpetrator is disrespectful of the 'cultural origins' of the subject target. Cultural particularism is deemed to be crucial to the constitution of human subjects. Thus, the universalist basis of modern resistance was gradually being replaced by the stasis of the particular. Such an argument could never hope to circumvent the logic of British social policy on immigration, which was predicated on obviating 'inter-racial' disorder.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored in depth the embryonic formation of the placing of racism on the public agenda in Scotland via a detailed historical recovery of the interplay between two key Scottish-based anti-racist organisations which emerged in the 1970s – SCRC and SILC. Whilst organising at a local level, the formation of both emanated from within the logic of the post-war welfare consensus – that civil order required the regulation of 'black' migration. The former significantly employed the rationale underpinning the establishment of organisations set up with direct state-sponsorship – to oversee the integration of migrants in such a way which stopped their presence from culminating in 'inter-racial' disorder. Thus, the fear of 'racial' revenge, emanating from British ruling elites, filtered

through the emerging 60s 'race-relations' infrastructure, its tentacles reaching to the heart of the Scottish context. Such was the extent of elite fear that state-regulation was extended even in a social context where overt signs of 'racial revenge' were absent. SILC, on the other hand, emerged with a 'class-focus', seeking to protect the welfare benefits of the British working class against the ruling-elite's use of racism as a divisive mechanism. Whilst an explicit aim was that of attacking 'racially' discriminatory legislation, this would always be a secondary consideration to the needs of the post-war welfarist class compromise.

Through an elaboration of their mutual links and developing networks, I have demonstrated that representations of 'racism' emanating from this decade of activism incorporated a logic which underpins the typification of racism as a social problem in Scotland. But, contra Dunlop's assertion that anti-racist mobilisation emanated in large part from the 'white left', a closer look at SILC affiliations and networks indicates considerable involvement by 'non-white' migrant groups. It is at worst untrue and at best a little myopic to suggest that SILC was 'white'. The involvement of the IWA and a number of, albeit smaller-scale, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi organisations renders the historical record more complex. That access of such organisations to the labour movement was widened by SILC cannot be questioned, and indeed the growing affiliation lists of Unions, trades councils, political groupings and other cultural formations is in itself a testament to the tenacity of SILC's network-building. It is clear however that SILC shared much of the presuppositions of SCRC. The influence of building inter-cultural awareness through education is a key link which brought SCRC, SILC and the CRE together. We are fortunate here in being able to interview Maggie Chetty, an educationalist, and a key player in both SILC and SCRC formations. Chetty embodies the subjective link between the state's institutional perspective and that of anti-racist political action in Scotland. Indeed, as will become apparent in Chapters Four and Five, she remained a key player in Scottish-based state-institutional anti-racism over the next two decades, her organisational commitments providing key typificatory strands in the Scottish anti-racist imaginary.

By the end of the 1970s, racism was being typified as a legacy of empire and by association, of British- (aka 'English'-) led imperialism. The combination of this legacy, together with the abhorrent discriminatory and anti-working class laws such as the Immigration Act and the Industrial Relations Act, had apparently led to the rise of the

National Front. For the 'broad anti-racist' alliance, it was the dubious policies of the British government that had led to such a 'National Affront' – fascism became a problem instigated by a declining imperialist British government. As Scotland had never had a 'real say' in this matter, but had itself been 'victim' of Empire, instigated by the 'un-Scottish capitalist class', the job of keeping Scotland anti-fascist was to be the job of a broad anti-fascist front. In effect, and in support of Gilroy's thesis, racism came to be considered as a problem related to the absence or presence of fascists, the former being 'true' in Scotland, the latter in England. Moreover, that electoral support for the Conservative Party remained extremely low in Scotland compared with England provided empirical validity for the ideological merging of Englishness, Toryism and Nazism as perpetrator. Consequently, Englishness was paired with Toryism, was paired with nazism, all of which came to inform the public definition of racism. This lent itself to the understanding that there was something intrinsically anti-racist about Scottishness which contrasted with the racism inherent in Englishness: the source of racism, a foreign disease which could be fought via an appeal to patriotism. However, such 'anti-racist' responses continued to leave untouched the logic that immigration controls were necessary. This support continued despite anti-fascist protest against the 'racial' element incorporated within immigration legislation. Thus, particularism was being elevated at the expense of concrete universalism.

In essence, Britishness was being cast as immoral via its association with nazism. It increasingly became the call of Scottish based anti-racists to re-claim Scotland from the fascists. Embroiled in this ideological construction, the definition of racism was being shaped as an English phenomenon, of which the absence of fascists was the clearest sign. At the same time, whilst Anti-Nazism had fused with anti-racism in playing an integral role in resistance to the National Front in England, its development in Scotland met the nationalist cause – 'Radical Nationalist Scotland' - and would form the embryonic construction of a 'proud anti-fascist tradition'. Immigrant welfare associations were increasingly being forced to play a moral card against the ill-treatment of racialised migrants. Because of the inability of the wider movement to significantly challenge that which gave respectability to the view that immigration was a problem – protection of the welfare rights of British workers - the overt and visible characteristics of racism were challenged without altering the institutional predicate that legitimated the targeting of the racialised subject – the 'indefensibility of integration without limitation'. It was immoral to be a Nazi, but this did not stretch to the root of the matter – that racism existed and was

experienced by racialised groups living in Scotland. A tension was thus instituted in trying to accommodate a 'proud tradition' with the contradictory experience of racialised groups. Immigration Acts remained untouched, the 1976 Race Relations Act pressed home the idea that 'racial' interaction needed to be regulated, and the Thatcher government was about to introduce the most racist piece of Nationality Legislation in British history – the 1981 British Nationality Act. As is demonstrated in the following chapter, it is within this tension that 'black self-organisation' in Scotland began to emerge.

Chapter 4: Anti-Racist Claimsmaking and the Thatcherite Imaginary

4.1 Introduction

There are five ‘developments’ of significance to the typification of racism as a social problem in Scotland during the 1980s, four of which occurred in Scotland. 1. The ‘sack Sheriff Middleton campaign’; 2. the formation of an annual St Andrew’s Day anti-racist/fascist demonstration; 3. the establishment of Strathclyde Multi-Racial Action Year; and 4. the development of closer links between the STUC and anti-racist groups. The fifth ‘development’, occurring ‘externally’ to Scotland but exerting an influence on the Scottish social-historical imaginary, corresponds to inner-city uprisings in England and the relationship between Scottish-based anti-racist mobilisation, local authorities and UK Government Central Office which developed in response.

In this chapter I build on two observations. The first alludes to Dunlop’s observation that it was not until the 1980s that ‘black’ self-organisation began to emerge in Scotland. The second follows from Miles and Muirhead’s observation that “there is evidence that such a process may now be beginning” (1986a: 128). This evidence refers to a process of racialisation occurring due to the appearance in Scotland of the National Socialist Party, the National Front and the British National Party; higher reporting of racist incidents; and the waning of a “radical, nationalist solution to economic and social decline” (1986a: 129). Building on findings from Chapter Three, in particular the revelation that the so-called ‘radical nationalist solution’ actually helped keep racism off the agenda through its role in specifically shaping the problem of racism as a consequence of right-wing ‘English Toryism’, in this chapter I take a much closer look at anti-racist mobilisation in Scotland in the 1980s, resituating institutional developments in the wider socio-political context of the Scottish contribution to British ‘race-relations’.

4.2 Consensus in Transition

As was the case across the UK, the 'Brixton riots' in April 1981 and the later deliberations of Lord Scarman received widespread media coverage in Scotland⁶⁴. To recall an infamous BBC TV news-broadcast of 11th April by Gavin Hewitt:

There is official bewilderment as to how a riot on this scale occurred. For nearly six hours last night police struggled to retain control of Brixton's decaying streets, their antagonists were 5 or 6 hundred, mainly black teenagers, whose fury, it appears, was aimed primarily at authority, but in the end it was vented on the buildings of their own community. It was one of the worst riots seen in Britain[]

What has caused concern was how a routine police inquiry was interpreted as police aggression and the speed with which Molotov Cocktails had been prepared. It has led senior officers to suggest that the trouble had been planned by outside agitators; an analysis bitterly rejected by community leaders.

These riots once again expose a dilemma facing the police. Their presence in a largely black community is often resented as a symbol of white authority, yet to withdraw as they were frequently urged to last night is to abandon the community to crime and that is something they're not prepared to do, and so the gulf between the largely black community and the mainly white police force grows, and these events over the last 24 hours have only added to that mistrust. But what has startled the police is how one minor incident, such as also happened at St. Pauls Bristol can lead to this explosion of anger (TV1).

It is within this historical context, where apparently "a minor incident ... can lead to an explosion of anger", that we must situate events in Scotland that came to be known as 'Middleton'.

On 22nd April 1981, little more than a week after Brixton, the *Daily Record* reported: "A row flared last night over a Sheriff's decision in a teenage sex case" (NS3). Sheriff Francis Middleton had the previous day ruled that Stewart Ritchie, a 27 year old shipyard worker, had been fined £750 for "having unlawful sex with a 13 year old girl", "but because the girl was Asian" Middleton had "ruled that having sex with her was just an 'indiscretion'". The paper reported from court proceedings. Middleton had said "Girls mature much earlier in the East. Until recently marriages were arranged at a very early age. In the form of

⁶⁴ See *The Herald* April 13 1981, Pg. 1, *Tensions in the sunshine and Violence flares again in Brixton*, and Pg. 6, *Brixton: the reasons behind the riots*. See also *The Herald* November 3 1981, Pg. 3, *Change urged on police Complaints*, and *The Herald* November 9 1981, Pg. 6, *Scooping Scarman*.

marriage which takes place there, intercourse occurs before the marriage. This may have predisposed her to this action". Martin MacEwan, secretary of the Scottish Council for Racial Equality, responded: "I am flabbergasted by the Sheriff's comments. I would be surprised if he had any profound knowledge of Eastern Attitudes on which to base his judgement". Walter Fyfe, Senior Community Relations Officer (CRO) with SCRC added, "I don't believe all the stories people put around that young folk mature much earlier. There are 20,000 Asian people in Glasgow. I think they would be horrified that the law of the land should be different for them. I would certainly not like to think that the many thousands of young women of Asian background should be regarded as in any way different from young people of the same age and sex". The *Daily Record's* Editorial commented, "many immigrant families will be angered by contentious comments on Asian girls by Sheriff Francis Middleton... In our eyes, sex between a mature adult and a girl of 13 can never be regarded as an 'indiscretion'". The story was carried across the UK. On the same day the Daily Mirror reported "A man who had sex with a girl of 13 escaped jail yesterday... because the girl is Asian". According to the paper, "the man... was told 'normally' he would have gone to prison". The report added an extra quotation from court proceedings: "It would be most unfortunate," Middleton said to the accused, "if your future life were to be destroyed because of this indiscretion. That's all it was, you were both willing parties" (NS3). The Sheriff's comments did indeed raise indignation from 'Asian people'.

On Saturday 24th April, SCRC Chairman Reverend John Langdon, received a phone call from two SCRC executive members suspicious of an SCRC cover-up. Langdon wrote of their concerns to an SCRC administrator:

Mr Kohli and Charan Athwall⁶⁵ rang me last night about the case of an Asian 13 year old who had been involved in an under-age sexual intercourse case... They objected to remarks made by the Judge which were atrocious. Apparently a report appeared in the Daily Record... with a comment by Walter [Fyfe]. Both the callers wanted to know

Why Walter had not mentioned it, and

⁶⁵ Charan Athwall, Secretary Indian Workers Association, Glasgow Branch. Mr Kholi, Chair Strathclyde Indian Association.

Why it was not brought up at the Executive meeting.

I was unable to answer these questions other than to say that I knew nothing of the case.[] I would be grateful if you could get in touch with Walter in any way so that I can put his side of the story. (SCRC4)

Subsequently, “arrangements” were to be made “for a special meeting”. However, the planned meeting was overtaken by events, for that same weekend there emerged the independently organised Scottish Asian Action Committee (SAAC).

On 30th April *The Herald* (NS4) reported that Middleton’s “...alleged remarks angered many Asians in the West of Scotland. At the weekend a meeting was held in Glasgow where community leaders banded themselves into the Scottish Asian Action Committee with the specific aim of campaigning for Sheriff Middleton’s dismissal”. SAAC member Hanif Rajah, also general secretary of the Pakistani Co-operative Society, said, “...these remarks are too much to take and are a slight on the Asian Community”. Another SAAC member Zahur Ahmed, commented: “we noted with grave concern that his remarks, implying that to have sex with an underage Asian girl is only an ‘indiscretion,’ are derogatory and discriminatory against the Asian community”. SAAC’s formation elicited reaction from Middleton who took the unprecedented step of publicly responding:

As I understand it, what appears to have disturbed the community is that a more lenient view appeared to them to have been taken of the accused []. That I can assure them is far from the case. The accused had no previous convictions of any kind, he was a tradesman with an unbroken record of employment, an intelligent man of apparently good social background. The girl was described as bold and unrepentant. Her passport was said to have been forfeited and I understood she was to be returned to her country of origin. These were factors that I could not in justice ignore (NS5).

To his invocation of cultural particularism as justification for his verdict, the Sheriff now added the girl’s second-class nationality status. Outraged, SAAC wrote to Scotland’s Lord Advocate James Mackay and Secretary of State George Younger to demand Middleton’s removal, adding “if nothing is done about the Sheriff and his racist judgement not only will this create a precedent, but also black people in this country will have little regard for the laws of the land in general” (SCRC5), thereby implicitly connecting their claim to ‘Brixton’, and the fears of elites.

SAAC also reported Middleton to the CRE. The question for state-institutional anti-racism, however, was that the perception of injustice would damage 'race-relations'. On 12th May the CRE in London received a separate complaint about the court proceedings from a Dr Tarkunde of Fortis Green, London. Referring to the Daily Mirror article, a copy of which he enclosed with his complaint, he made the point that, "the news, if true, is disturbing. I thought once one was in this country, the law is applied impartially to everybody in the same way and not according to which country one came from [] I wonder if you would like to take this matter further...." (SCRC6). Diane Gerrard of the CRE subsequently forwarded the complaint to Walter Fyfe, stating

Dr Tarkunde is, rightly to my mind, concerned about the discriminatory effects on the administration of law which such reasoning may have. [] If this report is an accurate account of proceedings, then this *could seem* like a crude example of just what misconceptions about racial behaviour and characteristics may be providing the basis for judgements in some of our courts. I hope it is clear our concern is not about the outcome of the case, but rather the way in which the sheriff arrived at that decision. May I leave this with you to deal with as you consider appropriate. (SCRC7; italics added)

Whilst Gerrard states that the CRE is not "concerned" with "the outcome of the case", the outcome referred to being the judicial decision, it is clear that the CRE's concern was that British law "would seem" 'racially' discriminatory. Given that the Brixton riots were widely hailed as being caused by 'black' resentment against the forces of British law and order, such a conclusion would have to be obviated in this case if a similar outcome was to be avoided. Returning a copy of the *Daily Record* report, Fyfe assured Gerrard, "you will see that we did make a comment on this at the time". Not only that, states Fyfe, "but a very vigorous campaign is now being mounted to have Sheriff Middleton dismissed because of the attitude he took on the racist and sexist aspects of the statements in Court". Failing to mention that it was SAAC who initiated proceedings, he continued, "we have informed the Lord Advocate's office and an enquiry is now being held into this matter. I have made it quite clear to Sheriff Middleton that the whole community is appalled at the suggestion that there may be a different attitude according to the national background of the victim" (SCRC8).

Although emerging initially out of ‘the Middleton Affair’, SAAC was a 22-member committee⁶⁶ of elected representatives who shared the following wider objectives, posing a direct challenge to the position of SCRC:

A) to organise the people of Asian origin in Scotland through their constituent organisations to safeguard their interests and improve their living and working conditions, and

1. Make representations on behalf of the Asian communities.
2. Promote through special committees or sponsored organisations activities beneficial to people of Asian origin.
3. Keep the people of Scotland informed about the views of people of Asian origin.
4. Assist and publicise the activities and co-operate with other organisations when necessary.
5. Liaise with other organisations of similar interests.

B) Support the people and organisations in this country and in any country in the world who are fighting for equal rights and opportunities. (SCRC9)

Whilst universal rights are appealed to, SAAC’s remit was ‘Asian-specific’; its formation included a dynamic which would initially put it to some extent at odds with the state-institutional anti-racist network established over the previous two decades. It was therefore important for SCRC to be involved with SAAC, so as to steer it in a ‘legitimate’ campaigning direction. On 31st May the ‘Sack Sheriff Middleton Campaign’ was launched by SAAC at Strathclyde University Union. Speakers included Labour MPs, representatives from churches, and the Council for Civil Liberties. Calling for the Sheriff’s dismissal, delegates supported the following SAAC statement.

The Sheriff’s remark implying that intercourse before marriage is a social custom in Asia is ignorant, obscene and insulting to the Asian people. His judgment implies that there is one law for whites and another for blacks in this country. Sex between an adult and a child can never be regarded as an “indiscretion” whatever is the child’s ethnic ORIGIN! (SCRC10)

⁶⁶ Members were, as listed in SCRC9, the Indian Association, Pakistan Social and Cultural Society, Indian Workers Association, Bangladesh association, Kashmiri Welfare Association, Sikh Sabha, Hindu Mandir Sabha, Asian Christian Fellowship, Bhatra Singh Saaba, Ramgarhia Association, Kashatri Sabha, Kisan Sabha, Ravidas Sabha, Ravidas Samaj Sudhar Sabha, Asian Arts Society, Indian Graduates Society, Scottish Council for Civil Liberties, Scottish immigrant Labour Council, Campaign Against Racism Committee of CRC, Muslim Mission, Jewish Representative Council.

A further rally was organised by SAAC on 13th June which called “for dismissal of Sheriff Middleton” pairing this with SAAC’s new campaign “against the Nationality Bill” (SCRC11). Following an inquiry by Secretary of State for Scotland George Younger which “cleared Middleton”, SAAC led a public meeting to demand a public inquiry. “We say that the Younger inquiry was a big white wash,” claimed SAAC: Younger had not interviewed “key witnesses”, and “no written record of the trial was made by the court” (SCRC11). Younger had reduced Middleton’s status to that of “Temporary Sheriff”, but had not sought to dismiss him completely.

Future First Minister, Labour MP Donald Dewer wrote to SCRC’s Walter Fyfe:

I have a very great deal of sympathy with your council’s views and I was in touch with Scottish Office Ministers about this case at a very early stage. I agree entirely that the complaints have never been about the sentence passed by Sheriff Middleton but has been rightly concentrated on the very unfortunate remarks he was reported to have made. (SCRC12)

Note how the original request by Diana Gerrard of the CRE, that Middleton’s verdict should not be questioned, that his statements were the problem, is passed on via Walter Fyfe, who had obviously repeated the point, to the Labour MP, who subsequently confirms the consensus. Despite the fact that the verdict had clearly been influenced by the Sheriff’s views on the sexual proclivity of Asian females, the questioning of a judicial decision was quite out of the question. It was better instead to quietly dismiss the protagonist. Dewer continues,

As you will of course appreciate Mr Middleton is now retired from a full time appointment and is being used on a daily basis. This is not the only controversial episode in his legal career. My only position simply is that in his case retirement should mean just that. It may be of course that ministers while not accepting publicly the criticisms of Mr Middleton will ensure that he is not asked to serve again. I know from a number of contacts that confidence in his judgement in a general sense has been very badly shaken and I do not think that it would be in anyone’s interests including his own that he should continue to play an active part in the Sheriff Court. I will of course be continuing to watch the situation very closely. (SCRC12)

Indeed, such was the force of lobbying around the Middleton affair that despite Younger’s earlier ruling, future Secretary of State for Scotland, Malcolm Rifkind Conservative MP, met with “representatives from the Asian community and Community Relations Council”

on 22nd September (SCRC13)⁶⁷. We do not have a verbatim record of the meeting, but demands for a public inquiry remained fruitless. On 19th October, George Younger wrote to Bruce Millan MP giving details of what had taken place at the meeting (SCRC14).

According to Younger, Malcolm Rifkind and James Mackay (also in attendance), “made it clear that the Government fully recognise the strength of feeling about this case among the Asian community” (SCRC14). Malcolm Rifkind explained that the normal procedure for dealing with complaints against Sheriffs had been “put into operation at once when complaints had been received”. The Government had “admitted that the Sheriff’s remarks had not been wise, sensible or necessary but reminded the delegation that what mattered was whether the Sheriff was racially motivated in making them”. Younger “accepted the Sheriff Principle’s report and its conclusion that there was no racist element in Sheriff Middleton’s handling of the case”. He therefore did “not believe that a public inquiry would serve any purpose” (SCRC14). It was also explained to the delegation that the Sheriff’s continued employment as a Temporary Sheriff would be considered at the end of the year when the appointments of all Temporary Sheriffs are reviewed.

After the main meeting had finished, James McKay had a separate meeting with “Messrs Rahim and Chadda, two of the Glasgow JPs” (SCRC14). “I gather,” said Younger, “that they had more or less committed themselves to resigning if we did not agree to a public inquiry” (SCRC14). Mackay had “appreciated this put them in a difficult position, but told them that greater good would result from their remaining in post”. Younger hoped that MacKay had “been successful in persuading them to remain in office”. He concluded, the Government “have assured the Asian community of our determination to combat racism in whatever form it may appear and to ensure that the law is applied equally to all citizens, irrespective of race or religion. I hope the Asian community will accept our determination to do all in our power to secure this and I sincerely trust that this unfortunate incident can now be allowed to die down” (SCRC14). It did not.

⁶⁷ Rifkind intimated that “in the light of all the approaches he has had George has asked me to arrange a meeting”.

‘Middleton’ continued into early 1982, the Lord Advocate’s subsequent decision to retire the Sheriff gaining both TV and press coverage: Middleton did not regret his utterances (NS6). *The Herald* featured an “exclusive letter from Sheriff Middleton” in which he stated that the Lord Advocate’s decision was “no doubt... considered a satisfactory solution which would placate the disruptive element in the immigrant community” (NS7). According to Middleton, the Lord Advocate’s Office intimated that “they were aware that in the statement of facts made to me at a 10-minute hearing in the course of a long day I was substantially misled, that the girl involved had a Christian upbringing, that her country of origin was so far removed from the Indian Sub-continent as we are from Alaska and that no Asian was present or represented in court” (NS7). In light of this information, the Sheriff stated:

Of course I regret any incident which has resulted in the deterioration of relations with the immigrant Asian community. I regret the stone thrown through my window. I regret the presence of a 24-hour police guard on my house for several weeks. I regret the threat by the so-called Asian Action Committee of a demonstration outside the premises where I had been invited to address a meeting of civil engineers. I regret that the leaders of the Asian Action Committee did not honour their threat of resignation if no public inquiry was held and the decision not to hold one was made known to them. That is not to say that I apologise for anything I may have said which had no possible racist connotation... (NS7)

Middleton’s letter prompted replies from SAAC (NS8) and from IWA Glasgow Branch (NS9), distancing their respective organisations from the events mentioned by Middleton, who they castigated for continuing to deny a racist element in his judgement. This pressed Walter Fyfe to complain to *The Herald* and the BBC for what he saw as biased coverage, but to little avail (SCRC). On 18th January 1982 Fyfe issued a complaint against the *Sunday Standard*’s coverage of the case. The paper had insinuated that SAAC had been looking for a platform with a view to becoming leaders of the Asian community, and that Mr Saleem of SAAC had been under surveillance by the police. Fyfe objected, having checked with the Police that this was untrue⁶⁸, and he also protested that SAAC was “entirely composed of elected leaders of 22 mainly Asian societies in Glasgow, all of them elected to the position they hold in their societies and all of them representing the committees from which they come” (SCRC16). Fyfe added,

⁶⁸ One could question whether the police would readily admit to mounting a surveillance operation – the covert nature of which underlies its utility.

In 10 years as Community Relations Officer in this area I have never known a similar instance where a vast majority of Asian people came together to demonstrate their anger, distress and fear at the verbal racial insults and attacks showered on them as happened in this case. It is a pity that your paper continues to fight a campaign waged by a small number of politically ambitious people without giving any expression to the statements of the Asian man in the street or elected representatives or, probably most important of all, the women folk who feel themselves humiliated and subjected to the most crass sort of racial and sexual insult. (SCRC16)

It is clear from Fyfe's defence of SAAC that seasoned community relations personnel considered the formation of SAAC to mark a precedent in Scottish-based anti-racism. That Fyfe draws attention to the 'passions' elicited by Middleton indicates that he is objecting to the presumed proclivity of such newspaper coverage to engender greater divisions. It was, after all, Fyfe's job, from Central Government's point of view, to circumvent 'inter-racial' disorder. It should be clear that the precedent alluded to here is that 'non-whites' had fought back, and had commanded a significant public platform in the Scottish social imaginary as a result. It would be up to respective state-bodies to incorporate the antagonism that the assertion of the contrary to equal treatment had unleashed. This would, however, lead to greater fragmentation in the anti-racist lobby in Scotland.

4.3 Instituting Anti-Racist Counter-Claims

In the aftermath of the 1981 riots, Central Government's Urban Programme (UP), a significant source of local authority funding for community and voluntary projects, became an important means of "creating a buffer to soften black resistance" (Thompson 1988: 94). A state-led programme, every UP project established by local authorities required prior approval by the Department of the Environment; that is, approval from the very same government which was implementing the British Nationality Act condemned by SAAC. In the financial year 1981/82, £7.5 million of UP money was spent on 'black specific' projects. This rose to £27.6 million by 1984/85 and £38.8 million by 1986. As a proportion of overall UP spending, the amount received by 'black' organisations grew from 20% in 1981/82 to over 50% in 1986, despite their making up only 30% of the total number of organisations receiving UP grants (cited in Thompson 1988: 95). The other source of funding available to local authorities for such projects was Section 11 grants, obtainable by special request to the Home Office. In the three years following the 1981 riots, total UK Section 11 funding increased substantially. Looking specifically at London boroughs,

Hackney's Section 11 funding rose from £50,727 to £1,533,243. In Tower Hamlets the amount rose from £102,989 to £1,243,946. Camden and Islington both increased their respective shares by 400%; Southwark by 300%; while the share of Brent and Lambeth more than doubled (figures taken from Hansard, 17th May 1985, cited in Thompson 1988: 182 n.11).

The state-body which had responsibility for activating Section 11 in Scotland was the Scottish Office, to which Scottish local authorities were answerable under separate institutional arrangements. To date the Scottish Office has never activated Section 11 in Scotland. One of the principal reasons given historically for this is that the quotient of migrant to non-migrant population in Scottish local authorities did not meet that stipulated by the conditions of the fund (see MacEwan 1980), which were "to make special provision...in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth" (cited in Thompson 1988: 95).

This was an initial stumbling block for SAAC. However, a further development of the 1981 riots had been a push by central government to build community links which bypassed the 'outdated' CRC's. The 1981 House of Commons Home Affairs Committee on Racial Disadvantage urged local authorities to "make as much direct contact as possible with minorities" and to "rid themselves of the notion that the local CRC is, or should be, their sole spokesman" (cited in Thompson 1988: 98). Moreover, the Conservatives understood that they were not well positioned to ingratiate the 'black' community. The elections of radical Labour councils in the 1980s thus provided the institutional apparatus for the state's absorption of 'black' militancy. In Scotland, where the Conservative Party's share of the vote dropped from 44% and 31 seats in 1950 to 28.4% and 21 seats in 1983, the role of the Labour Party in consolidating this aim would be all the more significant.

This development coincided with the formation of the Labour Party's Scottish Executive anti-racist working party, which Councillor Archie Graham was instrumental in establishing. He explained⁶⁹ that the Labour Party's "Scottish Executive... at that time had no black people at all... we thought there's a problem here, what is the problem?... so we better do something". The working party, "co-opted a number of black people... in order

⁶⁹ Taken from interview with Councillor Archie Graham, conducted on 14/07/04.

to develop policy, procedure, strategy that would involve more black people in the work of the Labour Party". Graham recalled "some of the individuals that were involved in it, were people who were involved or later became involved in local government or had some connection with local government", such as Councillor Mushtaq Ahmed, who later became provost of South Lanarkshire Council, Mohammed Malik, father of Hanzala Malik who later went on to become a Labour Councillor and Chair of SCRC, and Surjit Singh Kholi of the Indian Association and SAAC. Co-option was "one of the avenues that we used to get advice, to open up connections". So, the Labour Party in Scotland, which controlled Strathclyde Regional Council, established stronger links with 'black' activists at the same time as Central Government was providing monies for the absorption of 'black' resistance.

Interestingly, Graham recalls that, in contrast to England where the debate led by 'black' Labour activists for autonomous 'black' sections had currency,

...here in Scotland black activists in the Labour Party saw this as the separation of black people, as marginalisation of black issues and antiracist issues and so on... and they felt that it was much better for everybody to be integrated, get the issues debated in a forum, where there was white people and black people... that was their view or certainly for the majority of them anyway... so the Labour Party in Scotland never really got embroiled in the big debate about black sections in the 80s, we were kind of distant from it.

It is clear, however, that SAAC saw itself as an autonomous 'Asian' organisation. If Graham's judgement is correct, and we have no reason to assume that it is not, then SAAC's status was clearly at odds with the dominant line of 'black' activists in the Labour Party in Scotland. On 22nd May 1982, SAAC convenor P.K Bhaumik invited SCRC CRO Chi Khen Pan to its annual general meeting: "you and your Asian friends are cordially invited to this meeting". Pan declined the invitation (SCRC17). As will become apparent, SAAC's political orientation would increasingly cause problems between it and more established groups. First, it is important to explore the process by which Central Government helped to institute fragmentation.

As discussed above, SAAC initially formed in reaction to Middleton. It was not until April 1982 that the organisation was formally constituted. At that time funding consisted solely of contributions from members and donations from organisations (SCRC18). However, a decision was taken to seek Urban Aid funding via Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC). On 20th August, P.K Bhaumik wrote to Councillor Richard Stewart, Leader of SRC's Labour

Group (SCRC19). SAAC had had a disappointing meeting with Councillor Worthington, Chairman of SRC's Community Development Committee. "There would be difficulty approving the application", for two main reasons:

1. SCRC may already have been involved in or could be made to be involved in performing the same activities SAAC proposed to take up, so that there would then be no justification for public funds being made available to a second organisation performing the same function.
2. The availability of Urban Aid funds, being restricted to projects associated with small localities only, could mean that a Scottish-wide group such as SAAC would not be eligible.

Bhaumik stated:

I would like to point out to you that in spite of the sincere efforts of the CRC and similar other organisations black and white communities in this country live in complete segregation, avoiding contact and Scotland is no exception. As you are aware Asian people throughout Britain are not only totally unrepresented in all walks of life, but they, themselves do not show much interest in the community life in this country [] It seems that the government have also started to acknowledge this and recently Mr Timothy Raison ⁷⁰ and other ministers have started talking about providing more funds for ethnic self help organisations. (SCRC19)

Pressing the points that SAAC had the support of the CRE, that its remit would perform a different function to SCRC, and that the organisation had written to the Scottish Office requesting a meeting to discuss their funding bid, Bhaumik urged Stewart to "press the government to make Urban Aid funds available to the ethnic minority organisations as they serve sections of the deprived communities in the Urban areas" (SCRC19). He added, "I should like to draw your attention to the fact that though funds from Section 11 is available to minority organisations in England it is not so in Scotland and no alternative funding is provided for Scottish ethnic organisations" (SCRC19). It is clear that SAAC, an independent self-organised group, was pushing the local Labour administration toward accessing Urban Aid monies, and that it sought to place distance between its remit and that of SCRC by appealing to the continuance of 'problems' which state-institutional anti-racism had 'failed' to address. SAAC therefore used the logic underpinning the Conservative Party's 'post-Brixton' incorporation strategy to carve a place for itself in the

⁷⁰ Timothy Raisen, Conservative MP for Aylesbury, and Home Office Minister.

state-institutional anti-racist framework. It should be clear that this framework reproduced the logic of 'race-relations'.

The Department of Environment agreed to SAAC receiving UP money; the organisation later advertised two UP funded posts – “Community Worker” and “Office Secretary” – in *The Herald* on 3rd August 1983 (SCRC20)⁷¹. However, SAAC began to fragment when a number of Muslim organisations broke away in November 1983 following a statement by SAAC’s secretary, who claimed that racism was an endemic problem in Scotland. SAAC was being labelled as extremist by some Muslim leaders (Dunlop 1993). On 18th January 1984, P. Bhamuik, secretary of SAAC, wrote to CAR, a previous SAAC affiliate: “thank you for your letter requesting affiliation to the Scottish Asian Action Committee. This request was considered at the Executive Committee meeting on the 11th January, 1984. It was decided not to accept the proposal, however, the SAAC will be very willing to co-operate with your organisation in matters that may be of mutual interest” (SILC47). By 1985, SAAC’s affiliation list included only ‘Asian’ organisations⁷².

More splits would occur over the development of anti-racist tactics. The annual St Andrew’s Day Anti-racist march, which continues to this day, has its roots in SILC activity from 1984. SILC’s Secretary Maggie Chetty:

it was specifically about the fact that St. George’s Day had been taken over by the fascists and that there was some quite serious fascist activity in Glasgow around at that time, when the fascists were mobilising and we made a sort of pre-emptive strike and said let’s make St. Andrew’s Day an antiracist day before the fascists come and move in. And the first couple of demonstrations, I mean were miniscule you couldn’t have called them demonstrations at all...⁷³

Indeed, there is little press-coverage of the 1984 protest, but in 1985, a steering committee consisting of SILC, CAR, SCRC and Glasgow District Council had already organised a St Andrew’s Day rally to protest at BNP leader John Tyndall’s intention to address a BNP

⁷¹ This was followed by SRC’s decision to appoint its first Race Relations Officer (see Dunlop 1993: 99).

⁷² They were, Asian Artistes Association; Asian Christian Fellowship; Bangladesh Association Scotland; Bhatra Singh Sabha; Central Gurdwara; Shri Guru Ravi Dass Sabha; Hindu Mandir Sabha; Indian Association; Indian Graduates Society; Indian Workers Association; Indian Social and Cultural Society; Kashatri Sabha; Kashmiri Workers Association; Minority Ethnic Teachers Association; Ramgharia Association; Sikh Sabha.

⁷³ From interview with Maggie Chetty

rally in Glasgow on that day. SILC claimed that the BNP rally in Glasgow “attracted twice as many young people as the previous year” (SILC48)⁷⁴. However, SAAC organised a separate protest⁷⁵, which later brought accusations that it was causing a split.

On 11th January 1986, R. Bhopal, then secretary of SILC, wrote to P.K. Bhaumik,

At the last meeting of SILC it was decided to write to SAAC to suggest a meeting at which some of our committee could meet with some of the SAAC executive. Very serious concern was expressed that the centre of Glasgow contained two different events to express opposition to the presence of the British National Party on November 30th 1985. It was felt to be a source of weakness that such a worrying development in Glasgow failed to present a united front. It is the feeling of the SILC executive that a meeting to discuss the situation could assist in preventing splits in the future.

SAAC later replied to SCRC,

It has come to our attention that SAAC has been blamed for causing division between the various organisations which took part in protest against the BNP. []

The SAAC's initial response to knowledge of the BNP's meeting was an attempt to have it banned. Along with several other organisations (Trade Union and Asian) representative [sic] was made to the police in this connection. When this was rejected by the Police, the SAAC called a meeting in Strathclyde University to decide upon the course of action which should be adopted. []

In that meeting the matter of the St. Andrew's Day rally which had already been organised to be held in the City Chambers was raised, and the question of unity was fully discussed. It was felt, however, by the majority of those present that when fascists are on the streets of Glasgow, any anti-fascist initiative should also take to the streets; that an indoor meeting is not sufficient. []

Furthermore,

the rally which the CRC and others organised was done so under the name of a 'Multi-Racial Rally' and the call for 'Racial Justice'. In contrast, the demonstration organised by the SAAC marched under the banner; 'Anti-Fascist March 1985'. We believe that when fascists are on the streets of Glasgow, anti-fascists must make their protest on the streets also. Therefore, while we accept that both initiatives were in response to the BNP's presence, the strategies favoured by the respective

⁷⁴ See also NS10

⁷⁵ SAAC held a meeting on 28th November in Strathclyde University Union, where it was decided to hold a separate rally on St Andrews day (SCRC21).

organisations were fundamentally different. As a result of such different views on the way in which protest against the presence of fascists in Glasgow should be conducted, we do not see the question of disunity as a central issue. We respect the right of others to choose their own way of dealing with the presence of fascists.

Finally, I would like to make a point about the organisations which sponsored the rally in the City Chambers. We were surprised that no Asian Organisation was invited to sponsor this event. When the BNP take to the streets with the slogan 'Keep Britain White', we believe that the Asian communities on the receiving end must be involved in any form of counter activity. The failure to do so is not the way forward for anti-racist/anti-fascist activity. (SILC49)

SAAC's objection to the anti-racist state-institutional rally was that the latter's strategy was not suitably vociferous. SAAC's approach was to draw attention to the fact that the subject target was 'non-whites', but they continued what had become known as 'a Scottish tradition' – 'anti-fascism'. Nor do SAAC's tactics take a more anti-statist form than state-institutional anti-racists – the call for a ban is a direct invitation to the state to regulate protest. SAAC's instituting position thus shared important elements in common with the Scottish anti-racist social imaginary instituted by Scottish-based anti-racists in the previous decade. Additionally, as we have seen, in order to receive Urban Aid monies, SAAC would have to demonstrate that it did not serve the same function as SCRC. Urban Aid money served to institutionalise a division by funding an 'Asian specific' organisation. The term 'Asian', while clearly used to delineate a political identity, could not bridge the gap between cultural claimsmakers who did not seek a political identity – thus, some Muslim groups disaffiliated. Indeed, SAAC actively lobbied to secure this funding and the institutionalisation of fragmentation which the latter engendered. This was in accord with Central Government strategy which sought to oversee the process. From this point forward, the elevation of particularism would only be an assertion of the contrary if it excluded some particularisms at the expense of others. In effect, the Conservative Party undermined the basis of its claim that Britishness was monocultural: an unintended consequence of its incorporation strategy was the embryonic institutionalisation of multiculturalism. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated next, at the same time as Central Government was providing Urban Aid for the absorption of 'black' resistance, which bypassed the CRCs, the relationship between the Labour Party and SCRC was strengthened. The strong relationship between SCRC and the Scottish Labour Party, and the latter's decision not to form autonomous 'black' sections, meant SCRC continued to find favour. Thus, it remained the main Government-backed institutional anti-racist body in the west of

Scotland and hence, the main source for the typification of racism as a social problem. The multiculturalist approach of SCRC gained a more public profile. This would emerge most clearly after the riots of 1985.

4.4 Proving ‘the problem’

Inner-city riots in Handsworth, Toxteth and Broadwater Farm in September/October 1985 received considerable coverage in the Scottish press. *The Herald* reported, “Fires and Looting as youth mobs riot” and deliberated over the “sparks that caused Handsworth to explode”; ‘post-riot’ opinion pieces found an explanation in multiple social deprivation: unemployment, inadequate housing, racism, discrimination and police harassment (NS11). The solution, according to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was that “we have to get everyone in each of the communities to work together to make sure it never happens again. It is no good leaving it all to the police” (NS12). In 1986 Strathclyde Regional Council declared August 1986–July 1987 “Multi-Racial Action Year”.

On 17th January 1986 Strathclyde Regional Council’s Community Development Committee met to discuss “proposals for a Strathclyde Multi-Racial Action Year” (SCRC22). The idea developed through SILC, and was given added SCRC impetus by Maggie Chetty, who had now taken up a full-time position there as Senior CRO. The proposal to the local authority was initiated by Cllr. Bashir Maan (Labour Party), then Chairman of SCRC. The aims for the year were six-fold:

1. To focus on positive multi-cultural contact and action in Strathclyde with the support of the Regional Council, to produce a multi-racial friendship logo and poster and simple leaflets to offer a positive view of multi-racial Strathclyde.
2. For Strathclyde Community Relations Council to act as a focal point for an action year – a natural centre because of its status within the community, its broad range of contact with all ethnic organisations and its administrative and multi-cultural expertise.
3. To set up a broad based committee with representation from all delegates from a wide range of communities, churches, trade union and political organisations.
4. To initiate specific activities from all sections of the community, churches, trade union and political organisations and youth organisations to plan multi-racial activity, talks, films and children’s events throughout Strathclyde.

5. To initiate a cultural committee to draw together cultural organisations and festival bodies to discuss multi-cultural input and focus throughout the year.
6. To seek the support of staff in the Department of Education, multi-cultural and Home Link project.

The report tells us that “the Community Relations Council are seeking financial support from various bodies and organisations and have asked that the Regional Council give a lead to other organisations in supporting the proposal in view of the ways in which racist ideas are being increasingly used to fragment Communities in a time of social and economic stress” Moreover,

The concerns expressed on the increasing problems of racism are shared by this Council and have been recognised by the need to establish a Sub-Group of the Community Development Committee to examine the role of the Council in relation to the needs of, and services to, ethnic minorities. It is therefore recommended that:-

- a) a grant of £10, 000 be made to Strathclyde Community Relations Council from the Community development Support fund;
- b) the Regional Council be represented upon the organising committee;
- c) a meeting be held with Strathclyde Community relations Council to discuss the date for launching the year and the timescale involved;
- d) all departments of the Council provide positive support for any proposal during the year and consider what contribution can be made to ensure the success of the action.

SCRC eventually received £20,000 in funding to co-ordinate the year, which was launched on 17th September 1986. However, ‘racism in Scotland’ received increased media attention immediately prior to the launch. In April, Chetty was approached by *The Herald* and asked to write a piece which detailed the extent of “the problem”⁷⁶. Leading the article, titled, “First we must prove we have a problem”, the paper wrote, “last week Strathclyde region sent a deputation to meet Michael Ancram, Scottish Office Minister for Local Government, to argue the case for funding to extend programmes with ethnic minorities”. Chetty wrote, “The strength of the smugness with which the ‘we don’t have a problem’

⁷⁶ Information from interview with Maggie Chetty.

syndrome is expounded is only matched by the degree of ignorance of the issues in official circles. This widespread consensus of opinion that racism ‘does not exist’ and ‘is not a problem’ extends to parliamentary and government levels” (NS13). On 10th June the *Evening Times* ran a “special investigation’ which “uncovered a shock increase in Glasgow racial violence, including a catalogue of horrific attacks on black families”. The investigation ran under the broad title of “Racism: The Glasgow Report”, featuring statements by institutional representatives and lay individuals. The main headline spanning the front-page was “Racism: Our Hidden Problem” (NS14). The following week “The Glasgow Report” featured letters of support from community activists and lay individuals, congratulating the paper for its report, and also from BNP members defending themselves (NS15).

Racism as a Scottish problem was increasingly gaining a public profile. A chain of events had unfolded, starting with the riots in England, a posited solution by the Conservatives in the form of community involvement and responsibility, followed, in the Scottish context, by increased claims on state institutions for action. In fact, community activists used Central Government’s authoritative statements to expose a seeming contradiction in Scottish Office policy. There *was* a ‘problem here’ and the state should deliver on the solution it posits. Indeed, Left critique was that Central Government had not yet delivered on its strategy: the quarrel was not *with* that strategy. That the focus had now turned to the possibility of disorder caused by lack of respect for cultural difference becomes clear when we observe the rationale of Strathclyde Multi-Racial Action Year (SMRAY).

In an SCRC press-brief (SCRC23) released on 10th September under the title “Race Poison”, Bashir Mann announced that the launch in Glasgow’s George Square of SMRAY would include:

several hundred children of different ethnic groups... the children will see demonstrations of Pakistani, Indian, and Chinese dancing and hear a choir of Jewish Children... There will also be three exhibition stands in the banqueting hall [in City chambers] organised by Strathclyde Community Relations Council, Strathclyde police, and Greater Glasgow Health board. These are the people who are heavily involved in community relations work.

SCRC, utilising the funding levered via the local authority, placed other state-bodies at the forefront of the fight against racism. Moreover, anti-racism is being defined as harmonious intercultural interaction. The innocence of children, who are interacting regardless of “their

different cultures”, is an oppositional construction which sets up a moral community – the institutions of state are the moral guardians of harmonious cultural relations which are at risk of corruption by the subject perpetrator.

...[T]he children will then let off hundreds of balloons, each one tabbed with the name and address of a child, and the words ‘I say no to racism’.

Maan added,

we hope that whoever finds a balloon with a name and address on it will take the trouble to write to the child...the purpose of the exercise is to encourage people to try to understand each other and their cultures, and to accept each other as fellow human beings, not as members of an unfamiliar, and suspect group of aliens.

In responding to a child’s balloon the respondent will signify that he/she wishes to join a moral community which respects difference. The press release continued,

...there will be a reception hosted jointly by Lord Provost Robert Gray and Strathclyde Convenor James Jennings. The several hundred guests will include the provosts of Strathclyde’s 19 district councils, commanders of police divisions in the region, and teachers at schools where there is a mix of ethnic minority pupils.

The need to foster inter-cultural harmony has official backing, being supported by significant dignitaries and state-institutional actors. The moral opprobrium associated with inter-cultural disrespect is given the added force of state-official sanction.

[T]he theme of our action year is NO TO RACISM. We want to get people all over the region involved in organising seminars, conferences, events, visits to each other, in fact anything that helps to generate understanding and tolerance, and harmony.

The problem is one of ‘disharmony’. It is generated because of cultural misunderstanding. The subject perpetrator, like the subject target, is culturally constituted and misunderstands due to lack of cultural awareness.

We would all like to delude ourselves there is no problem of racism in Scotland or Strathclyde but there is a problem, otherwise we would not need an anti-racism campaign.

Our desire to perpetuate the idea that we inhabit a moral Scottish community is mistaken. There may be denial that such a campaign is warranted. However, somewhat circularly, the

fact that the campaign is occurring proves that the campaign is warranted. Cultural disrespect is a Scottish problem.

Even minority ethnic groups themselves can be indifferent to the needs and aspirations of each other.

Indifference is added to causation. Disharmony can occur between ethnic minority groups. Ethnic minority groups are also the subject perpetrators of 'disharmony'.

[R]acism manifests itself in a variety of ways, some subtle and some brutal. Children are harassed and abused at school. People in housing schemes are harassed and subject to insulting graffiti, shopkeepers have their windows broken and are insulted in the street.

There are varying forms of racism, and whilst there is a distinction by 'degree', a link is established between education, housing, employment and class. The more brutal form is associated with an unrestrained, perhaps working class, culture. The link between culture and psychology belies the root of causation:

Most adults' prejudices are impacted in their subconscious, which is why we have to try to reach the children at their formative stage, when there is still time to save them from the errors of their elders.

The subject perpetrator is located within the psyche, forming at an early age. People may not wilfully choose to do so, but they unknowingly abuse their children by passing on attitudinal characteristics that can cause them great harm in later life. Here culture, psychology and inter-generational interaction are merged to create a powerful image of racist causation.

We are living in a world where, for one reason or other, there are a vast number of people of different backgrounds and cultures moving from country to country. This upheaval of large sections of humanity must create tensions and problems.

Migration can lead to inter-cultural, now a homologue for inter-racial, disorder. The subject perpetrator is the migration of people from different cultures.

Only by educating young people can we hope to bring some sanity to the problem of creating conditions where people with different colours of skin and different facial features can live in some kind of harmony.

Education is the ‘cure’ for ‘irrationality’. ‘Insanity’, i.e. psychological deviancy, is the perpetrator of disharmony predicated on phenotypical significations of cultural difference.

Maybe that day will not come in our lifetime but we have to try to do something constructive while we are here. The alternative is just as unpleasant to contemplate as nuclear confrontation.

The similarity in the consequence articulated here – “nuclear confrontation” – to that presented by Ian Robertson some seventeen years previously at the establishment of SCRC is striking. This is the pure logic of state-institutional anti-racism – the migration of different ‘races’ inevitably precipitates inter-racial disorder – but takes the added dimension of culture now acting as homologue of ‘race’, and further, the subject, both perpetrator and target, is psychologised. SMRAY not only demarcates the move towards the state-institutionalisation of cultural claims-making, representing the validation of such as a legitimate requisite within the Scottish social imaginary, but also psychologically constitutes the subject, legitimating the state’s intervention as a mechanism for obviating psycho-cultural disorder. We can see here the embryonic articulation of a therapeutic role for the state.

SMRAY had a mobilising impact on state-institutional anti-racist activity. Chetty:

I must say Bashir really threw himself into that and we went all over Strathclyde. Just saying to people: “Do something, make a link”. And so I suppose it was quite forward-looking just trying to get people activated around the notion of racism and racial harassment and the need to be preoccupied and pro-active, the need to be plugged into what was going on and soon we went to Argyle and Bute, we went to Dunbartonshire Council, we went all over the place. We had a multicultural night in Kilmarnock for example, with Kilmarnock colleagues.⁷⁷

Indeed, the added focus coincided with a number of key developments. Organisations such as Shakti Woman’s Aid Refuge, for Asian and Afro-Caribbean women and children experiencing domestic abuse, was established in Edinburgh in 1985, as was the Scottish Refugee Council, and the Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit based at Glasgow College of Technology (now Caledonian University), and in 1986 the Edinburgh-based Scottish Black Woman’s Group was established.

⁷⁷ Information from interview with Maggie Chetty.

Importantly, in 1986, the CRE established a Scottish branch in Edinburgh. I asked Mick Conboy, one-time acting Director, and now Policy Officer with the Scottish CRE, what the thinking was behind the establishment of a Scottish CRE branch at that time? He told me,

there were a number, at that time, of Community Relations Councils, what became RECs⁷⁸, in Scotland, and they were getting their funding from the Commission and local government... and they directly approached the Commission to say “what are the chances of opening an office in Scotland?”. You could see how a local commitment was being made, but there didn’t seem to be a reflection of that commitment at a national level, and lots of the difficulties, let’s say the early days of dealing with racial harassment for instance, was that the national standard bearers, if you like, be it COSLA, or ACPOS, or the Scottish Office, weren’t giving it the profile that, say, some of the local partners were trying to give, so there was a... I suppose something of an imbalance, that you know, part of the equation on a national level was missing, I think, just generally speaking, people felt it would be beneficial if there was a national presence to the CRE in Scotland. ... obviously Scarman was the headline grabber in terms of the report after the Brixton riots, it’s the sort of civil disturbance that any government cannot ignore...⁷⁹

The CRE established a Scottish branch in response to requests by local state-institutional anti-racists, with a view to engaging more directly with the Scottish state apparatus. Following such developments, increasing warnings were aired regarding the potential for ‘inter-racial’ disorder which would accompany the next generation’s reaction to racism if concrete action by the state was not forthcoming. In August 1987, the *Daily Record* (NS16) reported under the headline “Threat of a Racism Explosion”. “Strathclyde’s ethnic community faces a ‘potentially explosive situation’, the boss of the Commission for Racial Equality warned yesterday”. On his visit to Glasgow, Michael Day (CRE) was reported to have said that a tougher line against racism had to be taken by the authorities to avoid “ghetto living”.

High unemployment and the ‘grotesque’ levels of social deprivation in areas of Strathclyde could combine to make a ‘deadly cocktail’ he said. What happened in Handsworth, Broadwater Farm, and Toxteth was a combination of a frustration from that part of the community that suffered most. When there is deprivation we know that those who suffer the worst are the ethnic minorities – they get a bad deal

⁷⁸ The decision to change CRCs into RECs was “a recommendation of the Commission who thought that it would be a better idea if the organisations were actually up front and said ‘we’re about racial equality’” (from Mike Conboy interview).

⁷⁹ Interview with Mick Conboy.

all round. There comes a time when if the agencies of the establishment are not prepared to do something about it we get an eruption. (NS16)

The paper reported that “he said Glasgow, which has a substantial ethnic population in areas such as Govanhill had not yet reached crisis level but he warned that racial harassment could create a ‘ghetto mentality’ among people from the ethnic minorities. This could result in them all concentrating in one area to protect themselves”. To quote Day:

I don’t want to be interpreted as being in any way alarmist but we would be complacent to suggest that it could not happen here. I’m afraid that we as a society have got to hit disaster before we wake up. But we must go on hoping that people get the message before its too late. (NS16)

It was reported that during his visit to Glasgow, Day met representatives of Strathclyde Community Relations Council and Strathclyde Regional Council for “talks about race problems in the region”. The problem of racism, as articulated by state-institutional anti-racist actors, was one of the potential of devastating ‘inter-racial’ disorder. It was up to the institutions of state to prevent such an outcome. The accusation of alarmism is cancelled out by that of complacency. The logic of ‘race-relations’ was now being firmly instituted as a Scottish problem.

4.4 Anti-Fascist Multiculturalism and the Collapse of the Welfare Settlement

Our goal was to try and get the STUC to develop a, you know... to have some ownership for antiracist work in Scotland... , I went to work at the Community Relations Council in 1985 and at that point SILC carried on for a bit. But, as the STUC began to pick up the tag for that, we said well, SILC really is out of business. I mean, what we set out to do, we’ve done. – Maggie Chetty⁸⁰

SILC dissolved itself in 1989 (by that time it was known as the Scottish International Labour Council). It is no coincidence that the dissolution of SILC in 1989 paralleled the STUC’s decision to form a ‘race sub-committee’ in that year, which followed its rise to prominence as the official sponsor of the St Andrew’s Day anti-racist/fascist march in 1988. The STUC began to engage in sustained correspondence with SCRC around the

⁸⁰ From interview with Maggie Chetty.

issue of attacks on the Welfare State in 1982. On 1st July 1982, STUC General Secretary James Milne contacted Walter Fyfe of SCRC, stating “at the 85th Annual Scottish Trades Union Congress, the attached resolution on the subject of the ‘Welfare State’ was adopted”. The resolution began as follows:

That this Congress expresses its grave concern at the damage being inflicted on the national and welfare services by current Government policy. Congress is not simply concerned at the reduction in service being caused by lack of resources, but at the apparent intention to alter the whole basis of provision of many services in a way which would shift responsibility from the state to the individual.

Milne requested that “since the General Council are most anxious to contribute positively to the future security – in every sense – of our population, I would very much hope that you can assist us in this matter” (SCRC24). The reasons for this development are complex.

The STUC formed in 1895 in response to the TUC’s decision to exclude trades councils in a bid to curb the influence of the Left. The Scottish movement relied heavily on left-wing trades councils from Scotland’s few industrial areas. Since then the STUC had fluctuated between support for some form of devolution and the Union intermittently in its hundred year history, basically as a means of securing consultation for union leaders within the British state (Hume and Owen 1985). But in the 1980s the organised working class in Scotland, like that of the UK in general, found itself under a sustained attack by Central Government. To be sure, industrial militancy in Scotland had played an important role in fighting Conservative attacks. However, the STUC, like the TUC and the Labour Party, were not able to resist mass unemployment: in the decade up to 1988, Scotland had lost more than 40% of its manufacturing jobs. The exhaustion of the Scottish miners, who suffered heavy defeats in the 84–85 miner’s strike, and the decimation of Scottish industry, had all served to weaken the confidence of the working class toward the union leadership of the labour movement. Surveys in 1986 revealed a trend towards de-unionisation in areas where union organisation had been, until that point, fairly strong. A survey in East Kilbride showed levels of non-unionisation in electronics of 100%; in chemicals of 68%; in mechanical engineering of 72%; in instrument engineering of 100%; and in electrical engineering of 59% (Strathclyde Business School 1986). Reports from the new Nissan plant at Washington, where the engineering union made a single union deal, revealed that fewer than 20% of workers were union members (Cairns 1986). Disputes over threatened closures at places like Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Gartcosh steelworks and Caterpillar saw

union officials attempting to join forces with employers and other members of the Scottish establishment to lobby government for assistance. By 1988 all of those plants were closed with the loss of thousands of jobs. The combined disintegration of the mining unions, historically the most militant of Scottish workers, created the conditions for greater atomisation which would have a negative impact on the STUC's position as arbiter between workers and 'Scottish' capitalists. In the absence of a fighting force, outdated institutional buffers become surplus to requirements. Such is the expediency of the capitalist state.

Additionally, by the summer of 1987, left-wing councils were retreating in disarray from a renewed Conservative offensive on local government: for example, through rate-capping. The British Left, in a bid to make up for a decline in working class votes for Labour, had already turned to 'new social movements'. "I am in favour of coalition," Ken Livingstone, Leader of Greater London Council (GLC), had earlier proclaimed, "I don't believe that society can be transformed solely by the male white working class. But the coalition we need is one which includes skilled and unskilled workers, unemployed young and old, women, black people, as well as the sexually oppressed minorities" (cited in Ali 1984: 120). The Left maintained that these movements could and should be drawn towards Labour to compensate for its loss of working class support. The experience of Scottish workers during the 1979 'winter of discontent', had called into question the durability of a Labour government. While this had a greater impact on Labour's vote in England, its impact began to ricochet in Scotland. Advocates of the 'Scottish Egalitarianism' thesis often neglect to mention that support for the Tories in Scotland increased in the early 80s, especially during the Falklands war. In December 1981, the Tories in Scotland had the support of just 17% of the electorate. In the May 1982 local elections, as the British fleet headed toward the Falklands, they won more than 25% of votes. The fall-off in Labour's Scottish support during the binge of British patriotism was more dramatic. In 1981, Labour stood at an impressive 55% in Scottish opinion polls. By the time of the May 1982 local elections, Labour was down to 39% (Hume and Owen 1988: 103). As a result, the STUC followed in line with a move toward the 'rainbow coalitional politics' of the GLC. 'Racism in Scotland' became a more prominent issue for the STUC just as the latter began to lose the position it had cultivated under welfare capitalism – it therefore sought new supporters, and it received them in the form of state-institutional anti-racists.

Attacks on the Labour movement ran in parallel with increasing pronouncements of immanent 'racial' tensions and the move toward 'respect for cultural difference'. As a communist, James Milne had enjoyed a close relationship with SILC, and the STUC had begun to cultivate closer relationships with the CRE in the early 80s. Such relationships formed the embryo of 'anti-racist' initiatives within the machinery of the STUC. For example, in January 1984 the STUC ran a joint conference with the CRE on "Multicultural and Anti-racist Education" at the University of Stirling (SCRC25). On 6th November 1985, SCRC Chairperson Shiona Waldron wrote to Milne requesting a meeting,

We in Strathclyde Community Relations Council would like to take the opportunity of establishing much closer links with the STUC... We are aware that the STUC have had contacts with the Commission for Racial Equality and this is to be welcomed. We feel that there is also an urgent need for a close relationship between the STUC and the SCRC as the organisation with grassroots contacts in Strathclyde. (SCRC26)

Waldron added that she "would like [Milne] to meet our new Senior Officer Maggie Chetty and Chi Khen Pan, our CRO with responsibility for development work in the Chinese community" (SCRC26)⁸¹. Milne took the meeting (SCRC27). On 3rd December, Milne requested that SCRC attend its march and rally in opposition to "Reform of Social Security", stating, "as you will be aware, the Government are proposing a number of serious reductions in the provision of social security and welfare services to the community", adding, "I realise that the notice is short, but hope that you can be of assistance" (SCRC28). Milne enclosed a flier, titled "You need the Welfare State – Now it Needs You," with a request that it be forwarded to all SCRC affiliates. The flier was dutifully forwarded to all SCRC affiliates. In March 1986, the year following SAAC/SCRC acrimony around anti-racist tactics, and just prior to SMRAY, the STUC held another joint initiative with the CRE. The weekend school for "Black Trade Unionists" aimed, among other things, to increase the number of "black shop stewards" and to "discuss self-organisation within existing union structures". The request by Milne to affiliated organisations was premised by the following:

⁸¹ Of course Milne had enjoyed a working relationship with Chetty for over ten years. Nevertheless, the request by SCRC for a meeting should not be understood as a mere formality.

Recent – and increasing – activity by fascist and racist groups in Scotland has clearly demonstrated the need for the trade union movement to ensure that black workers are fully represented at all levels of the movement. (SCRC29)

However, in February Milne wrote to SCRC: “Unfortunately, there has been a very poor response to this appeal... I would be most grateful for any urgent help you could give” (SCRC30). Nevertheless, in 1986, the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) adopted a policy on “multi-cultural education and anti-racist policies” making the EIS “the first Scottish trade Union to work out specific anti-racist policies and recommended practices for the Scottish situation” (SILC48). Eddie Myles, co-chair of SILC and chairperson of Glasgow District Labour Party, who sat on the national “Race Relations Committee” of TASS (SILC48), announced that TASS had produced a recruitment leaflet to “encourage black and ethnic minority workers to join”; NUPE published a report outlining recommendations of its “Race Equality Working Party” established two years earlier, and NALGO published its guide on apartheid (SILC50). In late 1986, Chetty wrote to new STUC General Secretary, Campbell Christie⁸²,

SCRC would welcome close and continuous links with the STUC []. With extremely high levels of youth unemployment, harsh government cutbacks affecting the public sector and growing unemployment among the ethnic minority population the conditions clearly exist for the growth of racism and social division. Our job of tackling racist ideas, past and present, is made no easier by such a situation. We would welcome an STUC observer to join our council executive and to provide an immediate link and source of contact with the many affiliated unions in the Strathclyde area. [] A second source of support and co-operation would be joint action to promote Strathclyde Multi-racial Action Year. [] We could provide a SMRAY leaflet for trade unions if the STUC would distribute this to affiliated bodies with a covering letter. (SCRC31)

Christie responded,

It has been agreed that we be represented on your Council Executive by Mr J. Sheridan [] With regard to the SMRAY leaflet, if you let us have a supply of around 200 we shall ensure that these are included in our next mailing. (SCRC32)

On 10th November 1986, the STUC issued a press-release “condem[ning] ‘Bongo Bongo’ Minister over top race relations job”. The statement, which was forwarded to SCRC, stated,

⁸² James Milne died in 1986.

At the end of this week, in a little-noticed statement, Paymaster General Alan Clarke announced, that the Department of Employment would not be filling the post of Advisor on race relations because they couldn't get anyone capable of doing the job.

This is, quite frankly, incredible. More than that, it is an insult to the ethnic minorities in this country and a clear message that the Government is utterly complacent about the problems which members of those communities – and especially young black people – encounter in the field of employment.

Mr Clarke is, of course, the MP who last year referred to black people as coming from 'Bongo Bongo land'. It would appear that he has carried this attitude into his new post.

We shall be writing to the Secretary of State for Employment urging that the post of Departmental Adviser on race relations be re-advertised immediately and filled as soon as possible. (SCRC33)

Christie highlights the contradiction between Government policy, which pledges support for "good race relations", and statements/actions which do not lend favourably to the former. In effect, the STUC pressed government for not being consistent in its incorporationist strategy. Chetty responded on behalf of SCRC, "We very much appreciated the press release issued by the STUC...It was a very valuable statement, highlighting the slipshod attitude to these crucial issues at top Government levels" (SCRC34). We can see from this exchange that both institutions are coalescing in their mutual condemnation of the Conservative administration. The former are 'heroes' to 'ethnic minorities' – their constituency – who are preyed upon by the 'Tory villain'. Both SCRC and STUC are cultivating their moral credentials in antithesis to the purported immorality of Conservatism.

The St Andrew's Day March continued through 1987, when it was co-ordinated by SCRC, but took on greater force in 1988 when a steering committee called the Scottish Combined Action Against Racism And Fascism (SCAARF), based at SAAC's office, brought those previously involved together with the STUC. In March of that year SCRC held a seminar on "Race Relations and Trade Unionism". SCRC Chairman, Bashir Mann, was reported to have said: "the major unions should put their own house in order and encourage participation" (NS17). The seminar was opened by Campbell Christie. Chetty's invitation to Christie intimated that "in the last few weeks we have initiated some useful discussions with TGWU and GMBATU particularly about the role of the unions in raising the matter

of multicultural school meals and equal opportunities in employment in local authorities. We feel the seminar will take these issues forward in a practical way” (SCRC35). The STUC was being called upon by state-institutional anti-racists to promote cultural claimsmaking and the incorporation of ‘blacks’ into the machinations of the local state.

By 1989, the STUC was playing a more dominant role in the organisation of what was being called “Scotland’s second day of action against racism and fascism”, which followed the murder of Axmed Sheekh, a Somali refugee, in Edinburgh. The refusal on the part of police to recognise racism as a motivating factor in the murder prompted a demonstration on 3rd June in Edinburgh, the result of the formation of a campaign by Lothian Black Forum, which the annual march fed into, thus increasing the force of the following argument:

Racism in Scotland is growing, Edinburgh has seen a racist murder this year and racist attacks are on the increase throughout Scotland. Black people face discrimination in all walks of life – housing, employment, education, social services and immigration. This hidden racism prevents black people from taking their full part in society as they want to. Racism is poisoning our society. We must accept responsibility to act now and stamp out racism and fascism. (SCRC36)

‘Hidden racism’ was gaining prominence. In September 1989, Bill Speirs, Deputy General Secretary of the STUC, sent a circular to affiliated Unions and trade councils regarding the possible establishment of an STUC Race Relations Committee:

In past years, the STUC has been involved with ethnic minority organisations in Scotland, the Community Relations Councils, the Commission for Racial Equality and various anti-racism organisations on a number of issues. These have included the provision of trade union education courses for black trade union members; a major conference on anti-racist and multicultural education in Scottish schools; opposition to the activities of racist and fascist groups in Scotland; and various other matters of mutual interest. The General council is now considering the possibility of establishing an STUC Race Relations Committee. (SCRC37)

Speirs also sent the circular to SCRC Chairman Bashir Maan, stating:

we are most anxious that in considering this matter, we have the views of Scotland’s ethnic minority organisations involved in the promotion of good community relations. I would, therefore, welcome any comments which your organisation may wish to make on the issues raised in the circular. (SCRC38)

SILC was dissolved in late 1989. The STUC Race Relations Sub-Committee was established in 1990. To repeat Chetty’s words, “as the STUC began to pick up the tag for

that, we said well, SILC really is out of business. I mean, what we set out to do, we've done". But as Cllr Graham made clear, "the International Labour Council was the main player at the time, but was superseded by the CRE, and really, there was no need for an International Labour Council, we had Race Equality Councils...". We should not, however, neglect to mention that the fall of the Berlin Wall in that year and the subsequent collapse of Eurocommunist parties led to the further disintegration of the belief that a real alternative to capitalism was possible. SILC, like all Communist-led organisations, could not escape the impact of demoralisation on the Communist 'vanguard' that had played so prominent a role in the Scottish labour movement.

The formation of an STUC 'race' sub-committee ensured that the organisation would become a device for achieving consultation. But it did so under the auspices of a claim that Scotland was the victim of Conservative rule. Defeats of the past decade at the Union level were matched at the political level. Labour defeats in 1979, 1983, and 1987, despite little electoral support for the Conservatives in Scotland, evidenced itself in a lack of faith in the English working class – 'they' had 'adopted Tory values'. Such an interpretation gave credence to the idea of a separate Scottish parliamentary assembly. In the run-up to the 1987 election Labour had capitalised on the anti-Tory mood across Scotland to win a record 50 Scottish seats. It was however, practically crippled in England. In August 1987, Labour officially launched its campaign for a Scottish assembly on the basis that the Conservatives had 'no mandate' to govern Scotland. In November it called a special Scottish conference, to which the executive announced, "the assembly will be the focus of our campaigning over the period of this parliament". Labour's move toward an assembly was the outcome of its British defeat; the former's newly found support for a Scottish Assembly enjoyed a consensus:

Concretely socialists should in the present situation support Labour's demand for a Scottish assembly (*Socialist Worker*, 11 July 1987 cited in Hume and Owen 1988: 36)

I warn the great white chief of Downing Street: 'get off our backs', Scotland and Wales can no longer tolerate English domination. Scotland and Wales are not, and have never been, part of the white man's burden that England has repeatedly assumed for reluctant subject peoples. (Gordon Wilson, SNP chairman, September 1987 annual conference cited in Hume and Owen 1988: 84)

Thus both nationalists and socialists coalesced in their support for the idea that Scottish separation was a positive move. In effect, they served to make a virtue out of working class defeat, by forging cross-class interests along nationalist lines. Whilst the nationalists played on the idea that the Scots were a people subjugated by English imperialism, such a conclusion was not a million miles away from the logic of communist-inspired anti-racism of the previous decade.

As a Communist who followed the logic of ‘socialism in one country’, Chetty had been a fierce supporter of plans for a Constitutional Convention and had worked with Campbell Christie and Caron Kenyon Wright (convenor) to build links with ‘ethnic minorities’. She was the main speaker on ‘ethnic minority’ representation and multiculturalism in a devolved context at the STUC’s 1989 annual congress. Prior to the Congress Christie had written to Chetty, “I am particularly pleased that you will be in attendance on this unique occasion. It is important that our colleagues, both in the Scottish Office and South of the Border, are aware of the urgency with which the Scottish people are addressing the issue of Constitutional Reform” (SCRC39). Indeed, Chetty “persuaded Bashir Mann to get really involved” and established two seats on the convention which were specifically for ‘ethnic minority’ representatives. The representatives were Bashir Maan and Pek Yeung Berry, Development Officer for Central REC. Chetty noted, “I had thought that it was of the utmost importance that ethnic minority representation be solicited during any planning for devolved powers. I also believed that the Convention was an important move forward, and that groups from all cultures should be involved”. Consequently, it was important for Chetty that a Chinese representative be involved. Chetty had stressed the lack of attention given to the issue of “racism in Scotland by the Scottish Office”⁸³. Later Christie thanked her: “One of the most important areas we covered was the question of Constitutional reform and the need for as many organisations and individuals as possible to work closely together in the constitutional Convention to achieve a Scottish Assembly or Parliament. Your presence during the special presentation... was greatly appreciated and helped to widen everybody’s understanding about why we are campaigning for a Scottish Assembly” (SCRC40). The STUC now attempted to incorporate anti-racist struggle under the banner of defending Scottish particularism. In a very real sense, the STUC simply

⁸³ From interview with Maggie Chetty.

adopted the strategy of Central Government, but gave it the mythical radical spin of egalitarian Scottishness: the 'anti-English/Tory/fascist' thematics which had been instituted in the Scottish social imaginary in the previous decade lent force to such an interpretation. The drive towards a convention was built on the defeat of the labour movement, as was the adoption in Scotland of 'multicultural anti-fascism against the English oppressor'. These complex strands in anti-racist typification were captured well in 1990 public representations of 'racism'.

In January the *Sunday Mail* lead with "Racism: The Truth", in which the paper "asked: just how racist is Scotland?" Signalling recognition that racism was becoming an agenda item, the paper's main story revolved around an "Asian man" who had been harassed by racists who give "Nazi Salutes then they spit" (NS18). The typification of racism as Nazism was reinforced. In March the *Evening Times* revealed a "Chinese Fight-Back on Racism", a report from a conference titled "The Chinese voice their needs", from which the case was made that the Chinese community had to organise in order to stake a claim on resources. "Unless the Chinese community become more vociferous in demanding their rights," claimed SCRC CRO Chi Khen Pan, "they are going to lose out on access to funding, job creation and basic welfare rights". The conference was chaired by the CRE (NS19). To the idea of an escalation of ethnic conflict was added the renewed call by anti-racists for increased cultural claimsmaking. In October the 'Sikh community' were awarded £240,000 Urban Aid money for the purpose of establishing a day-care centre at Gurdwara Central temple in Glasgow. Whilst, according to Councillor John Gray, the money was "approved on the basis that it would be an all-purpose, multicultural centre", Abdul Khan, secretary of Anderston Community Centre, said: "this project is driving a wedge into our community. It is creating clear division among cultures of every background, not only between white and black but also between Asian and Muslim" (NS20). Central Government had awarded the largest sum yet to a project which would institutionalise culturally-specific claims and further fragmentation. Nevertheless, approximately 1000 people would meet under the aegis of the Scottish Combined Action Against Racism and Fascism in November for the Annual St Andrew's Day anti-racist/fascist march. The *Sunday Post* reported, "mounted police were called in to stop violent clashes as the extreme-right wing BNP faction shouted abuse and taunted marchers" (NS21). Following "clashes", six people were arrested. The decade ended on the typification of racism as Nazism. As Dunlop (1993: 100) noted, in 1992, the SWP's "re-formed Anti-Nazi League,"

attempted, “to take-over the anti-racist movement in Scotland”. She added, “it would appear that rather than uniting in strength, the anti-racist movement in Scotland has, once again, become further fractionalised”. However, the important point for this thesis is that ‘racism’ as a Scottish problem had taken on significantly new typifications because of an onslaught by the capitalist state against its own welfarist legitimating proxy. Multiculturalism had been institutionalised in Scotland along with the anti-nazi credentials of its moralist anti-racist past.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to build on the material uncovered in Chapter Three, whilst focussing more specifically on the interplay between ‘events’, anti-racist mobilisation at a local level, and the influence of central government strategy on self-organisation. Key to this interplay has been the wider dynamic of changing ideological contestation between Left and Right concerning the importance of ‘race’ as a mobilising political force. In undermining the institutional apparatus of post-war welfare-capitalism, the Conservative Government undermined the consensual basis of post-war Britishness. Their response to inner-city riots rationalised the collapse of Britishness via the institutionalisation of cultural specificity. Such a manoeuvre was in itself a recognition that the project of equality had failed. The formal recognition of inequality therefore took on a new form: that of providing an institutional basis for the absorption and maintenance of differential ethnic claims. The elevation of British patriotism associated with Toryism could not be sustained in light of the ideological collapse of their opponents. The collapse of ideological contestation subsequently provided the basis for increased fragmentation and atomisation, laying the embryonic basis for the collapse of Britishness. In effect, the Conservative Party, in winning the political contest between Left and Right, lost the ‘Culture War’ to the former, which gave up on class as an emancipatory force.

In tracing the interplay between SCRC, SILC and their relation to the formation of SAAC, I was able to demonstrate how government strategy lent itself to the institutionalisation of fragmentation at a local level. Key to this process was the role of the Labour Party in Scotland, which retained a significant level of local authority control. Labour, which increasingly lacked governmental authority at a UK level, sought to establish its mandate via ‘ethnic minority’ groups so as to supplement dwindling support from its ‘traditional’ constituency – the working class. Whilst it is important not to exaggerate this

development, it is necessary to recognise that the weakening of Labour's social base at a national (UK) level provided the space for 'ethnic minority' incorporation at the local level. Indeed, this space was accentuated by Central Government's support for 'culturally-specific' projects, via UP aid and section 11 funding – funding actively sought by self-organised ant-racist groups. However, incorporation took on a specific dynamic in the Scottish context.

Developing on Dunlop's findings, it can be asserted that by the mid 1980s two influential strands in anti-racist typification had emerged. One centred on the idea that a 'race-relations' problem had up until that point been avoided, but could emerge; the second, that it was a matter of national pride that a nazi presence had not been able to sufficiently root itself in Scotland. These positions emanated largely from two forms of action. The first was institutionalised via the prior establishment of 'Community-Relations', subsequently known as 'Racial Equality', councils; the second emanated from the Labour-Left and Communist Party. The pairing of racism and fascism and the 'need to circumvent inter-racial disorder' meant that anti-racism in effect became anti-fascism whilst racist incidents became 'indicators' of a potential disorder problem. The third element in anti-racist strategy, that of educating for anti-racism, also coalesced within this framework such that the anti-racist explanatory included the posited need to educate so as to avoid the dual outcomes of nazi sympathies and 'inter-racial' disorder. The paradox here is that the absence of fascists and of 'race-riots' in Scotland would lend itself to the claim that 'race-relations' were not a problem in Scotland, forcing the fragmentation of anti-racism and the formation of new organisations with the intention of drawing attention to racism as significant.

Whilst I can agree with Dunlop (1993) that 'black' self-organised groups did begin to emerge in the 1980s, and struck something of a public profile, the dominant rubric which they followed was a continuation of that laid down in the preceding decade. If 'black' self-organised groups did attempt to challenge these representations, they enjoyed little success. Indeed, their fight was more in keeping with a demand for a share of the resources enjoyed by the dominant institutional actors. The impact of SAAC was that it focussed on the racism of elites and challenged the consensus view, held amongst racialised 'community leaders' and at a state-institutional level, that racism was not a problem in Scotland. By definition it challenged the status of the established SCRC. This led to

friction between it and established groups. Such alignments would have a significant affect on the public representation of 'racism' as antithetical to Scottishness, placing anti-racist activists in an uncomfortable position when faced by the counter-claim that 'racism' *was* a problem in Scotland. However, despite the emergence of SAAC, and the purported aim of putting 'racism' on the Scottish agenda, they did not have the ability to significantly alter the public representation of 'racism'. Whilst the development of new politicised groups such as SAAC challenged the assumption that 'racism' was a problem solely of the absence or presence of fascists, and focussed attention on the racism of Scottish institutions and the role of British immigration law in legitimising the second-class status of New Commonwealth migrants, the dominant rubric laid down by the 'race-relations' logic of the CRE had more sway with institutional actors. Paired with a stress on 'the need for cultural respect', culture became homologue for 'race' such that state-institutional intervention was orientated toward the preservation of harmony between different 'ethnic' groups. Consequently, whilst in numbers, anti-racist political mobilisation remained small in Scotland, the influence of these factors on the store of public knowledge pertaining to such matters was significant.

These strands in anti-racism coalesced significantly, both at an institutional level and via public actions. SILC and SCRC had held joint platforms on a number of occasions throughout the 1970s, and inevitably one founding member of SILC, Maggie Chetty, an educationalist and Communist, took up a permanent position at SCRC, which helped provide an important point of contact for the STUC. Furthermore, the most visible pronouncement of anti-racist mobilisation in Scotland, the St Andrews Day anti-racist/fascist march and the multiculturalist SMRAY in 1986, provided important sources for the continuation and transformation of contemporary significations of 'racism' as a social problem in Scotland. 'Racism' sullied the Saltire!

The collapse of an ideological Left-Right framework through which a nationalist consciousness in Scotland was cohered created a space for the elevation of 'anti-racist' claims, but such claims were in keeping with a recognition of past victimisation – significations laid down by anti-racist actors in the previous decade. So, at the same time as the STUC was generating involvement in a plan for a constitutional convention, a leading anti-racist campaigner, holding positions both in SILC and in SCRC, was being asked to participate in the campaign. Chetty, who had always believed in the merits of a

devolved Scottish nation, was successful in securing 'ethnic minority' representation on the convention. Running parallel to the formation of an assembly campaign was the development of STUC interest in forming a 'race' sub-committee. It is no coincidence that on the inauguration of such a committee SILC disbanded. This is most striking in relation to the STUC's eventual role in the St Andrews Day antiracist/fascist march. This rally and the ideological identifications of the dominant organisers set to lay down institutional support for anti-racism as a tool for Scottish self-determination. In essence, the myth of Scottish egalitarianism, paired with a sense of victimisation by English Thatcherite rule, would become a dominant impulse upon which collapsing institutions of post-war welfare capitalism drew in reformulating their role for the post-cold war context. It was, however, a role predicated on the overwhelming defeat of radical utopias.

The institutionalisation of respect for cultural difference made a virtue out of particularism at the expense of universalism, thus undermining the basis of human emancipation. This, of course, is the logic of the postmodern turn to culture. The rationalisation of social limitation, the hallmark of contemporary capitalism, would hence need to take on the added requirement of rationalising social limitation in the absence of an ideological alternative to capitalism. Indeed, the possibility of the latter is explicitly called into question by 'incredulity towards meta-narratives'. In the chapter that follows I will therefore trace the influence of such rationalisation on the Scottish social-historical imaginary. Through an exploration of the increasing availability of public representations of 'racism', I will trace the various strands of anti-racist typification which coalesce in the making of the meaning of 'racism as a Scottish problem' in the 1990s.

Chapter 5: The Ascendancy and Public Dissemination of Anti-Racist Claims

5.1 Introduction

In Chapters Three and Four I sought to utilise and significantly build upon the only substantial sociological work on racism in Scotland to date – the work of Miles and colleagues – remaining at all times fully cognisant of their stricture that the issue of racism remained elusive, not only in the political process, but also as a matter of public record, in the Scottish-based media. We can say with some certainty that whilst this was to an extent the case, a more precise position would be that the specific formulation of the problem of racism kept it off the political agenda. In particular, the articulation of anti-racism with Scottish nationalism skewed the public record, and this remained the case up until the early 1990s. Taking the date of Dunlop's (1993) final publication as a starting point, in this chapter I seek to ascertain to what extent the public record has provided space for 'racism as a Scottish problem', in order to unravel the continuing specificities involved in the making of the meaning of racism as a social problem.

In contrast to the period examined by Dunlop, we can see that the picture changes dramatically between 1994 and 2003. Figure 1 illustrates the overall pattern of 'racism' coverage in the Scottish press over a ten-year period from 1994 to 2004 across five newspapers – *The Herald*, *The Scotsman*, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, *Sunday Mail* and *Daily Record*. As is evident, there is a steady increase from 1994 to 1998, from where there is a sharp increase in 1999, dipping in 2000 before reaching a peak in 2001 from where there is a steady decline in coverage.

Figure 1: Scottish Mediatised Representations of 'Racism' 1994-2003

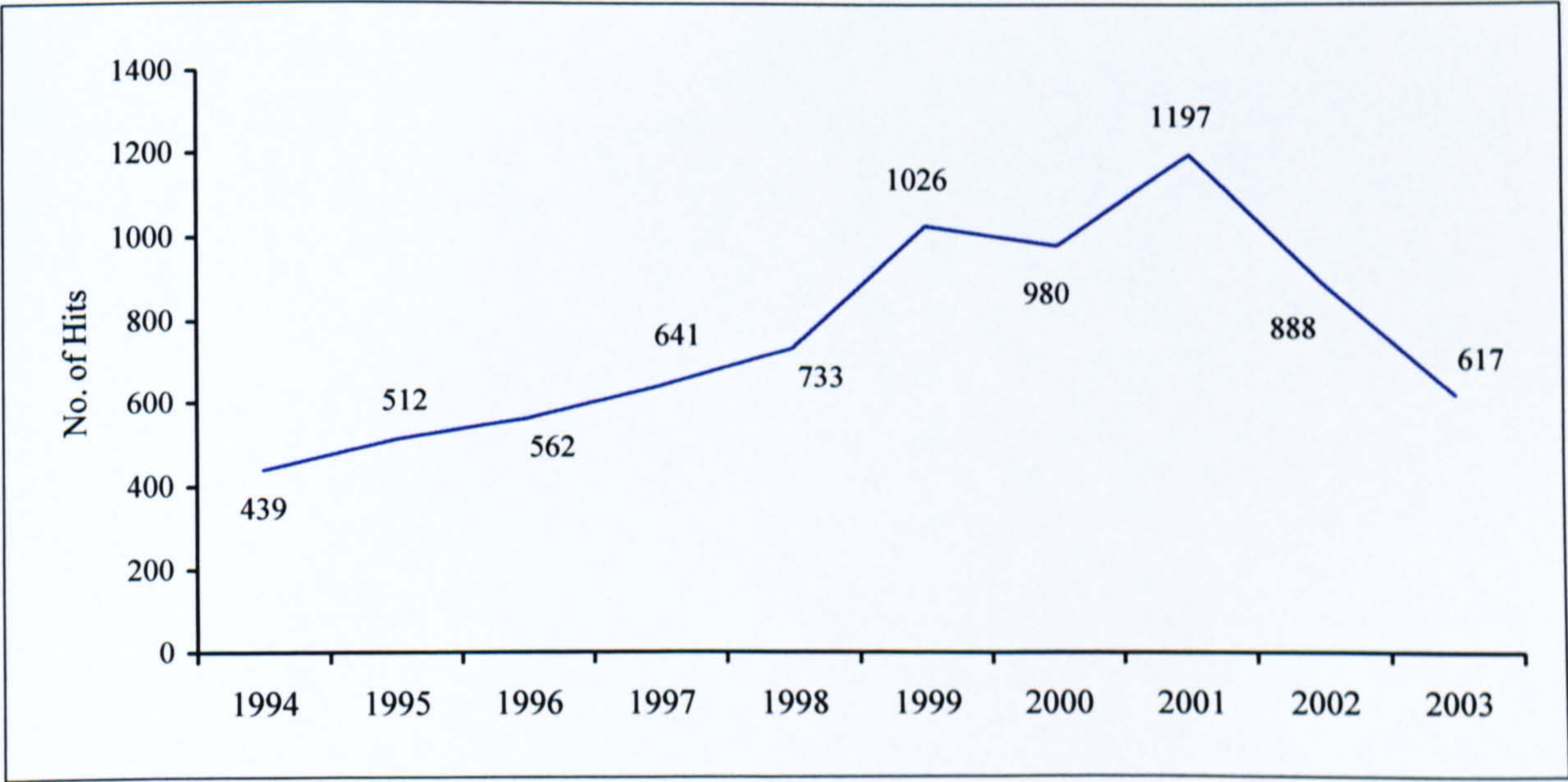
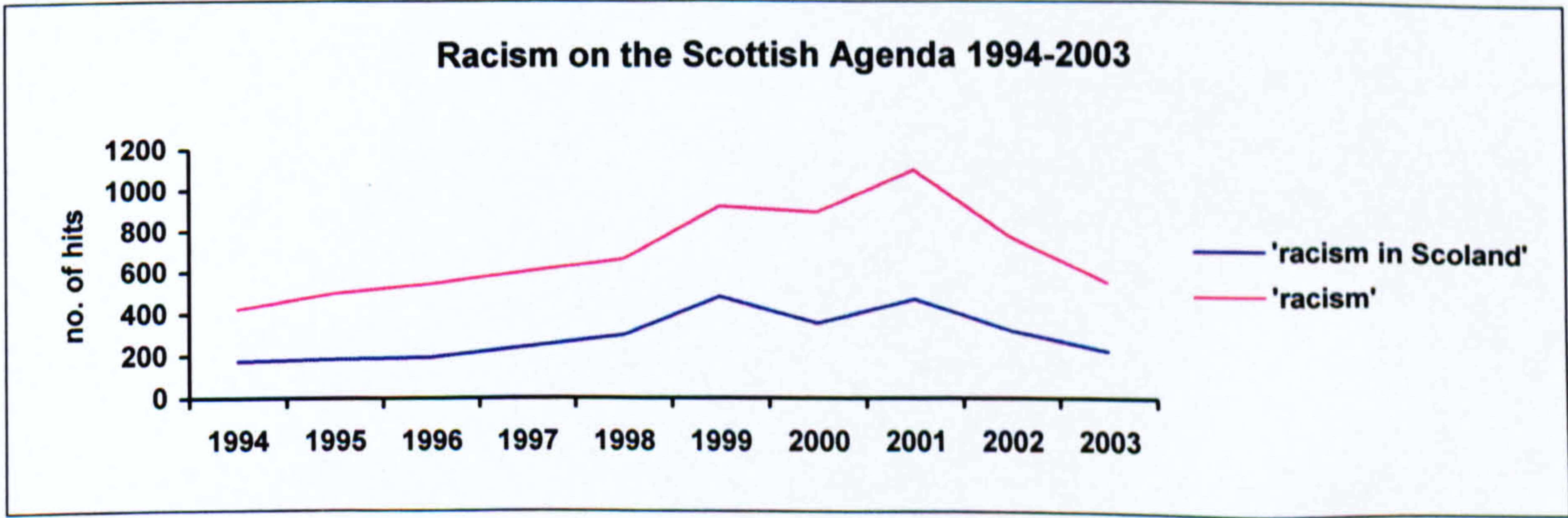


Figure 2 illustrates comparative trends between ‘racism’ coverage and coverage which takes a specifically Scottish focus. For the purposes of manageability I have decreased the number of newspaper sources from five to three to include *The Herald*, *The Scotsman* and *Daily Record*.

Figure 2: Mediatised 'Racism and Scotland' Representations 1994-2003

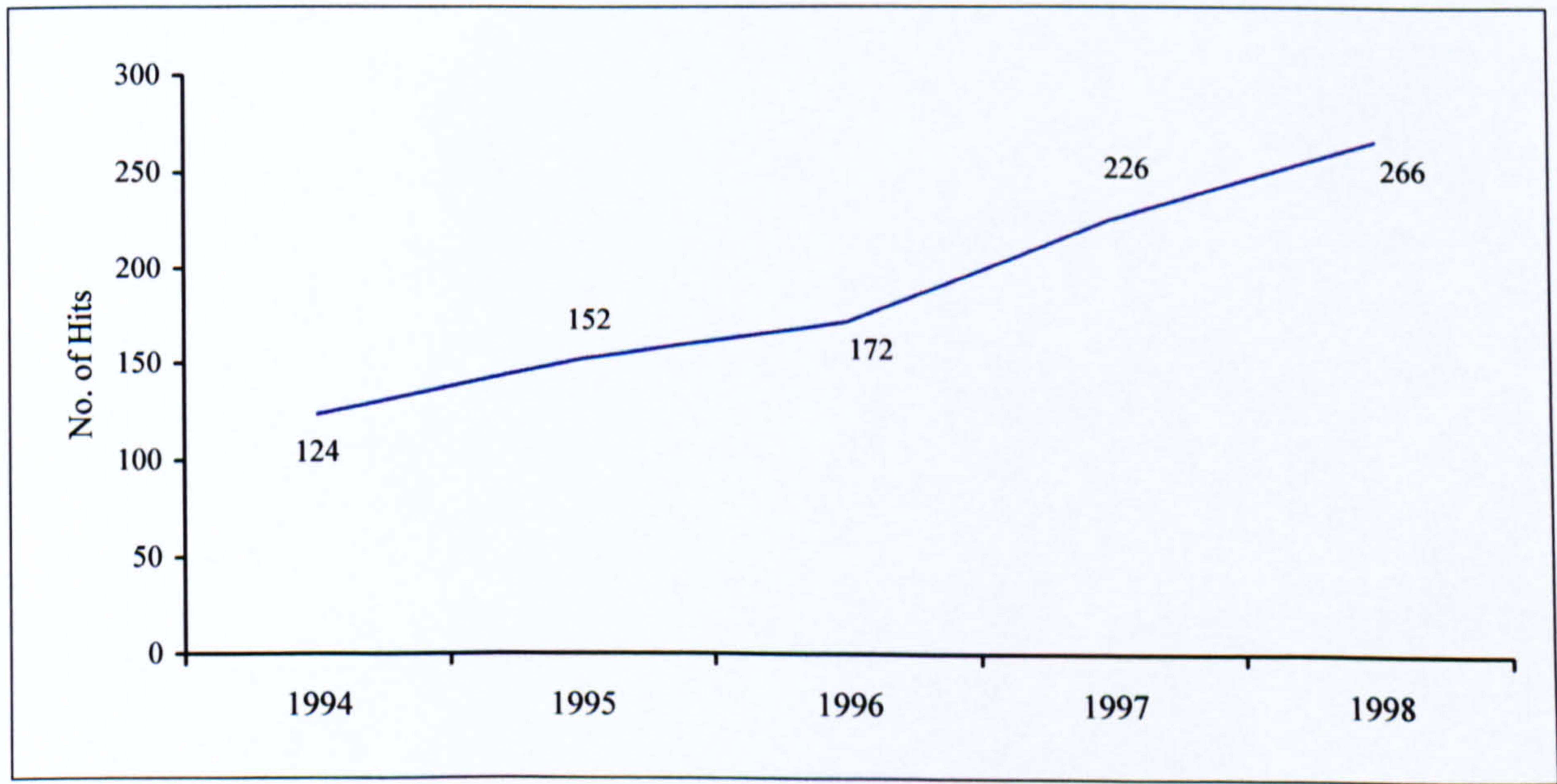


Confining my analysis to three chosen newspapers reveals a similar pattern: a steady increase between 1994 and 1998, a sharp upward turn in 1999, a dip in 2000 before peaking in 2001 from where there is a steady decrease. Turning our attention to ‘racism in Scotland’ reveals a smaller increase in coverage between 1994 and 1996 from where a steady rise mirrors that of general ‘racism’ coverage. Coverage of ‘racism in Scotland’ as a

proportion of overall ‘racism’ coverage over the ten-year period averages at approximately 45%; that is, on average 45% of coverage devoted to the issue of racism takes a specifically Scottish focus. The most significant increase occurs in 1999 when ‘racism in Scotland’ occupies approximately 52% of total ‘racism’ coverage – an increase of 17% since 1996. Next, I take a more detailed look specifically at the five pre-devolution years, 1994–1998.

I am interested here in uncovering anti-racist claims, and the relative access of claims-makers to the public forum facilitated by the Scottish press, in order to ascertain their typificatory power and style. I want to elucidate the way in which anti-racist claims-makers contribute to the making of the meaning of ‘racism in Scotland’. After a preliminary reading of all the articles covering the period 1994–2003, I discarded those which focussed on entertainment such as film, TV, book, and theatre reviews. Figure 3 illustrates the spread of ‘racism in Scotland’ representations from 1994 to 1998.

Figure 3: Mediatised Representations of 'Racism in Scotland' 1994-1998



As is evident, there remains a steady rise of representations over the examined period. My preliminary reading also drew attention to a multiplicity of voices. As listed in Chapter Two, they were subsequently delineated into eight separate analytical categories. To repeat, ‘voices’ are demarcated as follows:

1. Journalistic commentary, including leaders and opinion columns.

- 2. Institutional:
 - a. State-institutional: commentary by political party, civil servant and statutory agent representatives;
 - b. Civic-institutional: commentary by Trade Union, Church, Voluntary and Charity representatives.
- 3. Anti-racist activist:
 - a. Institutional – commentary made by spokesperson of an organisation set up with the aid of public-money for the express purpose of addressing racism;
 - b. non-institutional – commentary made by self-organised anti-racist group representative.
- 4. Experts – academics, policy analysts etc.
- 5. Individual statements:
 - a. Non-aligned individual commentary (letters);
 - b. Statements made by non-aligned individuals involved in discrimination/harassment cases.

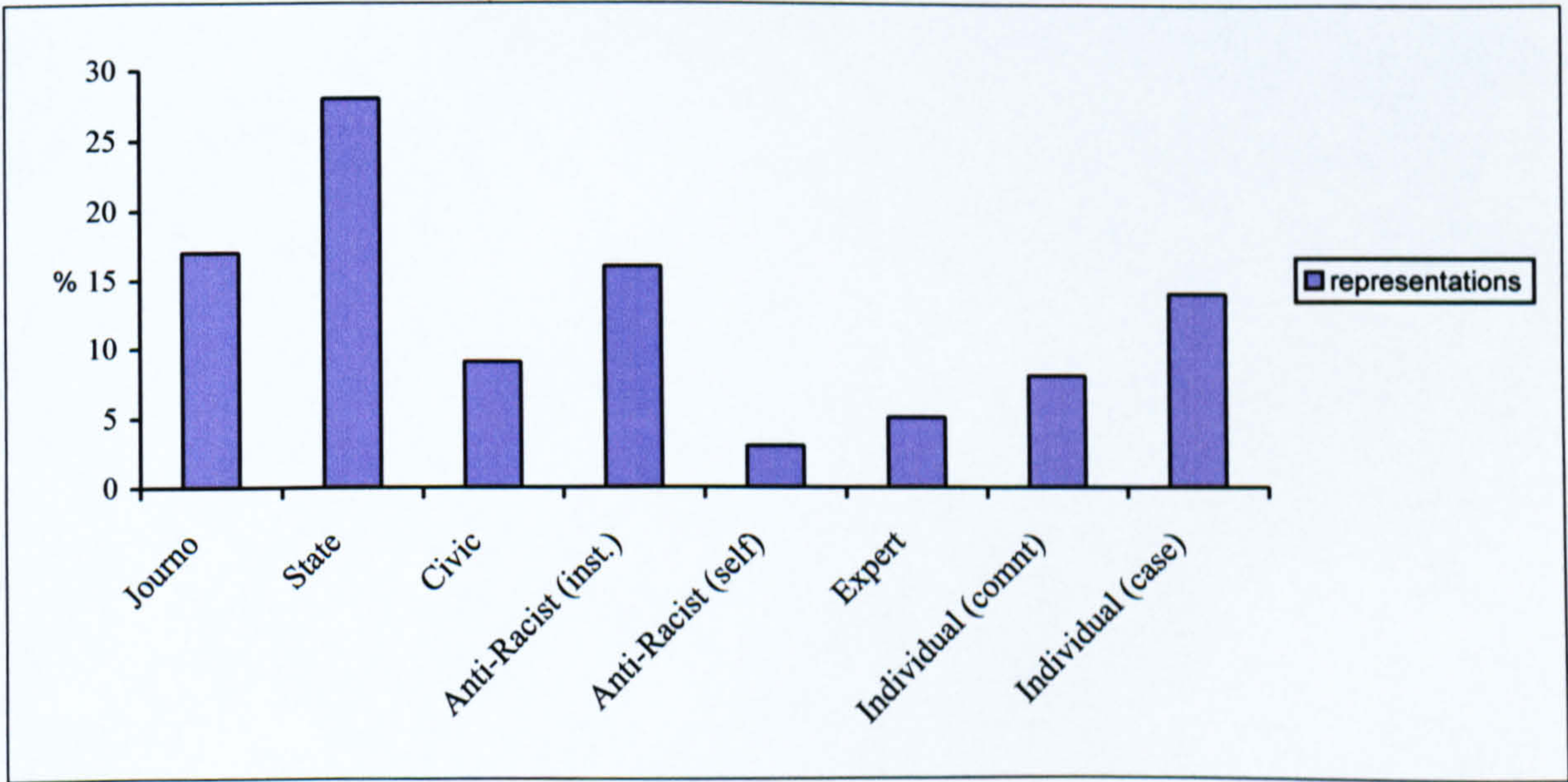
In total, 940 articles focussed specifically on the issue of racism in Scotland between 1994 and 1998. Table 3 indicates number of articles by voice.

Table 3. Articles about racism by voice, 1994–1998

Voice	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	Total	%
1	14	21	22	56	47	160	17
2a	36	50	44	60	75	265	28
2b	16	21	21	15	10	83	9
3a	16	22	39	23	46	146	16
3b	6	5	4	11	5	31	3
4	3	6	12	13	15	49	5
5a	12	7	6	17	33	75	8
5b	21	20	24	31	35	131	14
Total	124	152	172	226	266	940	100%
%	13.2	16.2	18.3	24	28.3	100%	

Figure 4 illustrates that the ‘state-institutional’ voice is the most prominent, contributing 28% of representations. Next, is the ‘journalist’ voice which contributes 17%, followed closely by the ‘anti-racist institutional’ voice at 16%. Articles which explicitly concentrate on the voice of individuals involved in cases of harassment and discrimination contribute 14% of representations, whilst ‘civic-institutional’ actors contribute 9%. Letters from non-aligned individuals contribute 8%, followed by the ‘expert’ voice at 5%. The lowest number of representations, at 3%, is contributed via ‘self-organised’ anti-racist actors. The last figure is significant in that it alerts us to the fact that the rise in coverage of racism has little to do with anti-racist self-organisation. Indeed, the rise in coverage is due mostly to state actors occupying an elite position.

Figure 4: Mediatised 'Racism in Scotland' representations by hierarchy of voice 1994-1998



Whilst I am interested in looking more closely at the relative voice contribution for each year, in the discussion that follows I focus on the two most prominent organisational voices - state-institutional and anti-racist institutional explanatories - utilising other voices where they merge with or contradict the content of either. In this chapter I therefore illustrate the meaning of the making of ‘racism in Scotland’ from 1994 till year end 1997, using mediatised discourses of ‘racism’ from three newspaper sources – *The Herald*, *Scotsman*, and *Daily Record*⁸⁵, so as to elaborate on the wider significance of representations of ‘racism’ to the making of the ‘anti-racist’ Scottish social imaginary instituted by party political, state institutional and anti-racist actors prior to and including the administrative change to Third Way governance in Scotland. The year 1998 will be subject to more specific scrutiny in Chapter Six.

5.2 Anti-Racist Institutional Voice – 1994

Anti-racist representations of ‘racism’ gained publicity early in 1994 due to the launch of the *Let’s Kick Racism out of Football Campaign in Scotland* in January (NS22). At a press

⁸⁵ See Appendix 1 for media search rational.

launch hosted jointly by the CRE and the Scottish Professional Football Association (SPFA), it was announced that 28 out of 38 Scottish Clubs supported the scheme, which encouraged clubs to take a series of “anti-racist measures” including specific anti-racist statements in club programmes, a tough stance toward the “chanting of racist slogans” and “action to prevent the distribution of racist literature in and around the ground on match days”. Addressing the conference, CRE chairman Herman Ousley said that “only a small minority of supporters in Scotland were guilty of racial abuse” but he warned “that this could tarnish the whole reputation of the game”, adding that “the BNP had been active in Glasgow, distributing racist leaflets on match days and attempting to recruit members”. Maggie Chetty (WSREC)⁸⁵, who added that a “heightened temperature had led to a growth of incidents in the Govan, Ibrox and Bellahouston areas on match days”, supported his claim. Here it is clear that the subject perpetrator is being constructed as the subversive influence of extremists, which manifests in a minority of subjects engaging in offensive discursive acts – the subject target is the bearer of the offence, who then goes on to perpetrate. The areas that Chetty lists are associated with working class areas, known to have high Protestant and Asian populations. The association is that certain sections of the working class behave unacceptably toward their Asian neighbours. The solution is that anti-racist state-institutional actors work together with civic institutions to police the behaviour of sections of the working class, but in order to protect them from their own susceptibility to extremism – a hallmark of Füredi’s Therapeutic State.

On 9th April *The Scotsman* (NS23) reported, “Rise in race hate attacks ‘ignored’”; that is, acts associated with racialised emotion were not being taken seriously. Following the decision by the Scottish Office not to extend to Scotland anti-racist measures being considered in the forthcoming Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill which would apply to England and Wales, “race relations groups... accused the Scottish Office of ignoring escalating racist attacks in Scotland”. “Racial harassment isn’t being tackled effectively” claimed Martin Verity, Senior officer of the CRE in Scotland: “all the information we collect suggests that racial harassment is at least as prevalent in Scotland as it is in England and Wales, therefore the law needs to be equally strong”. Iftexhar Ahmed Khan, of Tayside Community Relations Council, indicated, “this is going to send out the wrong

⁸⁵ SCRC changed its name to West of Scotland Community Relations Council (WSCRC) in 1994, following local government re-organisation.

signals. It will pave the way for more people who have been closet racists to come out and engage in activities which will make life hell for ethnic minorities". Chris Oswald, of Lothian Racial Equality Council, said "low-level harassment is extremely unpleasant, it can restrict and wreck the lives of victims ... there is no justification for not implementing this legislation in Scotland". The paper reported that Scottish police "recorded 663 incidents in 1992, more than double the 1988 figure". The true number of "minor and serious incidents is thought to be up to 20 times higher than reported". Thus, the agenda-setting component of state-institutional anti-racism altercasts against the 'insensitivity' of the Conservative administration in Scotland, towards the 'once-silenced' 'ethnic minority' victims living in Scotland. The particularities of the Scottish context, vis-à-vis the denial of racism as a Scottish problem, merge with the language of victimhood, for which there is an increasing recognition.

On 23rd June Bashir Maan wrote for *The Herald* (NS24) that "his generation" of immigrants had been partially responsible for propagating the "no problem here myth". They had been "indoctrinated" under the "arrogance and conceit" of the British Raj to accept subservience and so "they accepted [racism] as the price they had to pay for their presence in Scotland". This "made life a little easier and prevented any serious overt race-related violence, riots or conflict. The absence in Scotland of racialised politics and racialised media during the fifties, sixties, and up to the mid-seventies was also due to the prevalence of this false conception". The consequence of this is that his generation of community leaders "have never endeared [them]selves to the younger generation of Asians" and he is "aware that we have been called Uncle Toms. But the truth is always unpalatable. It will be just as unpalatable for all the Scottish community, not just the Asians". What Maan is actually doing here is posing a warning to the Scots that "riots or conflict" may be a future possibility vis-à-vis the younger generation, thus constructing the social problem of racism as one of the potential for inter-racial disorder. The 'race-relations' problematic is extended to the 'next generation' of racialised subjects. Interestingly, British imperialism is held responsible for the silencing of the older generation.

On 30th June *The Scotsman* reported the findings of a report into racism in primary schools which "claims to explode tolerance myth" (NS25). The report, commissioned by Central Regional Council, was titled "No problem here", and made the point that "the myth of a

non-racist Scotland is wearing thin". Primary school children used racist epithets such as 'Paki' and 'Darkie' on a regular basis and considered ethnic minority children to have lower status. The report also made the point that "boys were more guilty than girls". Councillor Anne Wallace, president of Central Scotland Racial Equality Council, said work was needed to change what she called the "complacent attitude of there is no problem here". She said: "this seems to be a national way of thinking, but hopefully this valuable piece of research will show we can't just sit back and let what racism there is, grow and fester. It's worrying to think that it's possible for racism to remain hidden in schools that are actively trying to promote our anti-racism policies". Racism is here typified as a hidden force in Scottish society, an allusion to masculinity as perpetrator, all of which unrecognised in the unthinking Scottish social imaginary. The use of 'race'-specific epithets is signalled out as a significant problem. Discourse and the masculine subject perpetrator of Enlightenment modernism are being centred within the anti-racist explanatory.

The Scotsman (NS25) also reported that "the Commission for Racial Equality is set to confront Ian Lang over legislation on racial offences in Scotland". The Scottish Office's refusal to incorporate new legislation being proposed in England on the basis that Scots law was already sufficient "was dismissed" by Bob Purkiss, a CRE commissioner and national officer with the TGWU. He said, "the law already singled out some violent offences, such as rape, as deserving a special law". One was "desperately needed which identified the racial motive as a unique factor". He added,

We're saying that racial attacks and racial violence have the same psychological effect on black people and Asian people; that very personalised feeling that it is you being got at and you being attacked.

Here the CRE/Union spokesman is appealing to 'psychological impact' in order to signal the severity of racism thereby strengthening the case for tougher legislation in Scotland. The allusion to a similarity in intensity between rape and racism as a social force indicates that the racist and the rapist are driven by a similar causal force: an allusion to a posited interplay between masculine identity, patriarchy and authoritarianism, and their relation to a problematic 'private sphere'. The therapeutic state is called on to recognise the psychological pain of the subject target – an emotionalised subject – ignored by the 'villainous' Conservative government.

In September Moussa Jogee was appointed CRE Commissioner for Scotland with “a distinct brief: to raise Scotland’s weak profile within the commission, and raise the profile of racial issues in Scotland” (NS26). He continued, “...the myth we have to destroy” is “that there isn’t racism in Scotland. If you look at the five-year figures, they’ve shown that despite the fact that there’s under-reporting, the racism cases reported to the police have more than doubled, more than doubled”. His “battleplan” was to include “seeking meetings with Scotland’s main political leaders, from Mr Salmond and his counterparts in Labour and the Liberal Democrats, through to Rosemary McKenna, the president of the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, to Ian Lang, the Secretary of State”. His “mission”: to “influence directly the course of policy and law-making”. Subsequently, the CRE gave an early indication of how racism was to be shaped as a social problem in Scotland. In November, *The Herald* reported that a “rise in racist attacks could lead to black backlash”. The report quoted CRE policy advisor Maureen Frazer, speaking to a conference of the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) in Dundee, who warned:

Black people are now indigenous in Scotland but, as long as they are not accepted as Scots, services are not appropriate to their needs and they are subjected to abuse and harassment, there is the danger that they will fight back and look for revenge.

In adopting this rhetorical position the CRE’s ‘new approach’ in Scotland continued the terms set down by colonial elites more than 50 years previously in relation to ‘the fear of racial revenge’, but this construction, as will be demonstrated next, is being contextualised in a new political climate.

5.3 State-Institutional Voice – 1994

In 1994, party political ‘racism in Scotland’ debate revolved around the question of the relationship between racism and Scottish nationalism and centred on who should legitimately command the Scottish social imaginary. This stemmed from widely reported incidents in late 1993 concerning attacks on English people resident in Scotland by groups advocating Scottish Independence such as “Scottish Watch”, “Settler Watch” and “Seed of the Gaels” (NS27), leading to the formation of the SNP affiliated “New Scots for Independence” on 11th November 1993 “...by people who have moved to Scotland from England, Wales, France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Belgium and other nations”

(NS28). Peoples of varied national origins, it would seem, were adopting a Scottish nationalist position which saw itself as antithetical to 'extremism'.

On 3rd February, in an article titled, "A mongrel nation with a unique voice" (NS29), SNP candidate for Strathclyde East (European elections), Ian Hamilton QC, "explore[d] the virtue of nationalism and the vice of racialism". "Scotland ... has survived as a nation for more than a thousand years, the last 300 without any form of national Government..." states Hamilton, but

A nation is a community. It exists in its own right, and it is composed of not one, but of many races... Racialism is the dark side of nationalism. Yet just as nations will not go away, neither will races disappear, so it is better to attempt to recognise both.

Here Hamilton is making the case that the 'Scottish nation' is not a homogenous biological 'race', but it has its own internal character, which is as permanent a demarcation as 'race', and which, by nature, is inclusionary of 'different races'; thus, signalling the SNP's bid to espouse a 'cosmopolitan nationalism' in keeping with the post cold-war context. Hamilton goes on to delineate his constituency. "We all come from some race or another, and here in Scotland most of us come from many races. There have always been incomers and there always will be". 'Race' is paired with migration and different 'races' can internalise the Scottish multicultural voice. In fact it is the non-pure biological history of the Scots which makes their voice unique.

There is no such thing as a pure-bred Scot. We are all mongrels, and perhaps it is our mongrel breeding which gives us our restlessness, our curiosity, and our sheer damned bloody-minded intransigence. No Scot would win a prize at Cruft's.

It is not the belief in the superiority of 'race' that moves Scots, it is their historical energy, inquisitiveness and determination. Purity is here castigated as that which emanates from an imposed universal subjectification. Hamilton goes on to identify "... the cause of racialism, and to distinguish it from nationalism". Nationalism is not racism because "...it is empire, the dominion of the few over the many which causes racialism". The subject perpetrator of racism is the credo of imperial subjugation which seeks to rule through the eradication of the 'unique character' of the oppressed nation, by imposing an absolutist Universal subject. "Try to suppress nations, try to make everyone into a common pool of mankind", states Hamilton, "and that is all you get, a common pool of people, who have to

be ruled, and who are incapable of ruling themselves, because they have no traditions and no institutions in common". Universalism depreciates the value of that which is unique, it is the cause of 'racism' because "any attempt to return to their own traditions of government will clash with the rules of government laid down for them in the far-flung empire, upon which the sun never sets, and such attempts will be characterised as native rebellion, and put down as such". The Scots are thereby paired with the oppressed colonial subject whose particularism has been banished.

Hamilton "declare[s] some first principles for this post-imperial world.... As a first principle I declare that empire doesn't work". British history is immoral. "As a second I declare that nationalism and the existence of nations is the prime essential to the survival of the species". The historical particular, the unique voice of national expression, is the essence of the human subject. "That nations cannot exist on their own is a third principle" and this provides the link with the SNP's endeavour towards 'independence in Europe'. "We in Scotland have so much to give and to take from Europe," claims Hamilton, "we should not have to go to Europe through England. We should go there on our own, speaking with our own tongue, trading with our own kind, contributing our own ideas to the common good of all. It was always so until recently". The subject perpetrator is established via the link between the 'arrogance' of English nationalism and the British Empire which has apparently stifled the development of Scotland.

Any Scot must look with astonishment at the posturing of the Southern who is frightened of losing his identity in Europe. If Scotland stands, proud and entire, what is England afraid of? If the question sounds like a racist jeering at another race, I deny it. If it sounds like a nationalist jeering at another nation, I admit it. We all know that there are signs of post-imperial racism in Scotland. It is polite not to notice it, but I am going to say something about it.

Recently there has been some publicity given to what are called White Settlers, that is, people from England, who have come to live among us. In dealing with the subject I reaffirm with all the passion I can my great credo. To be a racist is to deny the common humanity of all mankind.

Yet only a fool would deny that, until we sort out the constitutional question between the two nations of Scotland and England, provocation is there.... We entered the Union as an equal partner, and we have never been treated as such. If indeed the United Kingdom is one nation, then the Scots are a racial minority and are being treated shamefully. The one trench against racism in these islands is to acknowledge that we are of various nations and to insist that we be treated as such.

We Scots suffer more insults than we give, and for the most part we suffer in silence. Sections of the press, so quick to condemn a Scot, are silent when it is a Scot who receives the insult.

We suffer far more from the evils of racialism than we give. May it ever be so. I fear it wherever I see it. I fear it when I see it in England at such ceremonies as Trooping the Colour which is performed to the music Handel wrote to celebrate the return of Butcher Cumberland from Culloden.

Common humanity should be expressed through the unfettered particular which is the voice of the nation – this is the moral good – emanating from the nature of humanness. But note that “the Scots” have now become a “racial minority”. “Trooping the Colour”, a ‘jingoistic’ symbol associated with ‘racism’, is paired with the massacre of the Scots. The Scots are therefore victims of the British Empire. If some Scots perpetrate ‘racism’ it is because of the legacy of the British Empire, which ‘understandably’ precipitates a negative response on the part of the victim towards the ‘English’. The Scottish reaction is not racist, it is a matter of national pride. The subjugated Scots are the subject targets of racism who “suffer in silence”. English nationalism is the subject perpetrator. Scottish self-government is the object target – the goal – the full flowering of the once subjugated unique Scottish voice – a ‘racially’ oppressed minority – must realise itself in heteronomous statehood.

On 12th March *The Herald* reported that the Scottish Labour Party Conference (NS30) “...Condemns Anti-English Racism”. In a point directed toward the SNP “the views of ... two extremist campaign groups were dismissed as misguided and dangerous”. “The ‘racist anti-English’ views of the groups Scottish Watch and Settler Watch came under heavy fire ... from MPs and delegates in Dundee during a wide -ranging debate on crime”, reported *The Herald*. Mounting a defence of “the English” subject target an Edinburgh delegate, Paolo Vestri, “deplored” the “cancerous message” of “Settler Watch and Scottish Watch”. Vestri contested the sickening of the social body, with the counter-claim that “...while the groups protested over English men and women working in Scotland there are many more Scots working in England”. “What would we say about an organisation called English Watch which called for Scots people to be thrown out of England?” he asked. “There are now in fact more Scots Tory MPs in England than there are in Scotland”, adding in a joking reference to three former Scottish Conservatives now with English seats: “We do not want Malone, Sproat, and the likes of Ancram back in Scotland”. Another delegate from Prestonpans, Karen Butler, protested against “The hijacking of Scottish national heroes by Settler Watch and Scottish Watch”. She said, ‘Whoever heard of Rob Roy or

Wallace creeping round with paint brushes in the middle of the night?” The affiliation of groups branded as extremist with the project of Scottish independence casts aspersions on the political programme of the SNP – it breeds ‘sinister’ representations. The distance which the first speaker places between Labour and English Toryism is also significant. That such representations took place within a discussion on crime signalled Labour’s pairing of crime with ‘outdated’ and ‘dangerous’ political ideologies. The nature of the contest between Labour and SNP lies in the ability of each to portray the other as racist villain, by pairing their rivals with extremism – deemed harmful.

On 23rd April the *Daily Record* (NS31) reported that an English couple were “being hounded out of their homes in a vicious anti-English hate campaign”, thus explicitly pairing an emotionalised conception of behaviour with racism and the experiences of the English in Scotland. Their local SNP councillor was reported to have said, “there is no place in Scotland for this kind of racism”. On 10th May *The Scotsman* (NS32) reported from a Labour election launch of Euro candidate Bill Miller attended by Labour MPs Donald Dewar and George Robertson. “A key policy would be attacking racism and neo-Nazism,” reported *The Scotsman*. Miller said, “there is a growing awareness that race relations in Scotland are not as healthy as we always assumed them to be”. Here recognition of a “race relations problem” and “neo-Nazism” are further paired with hate as emotion, whilst the link with anti-Englishness is provided on 31st May by the *Daily Record* (NS33): “anti-English racists have launched a new campaign to spread their message of hate throughout Scotland,” adding that “Shadow Scots Secretary Henry McLeish [Labour] slammed the racists”. Quote McLeish, “it’s a very worrying development. Clearly these people are on the march”. Maryhill’s Labour MP Maria Fyfe “revealed how an English colleague in the district elections had been targeted by racists”; “the man was sent a note showing a gibbet and the words: ‘Get Out Or Die, Englishman’”. Fyfe added “it is up to everyone to make it quite clear that they will have nothing to do with these organisations”. The paper states, “the SNP has already branded Scottish Watch and Settler Watch ‘racist nutters’”. The SNP are moved to distance themselves from ‘extremist’ peddlers of ‘race hatred’ toward the English. It is quite remarkable that ‘Englishness’ is being propagated as a racially and emotionally abused identity.

On 29th July *The Scotsman* (NS34) reported that “a fringe group of extreme Scottish nationalists threatened physical attacks against two leading SNP figures...resurrecting the

row about anti-English nationalism". The SNP responded "there is no possibility of the SNP being intimidated from our principled stand against racism by this handful of lunatics. The dangerous and intimidatory tactics of bomb hoaxes and bomb alerts should play no part in Scottish politics". The SNP now begin to portray its own organisation as a subject target. But this is a contested possibility. On 2nd September *The Herald* (NS35) reported that George Robertson, Labour MP for Hamilton, had made a speech in Frankfurt where he described nationalism as "possibly the worst danger to world stability today". "He details its darker side" states the report, "-- the Nazi state in Germany and the ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia -- and, while he does not include the Scottish National Party in such excesses, the juxtaposition of the SNP with references to Hitler will anger many in the party". Indeed, the reference to Hitler did not go unnoticed by Allan Macartney, the SNP's deputy leader, who condemned Robertson for engaging in "pathetic scaremongering" (NS36), later adding that whilst Unionist parties "equate nationalism with exclusiveness, chauvinism (i.e. a feeling of superiority), fascism, imperialism and racism" these were "all forces which our party has resolutely combated". The SNP is the "anti-elitist" hero against Unionist villainy, for "our Scottish nationalism, as well as being demonstrably democratic and peaceful, is not exclusive but inclusive", of all particular subjectivities which share anti-elitism. He went on,

We are not trying to exclude anyone on the grounds of ancestral claims: we want to include everyone living in Scotland in our ambition of a free tolerant Scottish democracy where – unlike in the UK- individual civil rights will be safeguarded by a written constitution. (NS36)

A letter in *The Scotsman* (NS37) on 6th September by an SNP supporter captured the essence of SNP-Labour tension:

Mr Robertson's speech reminded me of an incident in the 1967 Pollok by-election in Glasgow. I was canvassing for George Leslie, the SNP candidate. Up a stair, I met a Labour canvasser who said to me: 'Don't you know – nationalism died with Hitler'. My reply was: 'Sorry, Hitler was on your side, not mine. He was not in favour of freedom for small nations!'" (I do not and did not regard the Labour canvasser as a fascist, but as being misinformed). In my definition, seeking to control other people's countries, communities and resources, against their will, whether it means killing or expelling the people or merely requiring them to conform to the wishes and culture of the aggressor, is imperialism rather than nationalism. Most of the trouble spots around the world today result from such imperialism, recent or historic. The past, and continuing, imperialism of the Anglo-

British state set the scene for many of them. It seems to me to be a Scottish duty to help to build a better future, free of imperialism, in Europe and in the world.

It is important to note, that whilst lines of argument against Nazism as racism, a familiar element in Scottish based anti-racist explanatory, are still utilised, typification takes on new strands which are in keeping with an anti-extremism which is defensive on the question of ideological imposition. The ideologies under question are those which do not respect authenticity claims. However, there is a clamour to identify authenticity with victimisation. Both Labour and SNP seek to portray their respective projects as that of Hero to the victims of absolutist Enlightenment ideologies. From Malik's perspective, 'Scottish' politics is becoming anti-modern, in its defence of the particular over 'universalist imposition'. In Castoriadian terms, the debate is anti-Politics. The constituencies appealed to are comprised of diminished subjects.

5.4 Anti-Racist Institutional Voice – 1995

The 'seriousness' of racism in Scotland was reported early in 1995, first when CRE lobbying failed to have a Scottish component introduced into the Conservative's Crime and Disorder Bill; second, when a tenant was evicted for racially harassing a neighbour in Dundee, dubbed "the capital of race hatred"; and third, when the Scottish judiciary was accused of ignoring the racial element in criminal proceedings (NS38). Harmful racialised emotions were being displayed whilst being ignored by the 'immoral' Conservative Party.

In April *The Herald* (NS39) reported that a "racial timebomb needs defusing". Speaking at Lothian Black Youth Forum, an initiative set up to combat the "alienation" which comes from being "black and Scottish", Dharmendra Kanani, then Director of Lothian Racial Equality Council, provided the project's rationale: "if racial attacks continue to provoke no reaction from the police or the education departments, what is left? The young people can turn to their families or fight back. Eventually they will fight back". Later that month the CRE launched its *Uniting Britain for a Just Society* campaign (NS40). Speaking at the launch in Edinburgh, Herman Ousley reiterated the point that "the ethnic minority population in Scotland may be smaller than in some other parts of Britain but Scots of ethnic minority origin continue to suffer discrimination and harassment no less than those living elsewhere in Britain". Moussa Jogee added,

We will be tapping into the rich vein of tolerance and fairness that enriches Scottish society, whilst challenging the assumptions and complacency often based on these self-same feelings, which find expression in the 'no problems here' attitude, which we hear so often in Scotland.

Jogee invokes egalitarian symbolism associated with Scottishness, in an attempt to penetrate the Scottish social imaginary, to harness emotional identification with the cause of anti-racism. Combining this with Kanani's prescription of an 'ethnic minority' youth backlash, reveals that the fusing of both typificatory strands presents 'race relations' as a threat to the deemed importance of an emotional identification with Scottishness: threatened by racial victimisation. The 'national' identity of racialised subjects is being therapised.

5.5 State-institutional Voice – 1995

Labour/SNP tension resurfaced in 1995, but not before *The Herald* (NS41) interviewed SNP leader Alex Salmond in August.

Q: Some Labour politicians have drawn parallels between nationalism and racism, does that give you difficulties?

A: Labour's attack does not give us difficulties. The SNP has a very good image because people recognise the SNP as a party thirled to democratic traditions. If the SNP had a weakness in the past, because it was concentrating on the key constitutional aspects about Scotland it tended to ignore social divisions within Scotland. I don't think the SNP can do that.

The SNP has to address social divisions in Scotland and always be a party and a force which is leading and arguing and demanding greater understanding and co-operation between the various groups and elements in Scottish society.

I've recently had a number of meetings with the Pakistani community in Scotland which have been extremely productive, extremely positive, and which are going to emerge as another key element in the rainbow coalition that the SNP is bringing forward supporting independence in Scotland.

So I think the SNP must get much more involved in issues, not just supporting the anti-racism campaigns which the SNP has done for a number of years, but also taking a proactive role in promoting greater understanding of the strength of Scottish society which lies to a great extent in its diversity. Scotland, to use William McIlvanney's term, is, and has always been, a mongrel nation, and we should be proud of that.

Here the seminal logic in the SNP's 'anti-racist' position is that the Scottish nation and hence a project for independence is not exclusionary but, following Ian Hamilton's earlier statement, predicated on heterogeneity. At the heart of this project lies the need to connect with 'minority' groups who have suffered from neglected social divisions. A place in the Scottish social imaginary needs to be cultivated for those victims of past injustice – a therapeutic approach fits the SNP's need to distance itself from the castigation of an insensitive 'narrow nationalism'. However, in the absence of a project for autonomy, the heteronomy of nationhood - a failure of Enlightenment universalism - is being fragmented into ever-smaller identifiers which place Political action beyond the reach of the diminished subject.

Political controversy arose in September following an internal Labour Party document authored by Shadow Scottish Secretary George Robertson, leaked on the eve of the SNP's annual conference. Robertson warned of the "dark side of nationalism" (NS42). *The Herald* reported that he "was happy to link this to recent cases involving threats and intimidation by Nationalist extremists". Robertson said "those of us, and there are a number who have been recipients of letter bombs and death threats, need to make people aware of the darker side of nationalism". Robertson "accused the SNP of standing back from extremists and said the fact that an extremist fringe existed fed on their rhetoric and prejudice". He also drew attention to "recent comments by west coast SNP councillor Jim Mitchell describing Labour as traitors and Uncle Toms, saying the SNP leadership had to condemn this kind of language". Interestingly, here Labour is castigating the SNP for not condemning language usually associated with anti-racism. It would seem then that the use of 'disparaging' epithets such as 'Uncle Tom' might precipitate an escalation of trouble – an allusion to 'race-relations' logic. The 'wrong type' of anti-racism uses disparaging terminology. Anti-racism *should* be inoffensive. The right to be offensive, and hence to 'offend' racists, usually associated with freedom of speech and a liberal project, is diminished by Labour's 'anti-racist' logic. SNP chief executive, Michael Russell, responded: "Democracy is very precious and democratic parties should be making common cause against extremists instead of making cheap points against other political parties who have never endorsed racism". A call for a consensus against extremism helps to distance both parties from the charge of racism, whilst simultaneously constructing racism as the cause of extremists.

Controversy again erupted when SNP leader Alex Salmond, speaking at their annual conference, embraced the message of the Hollywood movie *Braveheart*. *The Herald* reported that Salmond “began his speech to the Scottish National Party conference in Perth with a reference to the Wallace epic *Braveheart*. He brought it up again throughout the speech. And he ended it, just as Mel Gibson, disembowelled, ended his part in *Braveheart*, with a cry of ‘Freedom, Freedom’. It was an emotive, well- delivered speech, with the Wallace factor appreciated by the audience” (NS43). Supporting Salmond’s approach, SNP chief Executive Michael Russell later defended the movie,

Fortunately, we have a film which re- creates as drama – not as historical documentary – the essential truths of Wallace's life and beliefs and which does not take the easy but untrue options of racism or empty hagiography. Drama does not deal with primary sources, but with emotions and the broad sweep of history. (NS44)

Emotion is signalled as commanding great historical significance that should not be equated with racism, but with the subject target – national pride ‘disembowelled’; that is, the ‘oppressed’ Scot. Labour’s Brian Wilson countered in a column piece in *The Herald* (NS45):

A few weeks before this year's local elections an SNP councillor in my constituency sent out a press release which proudly described the 69 MPs elected by the Scottish people who are not of his own Nationalist persuasion as ‘quislings who collaborate with their English masters’.

Contrary to the past week's indignant protests that this kind of talk is actively discouraged by the Nationalist leadership, it is in fact their common currency of political repartee as any regular perusal of the Scottish local press will confirm.

Wilson is here employing the implicit logic of ‘race-relations’ to frame ‘Scottish-English’ relations. However, note that the SNP candidate is being castigated for being arrogant and dismissive of the ‘legitimate’ voice of anti-nationalism. The SNP’s discursive attacks are castigated as potentially causing increased social unrest – nationalist arrogance leads to conflict. Consequently,

Mr Salmond and his fractious cohorts are surely in danger of protesting a little too much, instead of recognising that they have a problem which it is in their -- and Scotland's -- interests to address.

In the past week's war of words there are essentially two positions. Mr Salmond insists that the Scot Nats are a modern, democratic party which has no truck with

racism or extremism. George Robertson points to “the darker side of nationalism” and suggests that the language and strategy of the SNP gives it succour. The problem is that these two statements do not greatly overlap. It is possible for them both to be 90% true. The SNP would not touch overt racism, far less the loonier activities of the Nationalist fringe, with a barge pole. But neither can it ever resist -- in the name of modern, democratic politics -- pressing the same buttons which are favoured by the darker forces.

This is a curious position. Wilson is arguing that Modernism is inherently dangerous; that using the language of Modernism ‘presses the buttons’ of racists. This of course emanates from an anti-modernist logic which is the hallmark of post-war intellectual pessimism. Consequently, the SNP cannot extricate itself from the historical legacy of fascism.

Why on earth are they standing outside cinemas showing Braveheart in order to hand out political leaflets? According to Mr Salmond's conference speech it is due to the film's potential for “inspiring” Scots and teaching youngsters “the truth” about Scottish history. There indeed speaks the forked tongue of nationalism.

This is the milk of anti-enlightenment discourse – the pursuit of ‘truth’ as a means of inspiring a future project is ‘inspired’ by evil. Such is the danger of nationalism. Labour’s elite spokesman has adopted the language of anti-elitism as the party’s ideology; that is, an elitist anti-elitist position. Racism is paired with the pursuit of ‘absolute truth’.

As Mr Salmond well knows, Braveheart is a goodies and baddies parody of one episode in Scottish history. His crude hope is that, by touching the plaid of a reluctant Mel Gibson, he can exploit the anti-English sentiments in the film. I think he will be disappointed. Cheering Geronimo does not make one a Red Indian.

But here Wilson is saying that Salmond’s attempt to invoke an emotional identification with the ‘Scottish experience of historical oppression’ is wishful thinking – the Scots are not the victims of the English. Indeed, if victimisation is to be invoked it is through attending to a historical legacy of Holocaust that the SNP’s politics are deemed to diminish.

Do modern, democratic political parties really try to exploit Hollywood bowdlerisations of 700-year-old history? I would have thought that most parties answering to that description are more interested in putting aside the ethnic conflicts of 50 years ago than in stirring up those of the fourteenth century.

Nevertheless the SNP drew moral capital at their conference when “a group of Scots Asians declared the SNP ‘natural territory’ for them ... and forecast they would soon be

among thousands backing the party's drive for independence" (NS46). Salmond, who said he "had been dismayed by the racist application of immigration laws in his constituency", added, "the group illustrated that Labour did not have a monopoly on Scottish Asian votes, with significant and growing support for the SNP". Salmond appeals to the denigration associated with the anti-universalist principles underpinning British immigration law, which are known to have been supported by Labour. *Scots Asians for Independence* (SAFI), launched at the conference, "declared their disaffection with Labour and said that there were parallels with their own ethnic position and that of Scotland in Britain". SAFI leader Bashir Ahmed said they had "been impressed by the SNP's stance against racism". He stated, the SNP's "policies can give us a voice where we can represent ourselves and portray our needs and requirements". Another member, Humryum Hanif, said he "looked forward to a multi-cultural Scotland and felt the SNP was natural territory for his community". Ahmed told the conference:

Many of us, our fathers and grandfathers, have experienced the struggle for independence. The struggle against colonialism was won in country after country but here in Scotland it still goes on and it is not surprising people like me are interested in the SNP. The nation we seek is one in which the question which will be asked is not: 'Where do you come from?' but 'Where are you going?'

Here Lenin's call to self-determination of colonial peoples is subsumed under the Stalinist logic of 'socialism in one country' – albeit without the 'socialism' part, further bolstering the view that the Scots are an oppressed colonial people. The victim-centred credentials of the SNP are established, together with the need for the recognition of culturally specific needs – the *raison d'être* of identity politics. The object target is multiculturalism; that is, the celebration of the particular is presented as a universal good. The anti-racist explanatory is rendered more complex.

5.6 Anti-Racist Institutional Voice – 1996

There was little in the way of institutional anti-racist representation throughout 1996. In December (NS47), state institutional anti-racist groups applauded the announcement by Fife Council that "racist tenants" were to be forced to take anti-racist "re-educational programmes or face eviction". Chris Oswald, director of Fife Racial Equality Council, said: "Racial harassment has been an increasing problem in Fife... this policy will be an important step in ensuring equality for all tenants and we shall work with Fife Council to

make sure the policy is effective”. Martin Verity (CRE) said the measures were “very positive and far-reaching steps which should redress the balance in favour of victims of racial harassment”. He added: “It is always the victims that have to move and we encourage the measures to evict and prosecute the perpetrators of racial harassment”. Councillor Theresa Gunn, chairwoman of Fife's social strategy committee, said: “This is just a part of our policy to stamp out racism in Fife. We completely abhor any form of racial harassment and we will take every possible step to bring racists into line.... We are looking to work with any group to enforce the message that everyone is equal in Fife. We will bring in police, tenants' associations and racial equality groups to ensure that racial harassment does not happen”. The move followed logically from a report titled *Whose Community?* launched in October (NS48), which ‘uncovered’ “the impact of racism on one of Scotland's largest housing estates”. The report, published by *Wester Hailes Against Racism Project* in Edinburgh, revealed that “nearly 60% of black and ethnic minority residents living there have suffered racial harassment”. Milind Kolhatkar, chairman of WHARP had said: “this report highlights the urgent need for central and local government, together with the private and voluntary sectors, to set up positive action programmes to tackle racism at both an institutional and individual level”. Thus, the well-intentioned actions of anti-racists can have the added effect of legitimising increased state-surveillance of the ‘dangerous’ working class.

5.7 State-Institutional Voice – 1996

The link between emotional abuse, the power of words, football, fascist English invasion, and national image was strengthened in January (NS49) when “Edinburgh... became the first city in Scotland to offer financial help to remove racist graffiti from private homes and commercial buildings”. The council's senior deputy director of housing, Angiolina Foster, said: “the image of Edinburgh as a city of contrasts is clichéd, but it is never more appropriate than in the area we are concerned about. The worldwide renowned beauty of Edinburgh sits very uneasily with the image of racism and graffiti on its oh-so beautiful architecture”. The council's “race relations” convenor, Alan Tweedie, said “it was a myth that Scotland did not have a problem with racism. There is evidence that racism is rising in Scotland and there are more incidents of racial harassment being reported”. He added, “there is an organisation south of the Border which is targeting Scotland and specifically it targets football organisations in the capital. We can hopefully counteract what are a

minority in our community trying to carry out racist strategies". The paper added, "the reference was to the neo-fascist groups, Combat 18 and the British National Socialist Movement, which are reported to be recruiting in Scotland". Consequently, "offensive messages were often left on buildings". Ramia Itani, of the *Lothian Black and Ethnic Minority Victim Support Project*, said that "families were still scarred even after the graffiti had been scrubbed from walls". "It really ruins their lives; it is not just the mothers and the fathers it affects, it is also the children, and it goes on forever," she said. "One family had racist graffiti and once it was removed they refused to go back to the house. They didn't want to live there. They had a feeling that everything was mucked up and dirty. We had to move them elsewhere it was so bad". She said, "support sometimes needs to continue for months because of eating problems and children getting depressed at school". Whilst psychological impact is stressed, a housing department spokesman added that "most of the racist graffiti has been found in shopping precincts on estates such as Wester Hailes, Niddrie and Granton" – predominantly impoverished working class areas. In support of Füredi's thesis, 'racism' is being constructed as a discursive cause of deep psychological scarring, and is more likely to be perpetrated by impoverished working class subjects.

In February a CRE report extended the theme of 'racism as threat to institutional credibility'. The report (NS50) into ethnic minority recruitment in the police, by Dr Robert Oakley, singled out Strathclyde police as having a particularly poor record in comparison to other forces, and "warned that individual police forces laid themselves open to industrial tribunal actions for racial discrimination, which now have unlimited cash awards open to them, plus bad publicity, loss of morale inside the force, and damage to its credibility". The report's author said: "there's clearly not the public commitment in written form from the organisation that this is both important and something should be done about it. If you're serious, you need to make it clear and public". In March (NS51), the CRE gave "the armed forces... one year to improve dramatically their recruitment and treatment of black and Asian soldiers after they were found guilty of serious breaches of the Race Relations Act". CRE commissioner Bob Purkiss said: "... we have to admit that whilst a Jamaican immigrant in the US can make it to the Chief of Defence, here someone from an ethnic minority has tremendous difficulty rising above a sergeant". There were no ethnic minority recruits "in the Royal Highland Fusiliers, which recruits almost entirely from around Glasgow – Scotland's heaviest concentration of ethnic groups – nor in the Scots Guards or Black Watch". Richard Mottram, permanent under-secretary at the Ministry of Defence,

said at a joint press conference “We are determined to put this problem right”. The object target of racism is the inhibited participation of racialised groups in key state-institutional bodies, with which it is important for ‘ethnic minorities’ to identify. The importance of such identification, it can only be assumed, rests on the need to maintain a sense of social cohesion, which discrimination threatens.

Meanwhile, ‘Govan constituency’ fermented Labour/SNP tension throughout 1996 as both parties competed to include “New Scots” in their constituencies, simultaneously identifying, through a process of altercasting, self-other as hero/villain of ‘the oppressed’.

On 1st February *The Herald* (NS52) reported “the Labour Party in Govan was engulfed in fresh accusations of racism yesterday, after angry Asians stormed out of a branch meeting amid claims of ballot-rigging”. Forty Asian members walked out of a branch meeting after a “white member who had arrived late had been allowed to vote despite two Asian members being disallowed a vote due to lateness”. Apparently, “the party hierarchy in Scotland was appalled that the constituency appeared to be disintegrating into the worst kind of civil war along largely racial divisions”. Mike Watson MP criticised incumbent Mohammed Sarwar supporters, saying: “Walking out of any meeting is never a positive contribution”. He added: “certain aspects of the meeting were open to challenge in terms of the rules. However, to suggest that there was a conspiracy, far less a conspiracy along racist lines, is a nonsense. People should think very carefully before making such allegations”. Councillor Archie Graham “also rejected the suggestion of racism but accepted that the meeting had been badly handled, genuine mistakes had been made and a rerun should be held”. The sensitivity with which the party views an accusation of racism emanates from the dual need to appear moral and to sustain support from ‘ethnic minority’ groups.

The meaning of ‘racism’ was continuously shaped by party political altercasting around the moral object-target of ‘minority inclusion’ in the Scottish social imaginary. On 20th February the SNP announced that it was to “step up its campaign to boost support among minority communities”. *The Herald* (NS53) reported ahead of Salmond’s planned speech to a SAFI Eid dinner. According to an SNP press-release, Salmond would use the occasion, “to make an appeal embracing all minority communities in Scotland, designed to reach out to Scotland in all its diversity”, emphasising the SNP’s “vision of Scotland as a nation which is both diverse and cohesive and the role which independence can play in

developing Scotland as a modern European nation". Thus, the moral objective of anti-racism is constructed. Adding to the idea that 'ethnic minority inclusion' lent itself to national cohesion, whilst simultaneously branding Labour as immoral perpetrator of exclusion, an SNP source said "Alex's will be a positive visionary speech, looking at the new Scotland, and re-affirming the party's commitment to the principles of equality and diversity, but he might talk about discrimination particularly in light of Sarwar over which many people feel they have been badly let down by Labour".

SAFI chairman Bashir Ahmed provided moral fortification for the SNP: "People like me who used to vote for Labour by habit have changed to SNP because we know more about them and many other people are wanting to find out what the SNP are all about". At the dinner Salmond castigated Labour in the name of Scotland: "some of the prejudices which have been exposed by their recent behaviour are stains on Scottish society. In the manner of their candidate selection, just as in their record in local government, both new Labour and old Labour are the same. They are the shame of Scotland". The nation is besmirched by Labour's 'racism'. Labour's Scottish General secretary Jack McConnell described the comments as "pathetic": "Asian Scots" would "not be fooled by opportunist posturing when they know Labour's proud record, through Scottish local authorities, of supporting and developing ethnic minority community life". McConnell turned the accusations on the SNP: "they were known by political activists to be an intolerant party"; Salmond "had refused to take action against those in his party who condoned prejudice". The SNP brings "extremism" to Scotland.

Salmond added that the SNP would "introduce a Bill of Rights and written constitution to outlaw discrimination... everyone living in Scotland at the time of independence would be granted citizenship", and in contrast to both Labour and Conservative "there would be no racist application of immigration laws". Salmond reiterated that "efforts would be made to improve relations with all communities" (NS54). The logic is that racist immigration laws lead to bad 'race-relations', not that the racist predicate of British immigration law emanates from the fear of racial revenge – the product of a racist world-view which sought protection of 'white' rule against the incumbent 'other'.

Labour MP Brian Wilson (NS55), demarcating racism as "a force in society that should be above petty meddling", later responded:

It seems to me that there is only one charge which distinguishes it [Govan] from 100 other selection battles in all parts of the country and, at various times, in all parties. It is the charge of racism, and that is one which should not be levelled by sensible people unless and until they have very good evidence to support it.

The SNP was unscrupulous in its allegations: using anti-racism cynically undermines the legitimate claims of minorities:

... as a statement of general principle – it is dangerous and unhealthy to presume that because there are two candidates of different ethnic origins ‘racism’ is by definition a factor. That is patronising to minorities and debilitating to free discussion.

Consequently, it was the SNP, not Labour, who were bringing shame to Scotland.

Where there are cowpats there are flies, and the efforts of Mr Alex Salmond to alight upon the Govan controversy confirms that point. According to Mr Salmond: ‘Some of the prejudices which have been exposed by their (Labour's) recent behaviour are stains on Scottish society.’ Really?

Scotland’s national pride was therefore better served by Labour:

Well, if a politician makes that charge then he surely has an obligation to back it up. But Mr Salmond has no first-hand information to offer.... You cannot have ‘prejudices’ without individuals practising them. Does Mr Salmond have names to name? Or is it just smear, smear, smear? ...Perhaps he should reflect that there are some forces in society which are too important for opportunists to meddle in. It's to Scotland's credit that it can usually spot them a mile away.

‘Govan’ continued to draw media attention throughout the year, especially after Sarwar won the June election candidacy for Labour, precipitating the resignation of eight executive members of Govan Constituency Labour Party (NS56). However, the attention of both SNP and Labour shifted somewhat after an “all-party pact against racism”, promoted by the CRE, was pledged by Lord James Douglas Hamilton, minister of state at the Scottish Office, Scottish Labour leader George Robertson, Scottish Liberal Democrat leader Jim Wallace and SNP leader Alex Salmond in June of that year (NS57). “Designed to ensure good practice and conduct and timed with the general election in mind”, the pact “pledges that MPs, MEPs, councillors, candidates, party members, campaigners and supporters will all reject racist violence, harassment and discrimination”. Moreover, that no party will publish or endorse “election material, including pamphlets, leaflets and posters, which stirs up or invites hostility or division between people of different racial or

national groups". Its aim was "to ensure that in any dealings with the public, no words or actions are used which may stir or invite such hostility or division", for "there can be no place in the democratic political process of our society for those who seek to incite, whether blatantly or covertly, racial hatred, prejudice and discrimination". Moussa Joguee, who represented the CRE at the signing, said: "Our political leaders offer a clear and enlightened sign to the whole community of the need to promote good positive racial attitudes to one another". Subsequently, the focus of the shift from SNP-Labour tensions was represented by the Conservative Party's record on 'race'.

An argument had erupted earlier in April over the resistance of Conservative Employment Minister Eric Forth to the EU's *Employment Inclusion* scheme "which is meant to help reduce racism and xenophobia in line with EU policy". Forth had argued, "it seems not only unnecessary but also provocative to insist that all countries should sign up to guidelines with explicit references to the combating of racism and xenophobia". Scottish Labour's social affairs spokesman in the European Parliament, Hugh McMahon (Strathclyde West), "reacted angrily", saying:

This money is expressly designed to help people in the inner cities and would be of great value, for example, in places like Glasgow and Dundee and other urban Scottish centres where poverty and unemployment are prevalent. Such measures are extremely necessary in helping the long-term unemployed in particular. Eric Forth's thinking is exactly in line with Peter Lilley's ridiculous claim that poverty does not exist in the UK and it shows how far right the Tory government has swung on this issue.

Labour makes a link between poverty and racism. However, somewhat at odds with the emerging consensus, McMahon adds, "Scotland has a good record on race relations and we don't need lectures or obstruction from Eric Forth or anyone else on this subject" (NS58)⁸⁶. Thus, the absence of 'race riots' in Scotland is still held up as a Scottish virtue, which could be threatened by insensitive Conservative policy. However, the immanent threat of 'inter-racial' conflict still exerts force on the typification of racism as a social problem.

⁸⁶ McMahon's statement is also somewhat confusing because, as has been demonstrated, the Conservative line had been precisely that Scotland, having a good record on 'race-relations', was not in need of funding tied to 'race'.

In September it was the SNP's turn. Just prior to the SNP's annual conference, Chairman of the Scottish Conservatives, Michael Hirst, had issued 68 objections to SNP budget and policy statements, indicating that the SNP's proposals for "a 'fair and non-discriminatory' policy on immigration would have implications". "If this means a higher number of immigrants," claimed Hirst, "then the consequential costs have not been accounted for" (NS59). The SNP replied with an accusation of racism. SNP's Mike Russell called the statement "very, very sinister", whilst Salmond described it as "a serious gaffe"; the "real problem for Scotland historically had been emigration, and they should be looking to reverse that process, as had been done in Ireland"⁸⁷. Hirst responded: "The SNP are so devastated by this assault that they are desperately trying to divert attention from their own inadequacies by accusing us of racism".

SAFI chairman Bashir Ahmad is reported to have written to the Conservatives "demanding an apology" (NS59). He wrote that since starting as a Glasgow bus conductor 35 years ago he had built up businesses and had employed as many as 30 workers. They, like he, had paid taxes and National Insurance. "In all, the contribution my family and I, and our employees (who have been Scottish, English, Welsh and from many other nations) have made has been considerable". He pointed out that for two years he had been prevented from bringing his 76-year-old mother from Pakistan. "That refusal continues to the present day. She is now frail and in ill-health and is considerably distressed that she cannot see her own family at her time of life because of the racist application of immigration laws". He claimed that in a similar case recently a friend from the "Pakistani community" was refused permission to bring his brother to Ross Hall private hospital. In spite of the full cost being provided, this was refused and the man died. "It is not unfair to say that he died because of the racist application of immigration laws," wrote Ahmad. Consequently,

Your statement equating immigration with extra costs for the taxpayer is deeply offensive to me and to all members of our communities. It is redolent of the racist propaganda which has so marred political life in some places south of the Border. I hoped never to hear it in Scotland, and to hear it from the chairman of the Scottish Conservatives is deeply depressing and very worrying. I would ask you to confirm with me at the earliest possible opportunity that you withdraw unreservedly this statement and that you apologise for the hurt it has caused.

⁸⁷ see also NS60.

Whilst no apology was forthcoming, in pairing the Conservative statement with racism and the legacy of its relationship with British immigration control Ahmed gives a little credence to the idea that racism is an English import of which Scotland was once devoid, though, as established in Chapters Three and Four, there is little evidence to suggest that 'Scotland' moved substantially to oppose the logic of British immigration control. In doing so, he helps to establish the SNP's victim-credentials against the Tory English subject perpetrator. Moreover, the Tory apology is appealed for on the basis that 'hurt' be healed and 'depression' obviated. Thus, Conservative policy on immigration is paired with an anti-therapeutic stance: an emotionalised construction of the racist act.

However, the specifically 'English as perpetrator' element is soon cancelled out. In November, *The Herald* (NS61) reported that a row had broken out over a Tory publicity campaign. "English-born SNP activists" had complained to the Advertising Standards Agency that a Conservative "newspaper advertisement depicting graffiti on a wall saying 'English get out!' as a consequence of the 'Dark side of nationalism' was inaccurate and offensive". That the complainants were English SNP members is of course significant. The SNP complained that the advertisement had breached the Government's own intentions before the last election. The SNP cited the rule that said election materials would not "stir up or invite hostility or division between people of different racial or national groups, or which might reasonably be expected to stir up or invite such hostility or division". Whilst the SNP reinforced the idea that the English are a 'race' whose presence should not be earmarked for anti-English hostility, after being cleared of the complaint, Michael Hurst stated "the ASA is correct to say that we have the right to express an opinion and highlight the sinister, anti-English racism which, sadly does exist on the nationalist fringes in Scotland". In conceding the racialised victim credentials of 'the English', the Conservatives undermined the SNP claim.

The consensus on the need not to attack 'identities' made 'vulnerable' because of the 'dark side' of nationalism, provides a powerful metaphor for the construction of 'racism', both subject target and perpetrator, and the objective of placing respective political parties in the role of guardian of an anti-elitist moral order. No political party is able to posit an elite position in the 'traditional' sense. No party is above the culture of limitation. The present must be rationalised. 'Racism' is defined according to the preservation of a society which has little faith in universalism – the human capacity for future-orientated Political action.

The celebration of difference is the ideological expression of a society which must make a virtue out of fragmentation, even if such fragmentation is a source of elite consternation. As is demonstrated next, in such a context, state surveillance increases as a means of fostering legitimation.

5.8 Anti-Racist Institutional Voice – 1997

Racism in Scottish football gained coverage early in 1997 when Celtic won a European Commission award for its “Bhoys Against Bigotry Campaign”, which sought to address sectarianism on the terraces (NS62). However, the club’s manager, Tommy Burns, drew criticism from another award winner. Selma Rahman of *Meridian*, “a black and ethnic minority women’s information and resource centre”, accused the SFA of doing “zero to tackle the problem”. Rahman made the point that “... racism was endemic within Scotland and football was a part of that”. She said, “throughout Scotland you do not see black people on the terraces. You don’t go where you don’t feel safe”. She also complained about the lack of “black players” in Scotland. Scottish football was inhospitable to ‘non-whites’: racism is a problem of safety. The vulnerability of the subject target is reinforced. Thus, football associations are called on to assume the role of anti-racist activist with a remit to police ‘West Coast Man’ – a dangerous identity associated with the masculine culture of the ‘boisterous, strutting’ working classes – the subject perpetrator. This is a role which the Clubs seem keen to assume: “It’s a very good point” replied Burns.

The victim credentials of English and Scottish people drew coverage in February when an Edinburgh court ruled that four Scottish Air hostesses claiming racial discrimination against their employers, British Airways, could not seek recourse under the Race Relations Act as the Scots and the English “belonged to the same race” (NS63). However, the CRE, who had supported a senior police officer – “a Yorkshire man” – in his claim of racial discrimination against a “Scottish police force”, said the “Race Relations Act of 1976 did cover national origin as well as race or colour”⁸⁸. Solicitor Bill Speirs, representing the four cabin crew, told the tribunal:

It is patently obvious that the Scots ethnic group is doing its best to keep its Scots ethnicity alive. Scots have a separate legal system, their own design, music, dance,

⁸⁸ Coverage of the ‘police case’ was ongoing and the tribunal continued in March. See NS64.

cuisine, accent, use of language. To me that is a fairly long list of cultural traditions. We appear to be recognised by others as a separate ethnic group, for example in sport. We also have signs at the Border saying Scotland and England put up by the Government, a rather strange thing to do if we have no Scottish identity. In my view, it is patently obvious to everyone there is a separate Scots ethnic group with a separate Scots identity.

It is clear here that ‘race’, ethnicity and nationality, once reduced to the subject’s purported need for identity, are being conflated within a claim to victimisation predicated on identity, and that such conflation gains support from state-institutional anti-racists, but is undermined by another arm of the state – the judiciary. Not surprisingly, such a ‘contradictory’ approach was castigated by ‘Nationalists’ who were reported to have “described the tribunal's decision as ‘stupid’ and ‘insulting’”.

Reports of discrimination cases and harassment continued through June, July, August and September. The case involving the racial discrimination claim of “the white Yorkshire man”, PC Power, against Northern Constabulary, took a new turn in June when Highland Council confirmed that it was lodging appeal proceedings against a decision that his case could be heard under the Race Relations Act. Chris Myant (CRE), said: “We firmly believe that we have a strong case. The House of Lords, in 1971, agreed that the question of racial discrimination because of nationality was covered by the Racial Equality Act. We will fight this one all the way” (NS65). The appeal was later rejected by a tribunal which stated in favour of the claimant: “whatever may be difficult fringe questions to this issue, what cannot be in doubt is that both England and Scotland were once separate nations” (NS66): the case could be heard under the Race Relations Act. However, the CRE simultaneously withdrew its support from a “Pakistani couple” fighting a case of discrimination against a Scottish-based Estate Agent (NS67). This was an appeal against an earlier ruling which, despite finding the Agency negligent, had not found evidence of ‘racial’ discrimination. The paper reported that, “the commission yesterday confirmed it had withdrawn its financial support for the appeal. A spokesman declined to explain why, saying the commission did not want to prejudice the case”. However, WSREC⁸⁹ Chairman Councillor Hanzala Malik called on the commission to reconsider its decision. He said, “it's important that another shot is taken at this to give confidence to people that their

⁸⁹ By 1997 WSCRC had substituted ‘race’ for ‘community’ in its title and was now known as WSREC.

voices will be heard if they feel that they are being treated unjustly". The important point for Councillor Malik is that 'voices be heard', a mantra of the turn to identity; but also, that 'ethnic minority' confidence be engendered in state-institutional anti-racist measures.

The reporting of these cases accompanied increased reports that the Ku Klux Klan was targeting Scottish towns in search of recruitment. *The Scotsman* (NS68) reported "Hundreds of the A4-sized leaflets picturing a sinister, hooded Klansman were stuck on parked cars in the centre of Cupar in Fife on Tuesday afternoon. Each gave an address for the extreme right-wing racist organisation and urged, 'Join us today'". Tony Robson, a spokesman for Searchlight, the renowned anti-nazi organisation, said: "Although there are only a few dozen Klansmen in Scotland they are a violent and vocal minority. Often they are not directly responsible for attacks, but act as agitators wherever they find evidence of racial tension. Leaflets are used, especially in Glasgow, to make contact with gangs at street level". Urban youth culture is problematised as a susceptible target of extremism. Martin Verity (CRE) called the recruitment campaign "a very worrying development". He said: "Incitement to racial hatred is a criminal offence. Many people make the mistake of assuming that because there is a lower ethnic minority population in Scotland that there is less racism". Chris Oswald, director of Fife Racial Equality Council, said, "We have nothing like a full picture of the scale of the problem. There is a definite Klan presence in some of Scotland's major cities including Dundee and Edinburgh. But it comes as no surprise to find that the Ku Klux Klan have targeted Cupar. It is the sort of small, white, conservative town which has been pinpointed in England". "Outraged" by this portrayal of the town, Cupar community councillor Charlie Milne said: "I deplore any stirrings of the Ku Klux Klan in this area. We are a close-knit community, and racial tensions cannot be tolerated here" (NS69). The focus again is on the relationship between 'extremists', 'conservatism' and the potential for the escalation of racial tensions precipitated by an external 'sinister' force.

5.9 State-Institutional Voice – 1997

In March, party political representations re-emerged when candidates standing in the general election for Govan constituency united in condemnation of the BNP candidate. On 3rd March *The Scotsman* (NS70) reported that:

the ultra right-wing organisation wants to stop Labour's Mohammed Sarwar, who has been subjected to racial abuse in the past 18 months, becoming Scotland's first Asian MP.... Govan is one of three Glasgow constituencies that the BNP, which advocates forced repatriation of immigrants, aims to contest. Asian families in the area claim to have been targeted with right-wing propaganda leaflets, while Mr Sarwar has received threatening phone calls and had property vandalised.

Nicola Sturgeon, the SNP candidate for Govan, predicted a BNP candidate would receive a derisory vote. "They are disgraceful and people in this constituency are not interested in the kind of dangerous politics they peddle". The Liberal Democrat candidate, Bob Stewart, said the BNP's "overt racism" would only alienate the majority of Govan voters; the Tory candidate, Bill Thomas, said "a ludicrous vote" was the best way to answer them. Sarwar added: "The people of Govan will reject this racist party. They will lose their deposit". Thus, all political parties bolster their moral position by standing against the immoral subject perpetrator: the overt racism of the extremist nazi – a ready-made source in the Scottish anti-racist imaginary.

On 31st March *The Herald* (NS71) reported that the SNP made its "strongest overture yet for the ethnic minority vote last night, with leader Alex Salmond telling a meeting of Scots Asians for Independence in Glasgow that they had a big part to play in building a new Scotland. He said they were one of the fastest growing groups in Scottish politics, winning recruits from all shades of the spectrum". "Many people in our Asian community" claimed Salmond,

have had direct personal experience or have fathers or grandfathers who have had direct personal experience of self-determination struggles. That's why the Asian community are among the most patriotic of all the communities of Scotland. When they join together now, it is in pursuit of something that none of us has ever experienced in Scotland – a country of our own.

Historical memory of struggle against oppression is further invoked thereby drawing moral capital through association for the SNP's project as the hero of the oppressed.

Interestingly, Salmond posits a solution to 'racism' as being a Scottish version of that utilised in Britain since 1977, "an autonomous Scottish Commission on Racial Equality", signalling acceptance of the 'race relations' logic concretised in UK legislation. An independent Scottish state would therefore presumably be concerned to balance the need for controls with the presumed enmity immigration may cause. Further quoting author

William McIlvanney's view that Scotland should be proud to be a 'mongrel nation', he told the meeting:

historically, we are a mix of Picts, Scots, Danes, Celts, and Saxons. More recently, this diversity has been enriched with Irish, English, and Asian immigrants. There is no such thing as an ethnically pure Scot. Many of us are descendants of immigrants, and we welcome new arrivals to our country – our problem in Scotland is emigration not immigration.

This of course does not mean that controls would not be strict if 'population' were deemed to become problematic, and in light of the contradictory nature of profit-making, the SNP's acceptance of capitalism would mean that limited resources would need to be matched by labour regulation of some kind. How this would be rationalised cannot be subject to futurology. But in seemingly reversing the anti-immigration stance of post-war immigration law, Salmond invokes multiculturalism as a social good – an object target – giving an indication that the 'New Scotland' would be one demarcated by 'ethnic difference'. He ended by further demarcating the solution to and source of 'racism': "the SNP have a long tradition of anti-racism and internationalism, valuing Scotland's rich diversity of cultures. We believe that Scotland needs to break free from the narrow, xenophobic agenda pursued by the London parties". The British government is anti-multiculturalism. Britishness is culturally elitist. Racism is cultural elitism. The SNP's "internationalism", which is a universalist metaphor, is subsumed under the logic of particularism, against the authoritarianism of Britishness.

On 1st May, the day of the election, SNP's Ian Hamilton denigrated the "Westminster-centred" electoral process again emphasising the victimised Scot as a colonial subject (NS72):

What we are doing today of course is electing an English Government, with as much relevance to Scotland as if we had participated in a tribal ceremony of the Zulus or the Hottentots. The fact that the SNP will do well is a consolation, but what can a few Scots patriots do in the far-away parliament of a far-away people, who have always looked on us as "Jocks", suitable only to be patronised, and used as cannon fodder.

However, Hamilton introduces the notion that political debate should be less antagonistic, signalling the adoption of a political stance associated with the anti-politics of a culture of limits.

The babble that passes for the Westminster Parliament is a disgrace to any civilised country. Confrontational politics is no longer the way ahead... The Yah Boo of English politics is an absurdity.

Hamilton then determines what racism is considered to be, and justifies his alternative definition by rubbishing the former as morally biased.

I have just blamed the English. I have been politically incorrect. That is racism. It is all right for an Englishman to blame the Germans, or any other country in Europe or elsewhere for almost any sin or crime, but for a Scot to talk about the ignorant, arrogant, stuck-up English is a sin beyond forgiveness. They aren't all like that, but let's stick to the ones who are. It's racism when the English are criticised; it's wise statesmanship when the English criticise us Scots, or anyone else. If you don't believe me read Mathew Parris's English nationalist column in one of the English local papers. The English are made up of many races, all under the banner of St George, who, poor chap was struck off the list of Saints for interfering with the wee lassie he saved. She said she would have preferred the dragon. That also will be considered a cheap racist remark. Maybe it is.

This is quite a cocktail of typificatory statements, but the central component is that criticising the English character should be permissible without that criticism being castigated as racist. Englishness is arrogant and authoritarian, and the victim of English oppression should have the right to criticise the latter for its self-professed superiority. Moreover, it is not all English people who are the problem, but those of an upper class persuasion. The SNP attempts an appeal to the 'traditional' Labour vote,

In fact most English people who settle here add a great deal to our community. They are always most welcome. Most have more smeddum than many native Scots. But there is a type of English person, usually of the upper class who regard Scotland as a colony. They come here. They buy lands and houses, and regard the indigent Scots of whatever race, as cattle to be evicted, or to be kept on to pull their forelocks as servants. They refuse to adapt to their host nation. I could name 20 races, from Italians to Indians, and Pakistanis, and many ordinary English people as well, who in less than one generation become wonderful Scots, but the upper class English, particularly their women, seem unable to assimilate. Argyll might be Poona for all the effect it has on the Memsahibs.

Hamilton conflates nationality with 'race', but also adds that it takes time for some to become "wonderful Scots". Presumably this would indicate that there is a period in the migratory process in which such migrants are not yet wonderful. Additionally, the Scots are consistently posited as a subjugated colonised 'race'. A sexualised component to class subjugation is also evident. The class element to English subjugation of the Scots is

certainly reminiscent of earlier typifications illustrated in Chapter Four. But victim credentials are highlighted here. The subject target of 'racism' is he/she who is subjected to an absolute belief-system drawn from a colonial mentality.

Writing of his experience as Labour Party candidate in Ross, Skye and Inverness West, Donnie Munro targeted the SNP for adopting the very same ethnic absolutist position which Hamilton applies to the English (NS73). However, note that it is the SNP's claim to be compassionate that raises Munro's ire.

In general terms the campaign had been extremely enjoyable and, as you would expect, parties all made claim and counter-claim, none however with greater audacity than the Scottish Nationalists who throughout the campaign attempted to claim monopoly on pride, courage, dignity, and even at one point claimed to be the only party offering compassion. This, it has to be said, was quite at odds with my personal experience of some of the party's supporters, who at various times and locations thought it reasonable to describe me as "an English *****", an "English lover", a "traitor", and, on polling day itself, to drive a car directly at me in the car park of the polling station. When I attempted to point out this unacceptable behaviour to a party official, I was leapt upon by another compassionate supporter who threatened physical violence. I have an extremely high regard for many people within the Scottish National Party, but what is abundantly clear is that for as long as the party willingly hypes up the emotive issues of pride, dignity, and the juvenile misappropriation of the Braveheart factor, it will continue to feed the nasty rump of blatant racism of which that form of emotional elitism simply fans the flames.

Nationalism equates to emotional elitism; the antithesis of such, it would follow, *should* be emotional anti-elitism: that is, respect for emotionalised cultural pluralism *should* be the orthodoxy. Authoritarianism, but only that which comes from ideologies of the past 'dark side of nationalism', brings emotional trauma. In keeping with a culture of social limitation, politics is therapised against the politics of 'the past'.

On 2nd June, the *Daily Record* (NS74) reported that Scottish Home Affairs Minister Henry McLeish had the "key to ending reign of the thug" by introducing Community Safety Orders (CSO) "to allow police and councils to enforce curfews and rules on yob tenants. Breaking the CSO would be a criminal offence and that would leave the offenders facing a possible jail sentence". "One family who would benefit from the new powers of the CSOs are former Londoners Harry and Carol Jarvis" claimed the report. "They have been subjected to a sickening campaign of racist abuse since moving to Blackburn, in West Lothian, because they are English. Thug neighbours have: shoved dog excrement through

their letter box, smashed windows, twice kicked in the door, scratched anti-English abuse on the door, yelled racist abuse, and graffiti has been daubed on the walls saying: 'Go home English pig'."

McLeish said: "Ordinary people should not have to suffer such barbaric behaviour. In this West Lothian case it is as much racism to persecute people because they were born in England as it is racist to persecute people because of the colour of their skin. Community Safety Orders will be a powerful tool for police and councils". Racism is thus paired with a form of behaviour associated with a subject target's identity. The criminalisation of such targeting indicates the seriousness with which such behaviour is viewed by government. But it also signalled the elevation of the conception of 'safety' as a Governmental concern – the object target – and the construction of the racist as a thug with no respect for the emotional significance of identity. *The Herald* (NS75) reported that McLeish said "We are determined that people will be safe on the streets and safe in their homes". Racial harassment or racially-motivated behaviour were "quite abhorrent in any civilised society". It was important that "all people in Scotland – irrespective of race or creed – shared the full protection of the law". *The Scotsman* (NS76) reported that 'racism' could be singled out under the new law, a move "welcomed by community relations officers". Maggie Chetty added: "Every year, our councils and police deal with 400 cases of harassment and discrimination. We believe that could be multiplied by five to give a more accurate reflection of what's happening. The new offences, which show Mr McLeish is sensitive to what we've been saying, are needed and will make people think a bit harder. There is a problem to address and he is doing that". McLeish reiterated, "I believe people should be safe in their homes and have fear removed". Fear and safety are coupled in the anti-racist explanatory. The following week, on 12th June, New Labour publicly endorsed the CRE's Leadership Challenge. Speaking at the launch, Prime Minister Tony Blair stated "I fully support efforts to ensure that we tackle racial discrimination, and to ensure that we draw on the enormous pool of talent from all people in this country, and that means involving people at every point" (NS77). The era of Third Way anti-racism had begun.

On 4th December, the *Daily Record* (NS78) reported that "the clean-up begins" with Labour's "5-point plan to nail the scum of Scotland": "perverts, junkies, bad neighbours, knife thugs and racists are all targeted". Law and order minister Henry McLeish said it was time for action because "Scots are sick and tired – enough is enough". He added: "We are

determined to make our streets safer for everyone. We will ensure that the courts have the powers to crack down hard on those found guilty of serious crimes of violence. It is about having well-ordered communities and safe streets. No-one should have to suffer the consequences of a mindless minority". *The Herald* (NS79) reported that Mr McLeish's measures "aim to strengthen the laws to deal with anti-social behaviour, racism, sex offending, violent crime and drug dependency, which is said increasingly to underpin much crime". They had "thought it wise", he said, "to take advantage of the Bill to put the whole issue of community safety up front. It was the right of every Scot to live in a civilised and peaceful society". Racism is therefore constructed, albeit embryonically, within the twin parameters of 'Fear' and 'Safety'. The state's role is to ensure the maintenance of national cohesion via its anti-anti-social interventions. The Culture of Limits requires that those who may be seen to threaten social cohesion can be castigated as social pariahs requiring state-intervention. This would entail 'the Scum', whoever may fall into such a category, being increasingly policed by the 'anti-racist' state.

5.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to uncover narrative representations of 'racism' covering the period 1994–1997 via an exploration of anti-racist explanatories in the Scottish press. In bringing to light the most prominent voices, a complex picture emerges across the ever-increasing public availability of representations shaping the content of 'racism', informing the placing of 'racism as a Scottish problem' on the political agenda.

Between 1994 and 1997 party political 'racism in Scotland' debate revolved around the question of the relationship between 'racism' and Scottish nationalism and centred on who should legitimately command the Scottish social imaginary. The linking of 'extremist' groups to the SNP formed the main basis of party political representations of 'racism'. Labour, accusing the SNP of precipitating 'extremism', continuously forced the latter to mount a defence of Scottishness by castigating Britishness as the source of 'racism' and hence an implicit attribute of those who defend the Union. This debate represents a consistent and dominant theme of political representations of 'racism' in Scotland, centring on the question of 'anti-English racism' and the propensity of such to act as a significant catalyst of victimisation. This stands in stark contrast to the 'English subject perpetrator' mobilised in the Communist/Left representations of 'racism' during the 1970s. The debate receives support from increasing claims of racial victimisation from both English and

Scottish individual claimsmakers, coupled with the 'threat' of British National Party agitation and the relationship of such to the 'immoral' politics of Conservatism. Each time political debate takes place, both parties define the meaning of 'racism', altercasting according to their respective needs, delineating for themselves a moral community predicated on their posited role as 'hero' to those victimised by their rival's claims. Embedded within their respective explanatories is therefore the continuance of the coupling of 'extremist', in the form this typification takes, aka BNP/Fascist/Nazi/Authoritarian subject perpetrator, with the ideology of each party's political rival. The outcome is that the distance each party attempts to place between itself and racism culminates in the typification of the racist as an extremist relic of British imperium.

There is also evidence that both Labour and SNP adopt an anti-universalist logic, and this lends itself to the justification for state intervention, in the form of re-education programmes for those council tenants who engage in 'offensive' behaviour. Intervention in the private-sphere is validated. On the election victory of New Labour, the process of typification begins to take on the additional construction of the 'anti-social' subject perpetrator. It is clear that New Labour attempts to make racism an issue, but the formulation of racism as a social problem comes to enable the state to enforce behaviour codes associated with speech as 'offensive' behaviour. Furthermore, racism is reduced to a dialogical psychological problem which manifests in a diabolical social problem, taking on the same significance, for example, as paedophilia. The development is also taken up by significant sections of the press who present arguments which smack of underclass demonisation. Racists are the 'scum of Scotland'. This 'anti-racism' presents itself as a medium for building community cohesion. The fragmentation of a national culture of social limitation is to be addressed through the formalisation of behaviour codes.

The nation being made requires a cosmopolitan nationalism which stands against an elitist position associated with authoritarian nationalism. Identity claims are to be respected and incorporated into the Scottish imaginary. The agenda of elites is to uphold the tenets of anti-elitism, which means that any subject professing the contrary is castigated as immoral. The irony is that anti-elitism takes on the force of an absolutist position which condemns the 'wrong kind' of anti-racism. Moreover, any identity which can claim victimisation must be recognised. The common denominator of 'racism' is henceforth the victimisation

of identity claims-makers, whether these be English, Scottish or Pakistani identities. Anti-racism becomes the protection of 'vulnerable minorities'. The social fragmentation that elites deem problematic is enforced through the recognition of the differences they seek to foster in defence of the identified victim.

Additionally, 'racism' debate was influenced by anti-racist claims-makers – institutional and self-organised. Here there are three main typificatory strands each of which flow from criticism of the idea that racism is not a problem in Scotland: 1. the relationship between football hooliganism, extremism and racism; 2. claims of increasing harassment and discrimination; and 3. the potential for disorder if the claims of minorities are not recognised. In this sense, altercasting provides via their anti-racist explanatories a further component to agenda setting, and the shaping of the social problem of racism including the constitution of the subject target as victim in need of state assistance. Focussing on the latter, there is significant evidence to support Füredi's thesis regarding the increased emotionalisation/psychologisation of the subject. Indeed, this component of narrative subject formation is significant in the explanatory of state-institutional anti-racism. It is clear that there is an element of demonisation of the working classes, but not as explicit perpetrators. This labelling only applies as a derivative consequence of 'their' manipulation by sinister political 'forces'. Here the question of 'extremism' fuses with the emotional vulnerability of the 'victim perpetrator' and the subject target. There is also evidence to suggest that the subject perpetrator is presumed to embody negative traits associated with masculinity; the focus on football providing the main evidence for this. The behaviour of 'football fans', for example in the content of their chants, is deemed to lend itself in some way to infiltration by extreme right-wing groups. It would seem here that what is being replayed is the commonplace assumption that national socialist Germany to a large extent arose on the back of the duped masses, perhaps indicating the influence of theories of mass psychology and the authoritarian personality, on anti-racist rhetoric. As has been evidenced, the character of both subject perpetrator and subject target is being defined according to the 'logic' of racialised emotion – a danger to community cohesion. The very fragmentation which is deemed problematic for cohesion is conceptualised in a way which posits the racialised regulation of fragmented identities as a solution to 'racism', but is extended into the sphere of individual psychology.

In the following chapter, I seek to extend an exploration of these themes to an analysis of anti-racist typification during New Labour's first and second terms, traversing the newly devolved Scottish context.

Chapter 6: Third Way Anti-Racism in a Devolved Scotland

We cannot right the wrongs of the past overnight. We know many of Scotland's injustices are complex and deep-rooted. But our aim is to achieve real and lasting change in people's lives that can be seen and felt. – Donald Dewar, First Minister, 1999–2000⁹¹

6.1 Introduction

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, by the end of 1997 the issue of racism as a Scottish problem had been firmly planted in public debate. One of the key concerns raised by state-institutional anti-racist activists was that there was an increasing likelihood that 'ethnic minority' youth would start to fight back if racism was not recognised as a social problem. This was encapsulated in 1992, when Bashir Maan, then chair of SCRC published a book titled *The New Scots*. In it Mann warned that higher levels of politicisation and confidence amongst second-generation Asian and 'black' youth could lead to increasing 'ethnic conflict' in Scotland if racism went unchecked. "The new generation of Asians, Afro-Caribbeans and others labelled as ethnic minorities are already in revolt," stated Mann, they would not be as placid as their fathers (1992: 206). The logic was that the absence of 'race-riots' might be a thing of the past. This statement, in actual fact a veiled threat, emanates from the logic set down in the 1960s construction of the dual 'immigration/race-relations problematic'. As demonstrated in Chapter Four the idea was reinforced by the CRE, especially following urban disturbances in England. However, by the 1990s, the issue of psychological harm was being introduced by the CRE, and was gradually being extended via identity claimsmaking across groups identifying themselves as victims of racism. The common denominator in these cases is that people experience a threat to their self-identity, and that this should be understood as having great emotional consequence. Such claimsmaking was recognised as legitimate by the pronouncements of newly elected Labour MPs such as Henry McLeish, thus signalling the embryonic institutionalisation of a therapeutic ethos in anti-racist policymaking; more specifically, a regulatory framework

⁹¹ Taken from Forward by Donald Dewar, *Social Justice... A Scotland Where Everyone Matters*, published by The Scottish Executive on 22nd November 1999.

through which the emotionally constituted subject makes and is re-made under the auspices of the Therapeutic state.

As a New Labour policy the 1997 referendum on devolution represented the administration's pre-election pledge to 'tackle past neglect' (cf Blair 1996). As a means of fostering governmental legitimacy, the move tied in with long-term pro-referendum campaigns such as that of the Scottish Constitutional Convention. Politically, Scotland's anti-Conservative stance had rendered a situation whereby UK government lacked representative authority, facilitating and facilitated by the development of a Labourite-Nationalist political culture (Brown et al 1997). However, only 60% of the Scottish electorate voted in the referendum, a quarter of whom voted against the establishment of a parliament. The shortfall gave an early indication of the Parliament's task in building its legitimacy (see Cavanagh et al 2000).

It is within such political developments that we need to situate the trajectory taken by the making of the meaning of 'racism' in the post-devolved context. Building from the historical insights developed in previous chapters, here I extend my exploration of the placing of 'racism' on the Scottish agenda and its related typification via an elaboration of institutional responses to key events surrounding racism and immigration. Events are deemed to be key in that they elicit the intervention of state institutional anti-racist elites at a local and at a national level and are given significant media coverage. Events at the local level are at their most prominent during the formation of the Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance (GARA), and the murder of Firsat Dag, each of which elicit formal responses from central Government. Such responses are ascertained via the recovery of Scottish Office and Executive news-releases, amplified by the Scottish media. In this chapter I therefore bring together interviews with key state-institutional actors, media representations, and non-mediatised political discourses, building a series of micro-case studies around such events as the murder of Imran Khan in 1998 and the related formation of GARA (pre-devolution), the murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar 1998, the murder of Firsat Dag in 2001, the formation in that year of the Executives' Racial Equality Action Forum (REAF), events surrounding Dungavel detention centre, the formation of a Scottish Refugee Integration Forum, and the launch of the One Scotland, Many Cultures Campaign in 2002. The analysis is embellished with purposive interviews with key state-institutional actors who played an integral role in the shaping of the state's response to 'racism', the meaning of which is formulated around

the aforementioned events. In this chapter I illustrate the significance of a therapeutic impulse in the making of the Scottish anti-racist social imaginary.

6.2 Scottish Office 'Benchmarks'

Prior to devolution, the work of Miles and colleagues had influence among anti-racist activists and helped stimulate responses in Local Government (see Arshad and McCrum 1989). Moreover, as was amply demonstrated in Chapter Five, 'racism in Scotland' had gained significant publicity. However, the issue of racism still seemed to lack any sense of institutional urgency. That the previous Scottish Office was perceived to be 'rather distant' from the issue of racism in Scotland is a view generally held among state-institutional actors, provoking some dissonance toward the establishment. Rowena Arshad OBE, long time anti-racist activist, Chair of the Equal Opportunities Commission, and Director of the Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES), which was set up in 1991:

The Scottish Office refused to accept Section 11 funding, and Section 11 was the thing that really kept things like EAL provision going in the South, and any race equality or related initiatives going in Schools. But it was of the opinion that 'we don't have a problem here, there's not many of them here', and I think, though they will never say it, that the 1991 money, which was a very small amount of money, was given as a kind of conscience of the Executive [she means Scottish Office], to say 'at least we are doing something at a national level'. Don't forget, that it was also a Conservative administration, and these issues were not in vogue at all, and I think it was a way of saying 'look we are doing something, we're not neglecting the issue'.⁹²

In 1992, the Scottish Office launched the Ethnic Minority Grant Scheme. With an annual budget of £200, 000 for the whole of Scotland, the fund provided small-scale funding for voluntary organisations which sought specifically to reduce racial disadvantage and promote racial equality. The scheme's fourth round of funding in 1996, spent £179, 600, and contributed to the development of four projects. These were Positive Action in Housing (£29,700 over 2 years), an organisation which seeks to combat housing related racial discrimination and harassment across Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen; YMCA African-Caribbean Advisory Service (£50,000 over two years) to set up a centre for counselling, advice and information and a 24-hour helpline; Ethnic Minority Enterprise

⁹² Interview with Rowena Arshad conducted on 8/03/04

Centre (£49,900 over two years) to provide a computer training unit for ethnic minority groups in Glasgow; and, Edinburgh Chinese Elderly Support Group (£50,000 over two years) to provide a respite care service and support and training for Chinese carers throughout Lothian Region.

In 1995 the Scottish Office had produced a consultation report entitled 'Programme for Partnership', in which it proposed to ring-fence funding from the urban programme in order to enlarge the Ethnic Minority Grants Scheme. The Scottish Council of Voluntary Organisations (SCVO), though generally welcoming the proposals to enlarge funding to this sector, commented at the time that, "the lack of a Scottish Office strategy on Racial Equality is a major obstacle in the development of projects based in the black and minority ethnic communities" (SCVO web ref.). Dawn Corbett, now responsible for Glasgow City Council's asylum dispersal provision, had been a policy officer with Stirling District Council till 1995. She made the point that "section ten funding was never initiated in Scotland"⁹³. She added,

when I was at Stirling I actually went to see Michael Forsyth⁹⁴ about it. How naïve I was! We visited with this kind of little delegation, we mentioned this and he said that the money was fenced through local authorities... and he said that they consulted with COSLA [Convention of Scottish Local Authorities] about it, about enacting that section and that COSLA agreed to maintain the status quo, but the option that they were given was, 'do you want section ten funds... which would be skimmed off the local government settlement... across the board in Scotland...or would you like the status quo', so naturally they would say no to that, and there would have been all these rural authorities with very small minorities and communities who were never under pressure to do that, so it wasn't implemented... but I do think generally, that it's almost a psyche problem, because you can talk about racism in England in a way that you can't talk about it in Scotland... I mean after twenty years of this, it's still a numbers issue, it's still, you know, 'we're oppressed and how could we possibly do this to the people...'

Despite the increase in public representations of 'racism', the formulation of 'the problem' as that of 'migration inducing a race-relations problem' represents a historical mobilisation of bias inhibiting racism's ascendancy as an issue of legitimate political controversy in Scotland, where numbers constituted 'less of a worry'. So, prior to devolution, the

⁹³ Interview with Dawn Corbett 23/7/04

⁹⁴ Michael Forsyth, Conservative MP for Stirling (1983-1997), and Minister of State for Scotland 1995-1997.

objective condition of racism had effects in Scotland (Armstrong 1989) but, in the absence of perceived need, the phenomenon was not recognised by Government as a significant social problem requiring an explicit and focused state strategy. This changed in 1998.

6.3 The Murder of Imran Khan and the Formation of the Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance

The issue of racism in Scotland took on a renewed dynamism in 1998. Following the stabbing and subsequent death of 15 year-old Glasgow schoolboy Imran Khan in January, officials and community-leaders began to raise concerns that plans for an anti-racist protest rally in March were being ‘hijacked’ by ‘extremists’. *The Scotsman* (NS80), reporting that, “Asian leader voices fears over rally to fight racism”, quoted Glasgow City councillor and WSREC chairman Hansala Malik:

Different people have different axes to grind and there is concern that some may be trying to take advantage of the situation for their own political ends... I do not know what it will achieve and am not sure it is in the best interests of the community. The youths have to let off steam somehow but there is concern that this rally will cause friction.

According to *The Scotsman*, “younger activists had been persuaded to cancel a demonstration last Sunday because it was viewed as inflammatory”. Labour MP for Govan, Mohammad Sarwar, was quoted: “The fear was that it might be taken over by extremists from both sides. If they are determined to go ahead this time, my view is that it is better if you try and supervise them rather than letting them carry on alone”. On 6th March, *The Scotsman* (NS81) reported that “Scotland’s leading anti-racism campaigners called for calm yesterday after warnings that a rally planned in Glasgow after the death of an Asian schoolboy could fuel conflict”. CRE Commissioner Moussa Jogee was quoted: “The tragedy of this boy's death will only be compounded by words and deeds taken in the heat of the moment. We call on all parties to show the utmost restraint as a measure of respect for Imran's mother and family...In the longer term, lessons must be drawn in order to renew the confidence of the city's black and ethnic minority communities and to ensure that all our children are learning the values of society”. Thus, the familiar logic underpinning the fears of elites, of ensuing ‘inter-racial’ disorder, is again constructed by state-institutional anti-racists.

There was a very low turn-out at the rally on 8th March. Approximately 250 protesters gathered in the city's George Square, organised by the Islamic Unity Project (IUP). IUP member Tariq Mahmood was reported to have said,

There is not a powderkeg situation ready to explode. People have been made to feel wary of coming here. They are frightened, because they don't want to be victims of extremists. People have been dissuaded from coming, but that is not to say the community is not supportive of us... We are victims of a system which instils racism and our community leaders are not doing anything about it. The people on the street support this demonstration, but so-called leaders and the authorities have done everything in their power to oppose it. They have not done enough to oppose racism. (NS82)

Thus, the IUP, a newly self-organised group, invokes the language of victimhood additionally calling for recognition of this status. Implicit in this claim is the idea that victims have been victimised by elite pronouncements that they may be victimised by extremists if they turn-out for the rally. Community-leaders are made party to the perpetration of this victimisation. Subsequently, one of those 'community leaders', Mohammad Sarwar, stated: "At the end of the day, everyone wants justice for Imran and for all. There has been divided opinion. Some people thought the demonstration may end in fighting and trouble, but it is very important that we restore the confidence in people and that the young people from the Asian communities feel confident of the authorities. Unfortunately, they have little confidence in the police and the leaders". The potential for 'inter-racial' disorder is being linked to lack of confidence in officialdom. Consequently, Council Leader, Frank McAveety, addressing the rally, said: "We want to build a Scotland that is free from racial prejudice. I think there is an issue here, and it would be unfair not to listen to people's concerns. I want to hear the genuine views of the community and not those of political activists of the Left who often dominate these things." 'Inter-racial' disorder could threaten Scotland. Such an outcome will be obviated by the Labour Party: a voice of moderation – protector against 'Left-wing extremism'. Thus, Bashir Maan, who had apparently "urged people to boycott the rally as it would exacerbate racial tensions and be seen as an inflammatory gesture," did not attend, but later stated that "the numbers have shown the majority of people are not going to support such a rally because it is not going to do any good. Dialogue, education and patience is the best way forward". The emotional majority prefer a virtuous circle of dialogue.

Following the demonstration and increasing “fears” of mounting “racial tensions” (NS82), Glasgow City Council was successful in securing Central Government funding for the establishment of the *Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance* (GARA), under New Labour’s Thematic Social Inclusion Partnership scheme (SIP). The SIP – an attempt to offer “joined up solutions to joined up problems” (Dewar 1998: 9), provided funding to a total of £750,000 per annum over five years and represented a significant shift from previous Scottish Office expenditure. Councillor Archie Graham, convenor of Glasgow City Council’s Race Sub-Committee, played a key role in the formation of GARA. He explained the rationale behind the project⁹⁵.

We were terrified that there may have been a racial motive behind that murder and if that was the case... that the fascists would feed on that and we could see, you know, an escalation of fascist activity in the city. Of course that turned out never to have been proven, whether it was a racial motive or not... but nevertheless... whilst there was somebody charged with the murder... we thought we can’t wait until the outcome of that... whether it was a racist murder or not. ...the concern was, ‘how are we involving black people – and in particular black youth – how are we engaging them?’

Qu. What worried you about lack of engagement with black youth?

You know, you’re trying to bring people together rather than... have a situation where the BNP’s activity fuels the flames and black people will then naturally enough react to that and that then leads to an increase in disorder, that was part of the picture!

GCC organised a ‘task force’ to meet with ‘black youth’ so as to ascertain what the council’s strategy should be. Graham’s impression of those consulted was that,

They were living in isolation, even one black community from the other as well! Chinese communities here, Muslim communities there, Indian communities over there. One thing that came out of the discussion with black youngsters, and it was in more than one focus group, was that people were saying ‘we don’t have a problem with white people, our problem is with other black people, they’re discriminating against us’ they would say, and I found that very, very interesting. That wasn’t just from one community either. Muslim youngsters would say we get a double whammy because of religion AND race...and youngsters from the Indian community would... say ‘no it’s the Muslims that cause us hassle’. Not only did

⁹⁵ Taken from interview with Councillor Archie Graham, conducted on 14/07/04.

we have a fear about community relations not being good amongst youth of the city... in terms of white and black, but also... inside the black community as well...

This point highlights that 'the problem' which concerned Government, pre-devolution, was that of 'race' as *cause* of a social order problem. It was because of the imposition of the 'race-relations problematic' across the UK, and the absence of 'racial tensions' in Scotland, deemed to be a consequence of insignificant numbers of racialised migrants, that the issue of racism had had little credence in Scotland. Only once the fears of elites were stirred by the possibility of a 'race-relations problem', were significant funds forthcoming. However, this development was cohered by an additional fear: an increasingly disengaged and inter-ethnically fragmented minority population was considered to be a problem. The point is reinforced by Inspector Tom Harrigan, 'Race-Relations Co-ordinator' for Strathclyde Police since 1998. Strathclyde Police played a key role in the development of GARA. I asked him why?⁹⁶

Ans. We saw it as a tool to make contact with younger people, young black people. We don't interact particularly well with young people, particularly young black people. We have got this difficulty in trying to get round the table with young black people, it's very difficult for us to get sitting round the table, but thankfully we're starting to make in-roads, and we seen GARA at that particular time, in our initial phases, and probably even more so now because they've got a youth development person in place, that we interact with a lot, we seen it as another vehicle for us to approach and become approachable to young black people in Glasgow.

Qu. What do you think the consequences would be, of the police not achieving its goals?

Ans. The consequences for all of society and for all agencies that if they don't get to the young people before they become very impressionable, then I think we're gonna lose them. Not just the police service, but I think, society as a whole is gonna lose them, and when I say lose, I mean they will develop different ideas about society, if they're not funnelled and channelled into what we term, what we like to think is the correct way of living, obviously to be free from crime, free to go about their daily business, free to have a good quality of life, and it's only by having a half decent society that people are going to be able to walk the streets safely, feel safe wherever they go. From our point of view if we don't reach the

⁹⁶ Taken from interview with Inspector Tom Harrigan, conducted on 27/04/04.

young people before they become very impressionable it's going to become very difficult to bring them back on track again.

Clearly, the issues of social disorder and the role of 'race' within that construction informed the response of key agencies. It is also clear that the 'threat' is being linked to 'safety'. Social fragmentation and disorder need to be challenged by making people feel 'safe'. This requires the harnessing of 'trust' in state institutions. The 'Imran Khan/GARA' development cannot simply be understood as an elite reaction to the potential for 'racial disorder'. The demonstration, which very nearly did not take place, was small, and in fact, not significantly larger than the first Glasgow demonstration which took place in 1971. The demonstration coincided with developments in the conceptualisation of social justice adopted by New Labour. This 'broader more general' conception shifted the focus away from a primarily distributionist formulation to one which incorporated claims for 'recognition'. Edelweisse Thornley, GCC's Senior Race Equality Advisor since 1989, a social psychologist by training, was Policy Officer responsible for putting together GARA's funding bid to Central Government. She explained why the "death of Imran Khan was a pivotal moment for GCC"⁹⁷

After New Labour came to power, but before devolution kicked in... there were criticisms of the successor to the urban programme which was area-based. The Scottish Office decided to have a challenge of funding for Thematic social inclusion partnerships. The scheme came up via Tony Blair who was then very keen on local partnerships and communities and they made that money available in 1998 and this council successfully applied on behalf of partnerships for three, one of which was the Glasgow Antiracist Alliance. The Scottish Office wanted to fund initiatives that dealt with racism... and we had a concern that young people felt completely disenfranchised and alienated, not listened to, and that there should be a particular piece of work to look at the issues that concerned black and ethnic minority young people across the city

Thornley was part of the GCC 'task force' which set out to ascertain the views of 'black youth'. She told me,

there did not seem to be friendships in depth, relationships in depth... I mean, I still remember a university student saying that, in the area he lived, a predominantly white area, that most of his friends were white... so as a psychologist I then asked the question "Do you go to their home?" or "Do they come to yours?" "No", so the question is then how deep is that relationship? Is he not in the situation of being

⁹⁷ Interview with Edelweisse Thornley 22/4/04.

really quite isolated within the context of his neighbourhood? Some of the young people were really quite isolated, they weren't entirely isolated, because they had been – you know, other family members or relatives or you know, other networks, but that kind of school, and neighbourhood network, they weren't as connected in

Psychological profile is linked to ethnicity as a marker of societal attachment. Clearly, this was problematic for Thornley. I asked her why she felt GARA was important?

Mrs Thatcher, and there's no such thing as society, I think we're still living with that, because it told people it was ok not to engage with... it was ok not to pay attention to somebody around you who was suffering!

Psychosocial adjustment, 'race' and social disintegration are tied to the programme of 'Thatcherism'. This, as outlined in Chapter One is a key rationale for Third Way governance. Consequently, the GARA bid included three core elements: 1. anti-racist awareness-raising/campaigning, 2. a co-ordinating arm for smaller projects, and 3. a longitudinal study into the psychological impact of racism, the latter to be carried out by Strathclyde University psychology department over four years. I asked Thornley, "How important would you say the psychological study was to the initial GARA proposal?". She told me,

it was absolutely key. It was one of the three core elements, and it has to be said, that the psychological work at Strathclyde University, is the one thing that's remained constant throughout all of this.

The study, titled: *A longitudinal investigation of the experiences and expectations of racism and discrimination in young people of majority and minority cultures*, (Cassidy et al 2001) sought to collect and analyse data, "relating to psychosocial adjustment, ethnic identification, perceived discrimination, perceived safety and attitudes to the police," plus information relating to, "education, unemployment, future plans, social networks and support, and ethnic identity" (2001: 3)⁹⁸. Psychology is explicitly linked to 'culture' and 'safety' and raised as an issue for anti-racist policy. The sample comprised "272 participants [young people], two thirds of whom are ethnic minority groups and one third of whom are white" (2001: 1), with the aim of informing "policies and practices" so as to render currently ineffective initiatives more effective in "addressing racism" (2001: 1).

⁹⁸ This publication reports on the first of the study's three stages, and covers the period 1st January to 31st September 2001.

This is to be achieved through developing an understanding of “the impact of prejudice...as well as perceptions and responses to prejudice”, i.e. “the life experiences of ethnic minority young people” (2001: 1).

The overarching aim is to combat racism, and the means of achieving this more effectively is deemed to be via an understanding of the dynamics of prejudice, and the impact of such on ‘self-esteem’. The study sought to “examine change in self-esteem over time and to determine whether patterns of change vary according to ethnic group” (2001: 4). Anti-racism is a process of esteeming the self. However, nowhere in the interim report are we offered a definition of racism. Furthermore, throughout the report skin colour is conflated with ethnicity and culture. For example, the research title claims to investigate “expectations and experiences” via comparison of “majority and minority cultures”. It quickly becomes clear however that the ‘majority culture’ is identified and represented as ‘white’, while the ‘minority cultures’ are not. Indeed, all comparators are between ‘whites’ and ‘ethnic minorities’ or between ‘ethnic minority groups’. To what extent can it be argued that all ‘white people’ share the same culture? Or indeed that skin colour demarcates culture? Furthermore, to what extent can it be argued that all ‘white people’ share in a majority culture and all ‘non-white people’ share distinct minority cultures?

The study conflates skin colour with ethnicity, but only for the ‘white group’. So the ‘white group’ is designated as the majority ethnic group. To what extent can it be argued that all ‘white people’ belong to the same ethnic group? To what extent can it be argued that all ‘non-white’ people are ethnic minorities? Skin colour is conflated with culture and ethnicity. Moreover, what is the difference between ethnicity and culture? As no definition of ethnicity or culture is given, we are left to assume that ethnicity and culture are congruent with each other and with skin colour, but only if you are ‘white’. In short, according to this report, if you have ‘white’ skin then you automatically share ethnicity and culture with everyone else who is in possession of a ‘white’ skin. The authors do not state this, they do not need to: it is their premise, which is taken as self-evident, because of the legal categories unquestioningly adopted. The research is informed by psycho-legal tenets.

These methodological issues are considerably more than minor. A circular argument often advanced by racists is that skin colour and/or ethnicity demarcates culture and/or ethnicity, all of which can be identified by skin colour. Consequently, the research adopts and reifies

the language of particularism in its methodology. Furthermore, the researchers compare people allocated into groups which may in no way correspond to the reality which generates the experiences the study aims to research. Consider the following statement; “There was no significant differences in anxiety and depression when white and ethnic minority participants were compared [sic]” (2001: 19), and it becomes clear that ‘whiteness’ as ethnicity is being reinforced. Moreover, that ‘whiteness’ is comparable to other ethnicities means that self-esteem levels are being compared between racially constructed groups, i.e. the psychological make up of individuals is categorised by ethnicity and/or culture and/or skin colour. The rationale is that discrimination and harassment lead to low self-esteem which precipitate social exclusion. GARA was established to make ‘black and ethnic minority’ youth feel good about themselves, in order to obviate increasing fragmentation between and within ethnic groups. This ‘joined-up approach’ would obviate the possibility of ‘inter-racial’ disorder through the promotion of safety. The subject targets and perpetrators of ‘inter-racial’ disorder are being emotionally constituted by the Therapeutic state’s anti-racist policy.

6.4 The Murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar and the Formation of the Chhokar Family Justice Campaign

By the time of its official opening on 1st July 1999 the Scottish parliament was confronted by two overlapping ‘racism issues’. The publication of the Macpherson Report (Feb 24th), and the trial of Ronnie Coulter (2nd March), accused of the murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar on 4th November 1998 in Airdrie, Lanarkshire. The Scottish Crown’s decision not to try two other suspects, Andrew Coulter and David Montgomery, its neglect in not informing the deceased’s relatives of its decision to do so, and a subsequent verdict of not guilty (on 9th March), stimulated the formation of *The Chhokar Family Justice Campaign* on 22nd March which drew parallels between the Scottish Crown Prosecution’s handling of the case and the Metropolitan Police’s response to the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Critical comments made by the trial Judge Lord McCluskey at the decision not to try all three suspects, and the critical response of Lord Hardie to the former’s comments drew the public eye (NS83). By 23rd March ‘racism in Scotland’ had gained UK-wide publicity. The *Guardian* (NS84) reported “the father of murdered black teenager Stephen Lawrence yesterday backed a campaign set up to seek justice for an Asian man who was stabbed to death”. Neville Lawrence said “I have no doubt that the treatment this family has received

from the police and others in the criminal justice system is a sharp reflection of that meted out to my family". A 'campaign spokesman' stated: "[a]fter the Stephen Lawrence inquiry we were told this was a watershed for race relations, but nothing has changed. Once again a grieving family wonders why its son's killers are free to walk the streets". Jonathan Squires, chairman of the Glasgow-based Ethnic Minorities Law Centre stated: "[s]omewhere along the line, the law seems to have failed, and while the case is different from Stephen Lawrence's, the lack of explanation leads you to conclude it follows the same pattern" (NS84).

On 25th March the Scottish Office issued a news release (NR1). Scotland's Lord Advocate, Lord Hardie, had "considered the implications of the report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry for the prosecution in Scotland". According to the statement, Hardie had "addressed the Scottish Grand Committee on March 8", and "[w]hile the [Macpherson] report relate[d] to proceedings in England and Wales", he had "accepted" Macpherson's recommendation 33 "that there should be a presumption that the public interest should be in favour of prosecuting racist crimes". Furthermore, "the Crown should take particular care at all stages to recognise and include reference to any evidence of racist motivation' and, in accordance with recommendation 34, "no plea-bargaining should be allowed to exclude such evidence where it is available and admissible". Moreover, the Scottish Office established a "Victim Steering Group" to progress "matters" pertaining to "the provision of information to all victims, including next of kin" (NR1).

The timing and content of the Scottish Office' news release indicates that, prior to devolution, there was sensitivity to the prospect of Scottish institutions being branded institutionally racist. The formation of the Chhokar campaign, the publicity it generated, and its association with Lawrence, initiated a response from key institutions to lay bare their 'anti-racist' credentials. Since coming into office in May 1997, the news release continued, "[i]nitiatives have already been undertaken on racial matters", including:

- In June 1997 the Lord Advocate accepted the Leadership Challenge invitation to take a personal lead in promoting the principle of racial equality together... He reports annually to the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) on his participation.
- Consistent with that commitment the Lord Advocate took the novel course of consulting with the CRE on his draft guidance to Procurators Fiscal in relation to the racial provisions in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

- The Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service is committed to training its staff on racial awareness and cultural diversity. A further seminar has been planned for this autumn and the CRE will assist. (NR1)

The Scottish Office drew upon the symbolic capital provided by the CRE, and the project of recognising racialised ‘victims’ as a means of maintaining its own symbolic and moral legitimacy. Here, ‘race’ is equivalent to the ‘minority ethnicity’ of the subject target. In addition, the posited ‘anti-racist’ action, i.e. ‘race-awareness’ and ‘cultural diversity’ training, indicates that sensitivity to the emotional identification with ‘one’s race or culture’ is regarded as an ontological need that should not be disrupted by lack of awareness – victimisation is paired with ‘minority ethnicity’, ‘race’ and emotional vulnerability, all of which constitute the construction of the subject target. Importantly, ‘anti-racism’ was associated with tackling ‘racially aggravated offences’ under the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. The punishment of ‘hate’ was hence morally paired with, but legally distinct from the ‘unintentional act’ of disrespecting the emotional significance which cultural identification is deemed to cohere. ‘Cultural disrespect’ could be eradicated through education. The racist subject was subsequently established as either authoritarian or unwitting (the former criminalized, the latter in need of awareness) accomplices in inciting a negative reaction from the subject target. Thus the avoidance of a ‘race-relations problem’ contained its own solution which drew upon assumptions regarding the human subject – it was precisely such a problem that the CRE, and the legal structure of criminalizing racial hatred, had been established to circumvent. It was now in the ‘public interest’ to do so.

6.5 Building Legitimacy through Anti-Racism

On 20th July, the Scottish Executive issued a news release under the headline, *Wallace Declares War on Scottish Racism* (NR2). Deputy First Minister Jim Wallace announced, “[r]acism is a cancer that can no longer be allowed to eat away at Scottish society”, thus laying the ground for four seminal ideas which would inform Scottish anti-racist narrative. a) racism is morally problematic for a social space demarcated as intrinsically Scottish, b) racism is a degenerating ailment, c) the existence of racism is a consequence of past neglect, and by association, d) that the newly devolved Scottish polity would be a force for

challenging relics of the past which manifest in the form of current symptoms. The Scottish Executive thus placed itself in the position of administering the 'cure'.

Framing the 'problem' in this way meant that the subject perpetrator was being constructed as a conduit for transmitting 'the disease'. Whilst the nature of the subject perpetrator was further developed as a vehicle for transmission, the characteristics of the 'disease' were embellished. The Scottish Executive embraces 'Lawrence' as a means of displaying its willingness to challenge the 'complacency' which dominated in pre-devolution Scotland.

These tragic events seem to have acted as a catalyst across the United Kingdom by making us all think again about race relations. Although Stephen was murdered in London, I think we are all aware in Scotland that it could have occurred here and we cannot be complacent that our own criminal justice system would have dealt with it any better.

'We' the 'Scots' are re-sensitised through the 'awareness' that 'we', like the Met, may be blind to the perpetuation of immorality through 'our' institutional mechanisms. 'Anti-racism' becomes a medium for building solidarity through guilt. Moreover, this 'complacency' has aetiology:

The problem is that for far too long we have been complacent in Scotland, seeing racism as an English problem. We have prided ourselves on our tolerance while ignoring the fear and suffering within our own ethnic minority communities, whether caused by overt racial harassment or by the unwitting insensitivity, ignorance and thoughtlessness of institutionalised racism.

The Executive recognises and challenges the idea that racism is not a problem in Scotland. The problem of racism is (apparently) not linked to numbers of migrants, but to "narrow self-righteousness", i.e. authoritarianism, which exposes Scotland to a potential 'race-relations problem'. Scotland's past brings it shame, and through recognising and acknowledging "ethnic minority fear and suffering", the Executive will challenge the harmful relics of the past. 'Anti-racism' as defined via the above explanatory is further anchored within the programmatic remit of devolution:

Equality of opportunity is one of the key priorities for the Scottish Executive and tackling racism is central to its delivery.

Moreover,

The recognition that institutionalised racism exists in Scotland is a step forward in our drive to tackle racism

On 20th July Deputy Minister for Equality Jackie Baillie, announced that a *Racial Equality Advisory Forum* (REAF) was to be established (NR3). One aim was that of “forming action plans to eradicate institutionalised racism in all areas of Scottish life,” another was that of “advising on the best way for the Executive to consult people with ethnic minority backgrounds”. The statement paired the need to fight institutional racism with the parliamentary obligation to recognise issues which had previously been neglected in Scotland. The establishment of the forum was therefore a mechanism for providing devolution with the legitimacy the parliament had sought to confer on its inauguration – that of settling scores with the past.

A closer inspection of Baillie’s narrative reveals that the dual subject perpetrator of racism is being reinforced:

Subject perpetrator 1 (SP1): “The ugly images of racism come too easily to mind – intimidation, violence and, in the case of Stephen Lawrence, murder”. SP1 engages in overt acts of harm, he/she has no moral scruples.

Subject perpetrator 2 (SP2): “However racism comes in many other forms, often unnoticed in every day life but which can be just as damaging”. SP2 does not act with wilful intent to cause harm, but, through ‘unwittingness’ and lack of ‘self-reflexivity’, seemingly small, innocent, subtle but habitual ‘every day’ acts cause grave harm to the subject target. The subject target’s vulnerability is extended and linked to ‘seemingly’ insignificant unintentional acts. Thus the relationship between emotion and culture in the constitution of the vulnerable human subject – a diminished subject - and the development of a therapeutic ethos throughout the state machine are merged.

In this press release SP2 is given more coverage:

The majority of people would not consider themselves racist and do not knowingly discriminate against people from ethnic minorities. But there is now a growing awareness that the roots of racism go deeper than out and out prejudice.

Subject perpetrator 2s are the majority who unknowingly cultivate racism. SP2s are unknowing because they do not realise the significance of underlying forces which guide

their actions. The subject perpetrator is now given a further dimension. SP2 becomes society:

We need to understand how society in the wider sense treats people of different racial backgrounds. It is clear that general attitudes towards race are often unwittingly creating a climate where black and Asian people are not enjoying the same rights and opportunities as their white counterparts.

‘Racial’ inequality is linked to the psychological make-up of the human subject. Indeed, inequality is created by the interaction of emotionally racialised subjects. Moreover, the state must recognise the destructiveness of racialised emotion by acknowledging the experiences of racialised victims:

We need to listen to people across the racial spectrum to identify where the main difficulties lie. To that end, we will be consulting the Commission for Racial Equality and other ethnic minority and community groups on how best to represent all the varied interests.

Such action

...shows our determination to get to the real roots of the problem quickly – we know that cultural change will not happen overnight, so we must start work immediately

The object target is cultural change. That is a culture which must reflexively adopt the ethos of social limitation. However, the *subject* target is also Scottish culture.

The Lawrence Inquiry shows us that racism can be like a cancer – unseen, unheard, but ready to inflict lasting pain. We must seize the opportunity we have now to find a cure for the division, prejudice and intolerance that infect our society

Scottish society is ‘sick’. The national psyche is pathological.

By 2000, the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act and the Macpherson report, had provided the devolved polity with a vehicle through which it could mobilise legitimacy. In doing so, the Executive appealed to the emotional significance which comes with the belief that ‘Scots’ see themselves as being a tolerant nation, and the subsequent anxiety which the charge of ‘Scottish racism’ would induce. The ‘New Scotland’ was at risk because of previous complacency. This appeal to patriotism incorporated a psychological explanation of racism, such that the twin perpetrators of racism, i.e. the intentional authoritarian, and the unwitting actor, would require therapeutic intervention so as to cure a ‘diseased’ Scottish

psyche. Furthermore, the symbolic capital provided by the CRE was crucial to the moral legitimacy which the Executive required in emphasising that racism is a social justice issue.

In reference to some of the points raised above MSP Jackie Baillie told me⁹⁹:

even before those press releases came out and before Lawrence was an issue there was a view from some of us particularly in the social justice portfolio that when we are dealing with social justice it was so much more than simply tackling poverty. It was about dealing with equality matters, and that really hadn't been the focus of pre-devolution Scotland. We had an opportunity to embed social justice very clearly in a much wider equality dimension and we were looking at how do we take forward work, meaningful work on race in that context. And it really started from a discussion with the CRE about how we can work collaboratively...

Baillie had not had a relationship with the CRE prior to devolution. Post-devolution, she “had a discussion with the CRE that was very helpful in kind of taking forth things that I was interested in doing anyway in that portfolio”. Indeed, “it was more a conversation with Dharmendra that kind of gelled things”¹⁰⁰. She elaborates,

I never understood what the underlying problem was about racism. Recognised it and saw it in Scotland. Not just at football games where the alternative to the bigoted chant was a racist chant. Saw it in school playgrounds, saw it elsewhere. We are and we should be a multicultural society... I recognised that the scale of racism in Scotland, whilst it was not as obvious as elsewhere, was nevertheless there. And I sensed there was this underlying problem.

Additionally, the legitimacy deficit fuelled the Executive's recognition of ‘racism’. I asked why it had been important to ‘consult’ with ‘ethnic minority groups’ and what the consequences of not doing so would have been?

People don't feel they have a voice, they don't feel they're engaged in the democratic process that we currently have. That's not just an issue to do with minorities, but actually it's endemic across society – this disengagement from the political process that we needed to address. So, one, at a fundamental level it was about that. At another level, it was about recognising, as many of us instinctively thought, there is a problem with attitudes towards race in Scotland. If we allow that

⁹⁹ Interview with Jackie Baillie MSP conducted on 13/02/04

¹⁰⁰ This is a reference to Dharmendra Kanani who was Director of CRE Scotland at that time. For a fuller picture of the CRE's work in Scotland since Devolution the reader is directed to House of Commons (2002)

to go unchallenged in our society, it will simply replicate itself and we will not get the kind of multicultural society that I think we strive for... And equally on a practical level there was an issue that we just weren't getting it right in service terms. So, if REAF hadn't existed what would have happened? Increasing, I think, disengagement and dissatisfaction.

...the thinking for the One Scotland Many Cultures campaign and the various strap lines that we went through at the time was actually to look at that wider engagement.

so at the same time as we set up REAF we also said that we need to talk to Barker's about commissioning some work¹⁰¹

The work culminated in the *One Scotland Many Cultures* (OSMC) anti-racist advertising campaign. The launch of the campaign in September 2002 received widespread media coverage across the UK. The launch was the subject of a Scottish parliamentary debate, and BBC Scotland held a live television debate, *Pride and Prejudice*, on the merits of the campaign. The campaign ran across Scottish TV, cinema and radio and utilised Billboard posters and bus-side ads. The initial impetus for the campaign did not come via REAF or through consultation with 'minority ethnic groups'. It emerged through the need to build parliamentary legitimacy with a 'Scottish public' whose disengagement was considered to be a consequence of past neglect. Anti-racist claims that racism had been a neglected issue, fitted well with this outlook. As will be demonstrated, wider disengagement, and the 'race-relations' problematic – understood as operating within an emotionally-driven racially risk-averse dynamic – eventually came to shape the parameters of the campaign.

6.6 The image of 'racism'

I spoke to Chris Wallace, Managing Director of Barkers advertising. Chris was responsible for meeting the Scottish Executive's initial brief¹⁰². He confirmed the centrality of McPherson to the campaign,

...this whole race campaign came off the back of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, on the basis that they're likely to do something in England, as a result of that, shouldn't we do something in Scotland?

¹⁰¹ This is a reference to Barkers advertising (Edinburgh), commissioned by the Scottish Executive, and responsible for the production of OSMC. Barker's has devised a number of campaigns for the Executive.

¹⁰² Interview with Chris Wallace conducted on 20/02/04

Wallace also confirmed that the campaign was seen as a tool for generating an active constituency vis-à-vis the need for parliamentary legitimacy. I asked about the terms of the commissioned brief. He said:

At the very start we were asked ‘can you define what is achievable?’ and within that you’ve got public attitude shifts, you’ve also got stakeholder buy-in. So we were reporting as much on stakeholder buy-in as we were on attitude shift, and it was the latter that was the first problem because there was so many stakeholders involved, it’s so fragmented. With the Domestic abuse campaign you’ve got Scottish Woman’s Aid and if you keep them sweet you know you’ve kept a huge constituency, you’ve got them on side. There’s over 400 different ethnic group representations in Scotland, most of them disagree with each other, so you can imagine that whatever you do is going to get attacked one way or another – can you square that circle?

It would seem here that the Advertising agency has become an arm of the state. Its role was being cast as a constituency builder, and it was facing the same problem as any flagging political party – the need to key into different interests across an ethnically segmented social base – a ‘circle’ had to be squared if a sense of identification with the new parliament was to be fostered. This became equally clear once the testing of campaign ideas on the ‘ethnic majority’ had begun.

Over and over we had stuff that was deliberately meant to provoke and get a reaction which got the opposite reaction... that we couldn’t show white Scotland being racist to black Scotland, and it being a one-way street, rightly or wrongly, it had to be in creative ads, as two-way. You know ‘we can both be bad with each other’. I personally have no problem at all in recognising that it is one-way traffic. I’d rather be a white ethnic Scot than black, because I think you get worse treatment as a non-white ethnic Scot. But in order to get the white population to engage with it we had to portray it that way. It was a delicate balancing act.

Barker’s, obviously unbeknownst to Wallace, were being asked to define racism according to prescriptions increasingly laid down in British law. The reader should recall from Chapter Five that the idea that the English and the Scots could be racist towards each other had been instituted in the social imaginary via public discrimination/harassment claims, and that such claims had been given legitimacy in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act; more specifically, in the designation by political elites such as Henry McLeish, of anti-social behaviour as the key culprit. If racism is anti-social behaviour targeted toward subjects of any “ethnic, racial or national group”, then the respondents who now presented Wallace with the demand for a “two-way street”, were “merely” expressing views legitimised by British law.

The campaign producers were therefore confronted by the contradiction elicited by a discrepancy between what different groups thought racism was, and the need to promote 'racism as a Scottish problem'. Chris Eynon, Director of NFO Systems three, who carried out the market research on which the campaign was based, told me¹⁰³,

If we actually look at the campaign... the word racism hardly appears... which is really quite unusual... and that comes back to the whole strategy, the point that we identified in the research, that if the public do not perceive themselves as racists... the minute you put up an advert or a campaign and mention the word racist, people disassociate... because they don't relate that to themselves or their personal behaviour... so they just switch off... so we deliberately avoided using that terminology... to make sure that we could bring people in...

Consequently, when 'racism' was used, the campaign-makers were aware that its effect as a deterrent to racism was minimal. Rather, the rationale for using the term was that of maintaining the identification of 'hostile' 'ethnic minority' groups. Chris Wallace explained, in reference to one ad,

'no place for racism' was there as a sop to those ethnic minority groups, in amongst the mix of materials, to show solidarity with them. Here's a range of materials, and here's the one that makes the most strident ethnic groups, that wanted to see a finger pointing, 'you're all bastards and you're the problem' just so that they felt something was being done.

Visual 12: 'racism' with a small 'p'



It's a curious mentality. If you're in an ethnic minority group and you see that poster, you think 'that's great they're telling the bastards'. You don't think 'that's aimed at me', you think, 'bout time too, someone's told them what it's all about,' and it was a sop, a political with a small p, sop, but it was important to keep solidarity amongst these groups.

¹⁰³ Interview with Chris Eynon conducted on 26/04/04.

The Ad-makers informed the Executive that “we think we can put racism on the map”, the problem was how to do so without specifically calling anyone a racist whilst keeping “ethnic minorities on board”. As will be demonstrated next, ‘fortunately’, McPherson provided the rationale for such an approach

Prior to speaking with Chris Wallace, Chris Eynon or Jackie Baillie, I interpreted two of the TV/Cinema ads, one called “Circle of Violence”, the other “Circle of Virtue”, as follows:

A) Circle of violence

Description:

Scene 1: ‘White’ male customer in ‘corner shop’ staffed by middle-aged Asian man and women, and younger Asian male. ‘White’ male’s mobile rings. Whilst speaking on mobile he approaches counter with packet of crisps. He tells caller ‘I’m in the Pakis’. He does not acknowledge Asian shopkeeper or realise what he has done. He is ‘unwitting’. He is self-absorbed. He disinterestedly drops money down onto the counter and walks out. Asian shopkeeper is offended. He sees young ‘white’ boy who is reading comic, and says, in an angry tone ‘Oi what you doin? Buy something or get out!’. Disgruntled, boy leaves and is seen getting into older ‘white’ boy’s car. Older boy, obviously after being told what happened, looks at shop in a scolding manner as he drives off.

Scene 2: Asian shopkeeper and family pull up in their car outside shop which has shutters pulled down. Across the shutter is sprayed the words ‘Paki Scum’.

Scene 3: ‘White male’ who previously used the word ‘paki’ walks into the shop and looks a little baffled when he sees previous Asian woman scrubbing at the shutter.

Caption: ‘One Word, Many Consequences’ superimposed over graffiti. Closes on Scottish Executive logo.

Summary analysis: Initial perpetrator unwittingly inflicts offence on shopkeeper, this leads to escalation of anger, and polarisation. All actors play a role in perpetration of breakdown, all are victims. Initial perpetrator is a victim of his unwittingness.

B) Circle of Virtue

Same actors, same setting.

Scene 1: 'White' male, on mobile, approaches counter with crisps. This time his approach is more dignified/more polite. Says to caller 'Yup, I'm getting a paper'. Hands crisps to Asian shopkeeper. Interrupts his call to speak to Asian shopkeeper in respectful manner, 'I'll be with you in a minute', he says. Asian shopkeeper notices and approaches young 'white' boy looking at comics. 'Now then wee man' he says, in a helpful manner, 'how can I help you?' Previous 'white' male leaves shop, and both Asian shopkeeper and younger Asian man, who are behind the counter, look at each other disappointed, as 'white' male is seen hastily running past shop window.

Scene 2: young 'white' boy leaves shop and is entering older 'white' boy's car with comic. Young Asian man comes out after him and says 'hold on', and hands young 'white' boy something he has forgotten. Boy is pleased and says 'thanks'. Older 'white' male (driver) nods with smile in appreciation. As car drives off, previous older 'white' male is seen returning hurriedly to shop with shopping bag. Enters shop out of breath and hands shopkeeper money 'sorry about that' he says. Asian shopkeeper replies 'ah nay problem'.

Caption: 'No Place for Racism'. Closing caption 'One Scotland, Many Cultures'.

Message: think about your actions, modify your behaviour, don't be unwitting, and Scotland will be a better place.

The reader should immediately be alerted to the ad titles. "Circle of violence" and "circle of virtue" are precisely those normative social spirals which Giddens develops from Gadamer. The rhetoric adopted is integral to Giddens' prescription for emotional governance, and central to the constitution of the subject, the ontological security of which his 'Third Way' seeks to promote. That such an understanding of human sociation enjoys a relative hegemony on 'anti-racist' policy; that is, it emanates from 'common-cense' notions of 'inter-racial' disorder and the role of emotion in that disorder, is striking in that Chris Wallace had never heard of Giddens or Gadamer. What is also clear is that such an interpretation blends easily with the concept of unwittingness. I asked Chris Wallace, "This idea of the circle of violence, circle of virtue. How did you come up with that"?

Ans: unlike any campaign that I'd ever seen, people seemed to be bending over backwards to find a way out because it's such an issue, and somewhere in the psychology of that, I thought, we can't give people a way out.

Qu: psychology figured strongly in your approach?

Ans: Yes..., I wrote the brief for that... The brief that I wrote was really specific, it said 'can we have two ads, one that shows things exacerbating all the time, and one that shows the antithesis, things getting better?'

...people refused to see that racism, either existed, or where it did, did it actually harm them...we needed an ad to show how racism harmed the actual proponent of racism because that was the problem. The psychology of it was that we have to show the harm, and the only harm that we could show was this escalation...

Qu: That it was harmful to the proponent?

Ans: Yes, that was it. ...The other side of it was just to show how life gets better if you do tolerate, and so that was... in the original brief. We couldn't leave it on a down. If you have these ads that show despair you have to balance it with 'here's how it could have been'

I asked Jackie Baillie, the Minister responsible for commissioning the campaign, about the influence of psychology on the campaign. It is clear that the subject perpetrator is being therapised. She told me:

...the evidence... was saying 'they don't think they're racist, yet they have these racist ideas'. So you need to challenge that in a way that they'll cope with, so I suppose if that's thinking about the psychology of what you're doing, then yes we did... you need to find a way into people that makes them realise, yes they are racist. So, doing the innocuous, 'you're going to the pakis' or 'you're goin' for a chinky', and making them understand that actually this isn't really acceptable, and this set of behaviours, really is racist. So that kind of deals with the unknowing, unwitting element of it. So you are challenging them in a very gentle way, and saying, this is what racism is. And then by doing this sort of emotional impact you are actually saying, these are some of the consequences of behaving in a racist manner. And then the third thing, the respecting difference one, as I recall it, was what do we want them to aspire to do? What's the right set of behaviours? So tell them what behaviour comprises racism, because they clearly don't know, challenge it in a way that will be productive, and then give them the 'this is how the world should be'. So did we think deeply about psychology? I don't recognise it in my thought process. My thought process was 'what works?' And if this is going to change people's mind, perfect.

Qu: Did you think there would be detrimental consequences if people did not become cognisant of their unwitting actions?

Ans: Yes, for their community, for them. You challenge people on a personal level. You challenge them in relation to how they interact with their community and then you challenge them in terms of 'you're letting Scotland down'. So you play on their own patriotism.

Visual 13: 'racism' for patriots



The private sphere is problematised. Emotions are deemed to be a problem in that they are considered key to fostering social cohesion. Scottishness is being constructed on a heteronomous basis which erodes the distinction between private and public. A diminished subjectivity, that of the emotionalised subject, is instituted via anti-racist policy.

Füredi's point, that the Therapeutic state's acceptance of Honneth's dictum that "the experience of being socially denigrated or humiliated endangers the identity of human beings, just as infection with disease endangers their physical life" (2004a: 164), is illustrated by the idea of "hidden pain" (2004a: 185). Because "only victims and their therapists know how much psychological pain they suffered," (2004a: 187), compensation claims are not only highly subjective but cannot morally be contested. This gives increased weight, even to the most innocuous of experiences, such as being "damaged by words". Thus, "claimants", says Füredi, often "insist that they have been emotionally scarred for life" (2004a: 185). The therapeutic impulse in claimsmaking is matched, states Heartfield (2002), by the growing infantilisation of adults, which prepares a route by which the therapeutic state attempts, paternalistically, to build its legitimacy through recognising 'our pain'. This position is clearly evident in one of the OSMC radio ads, "Sticks and Stones", which played as follows:

Description:

Opens with playground noise (children playing) in background

Female child (with Scottish accent) speaks rhythmically:

sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me

Male child (with Scottish accent) speaks rhythmically:

sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me

Female child (with Scottish accent) speaks rhythmically:

sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me

Adult female voice (with Scottish accent) speaks with a slow, almost soothing corrective (but not authoritarian) tone:

If only it were true. Racially abusing someone with words can leave scars that never heal. Words can be weapons. Words can also heal wounds. Keep an open mind. Don't let Scotland down.

Prior to meeting Chris Wallace or Jackie Baillie, I interpreted the ad as follows:

Message: 'we' the public are the children, the adult is the Scottish Executive. The belief that words have no power is commonplace. We are unthinking automata. As children we were/are victims of this 'old wives tale' which causes us to behave badly in the present without realising it. Such old ideologies are the outcome of an old industrial world where the material – 'sticks and stones' – affected us in a way that we had to be tough enough to deal with. 'Sticks and stones' was a 'health and safety' warning of industrial Scotland. Consequently, this common, outdated understanding of social reality is an infantile relic that we must grow out of. But to grow out of this we must accept the awareness that the Scottish Executive can give us. In order to grow up, we must become children under direction of the therapeutic state, which will help us come to terms with the past that victimises our present. Words are expressions of attitudes and bad words are reflective of bad attitudes. Words victimise. Words that betray a negative attitude toward 'racial' groups have a particularly devastating effect because 'race' is something precious to us all – it makes us who we are. 'Race' gives us our identity which constitutes our emotional well-being. Words that don't take this reality into account can therefore cause us great emotional harm and cause us to be eternally victimised. 'We' are both psychological victim and perpetrator of our socially destructive unwitting behaviour/attitudes that belong to the past. Racism is both psychological cause and effect. The cause of racism is beyond the knowing individual subject. If 'we knew what we do' we would not do it. Such behaviour is an immoral aberration. Anti-racism therefore requires a psychological

intervention to help us confront our destructive side. All perpetrators are victims. All victims are potential perpetrators. The state will forgive us if we take its lead in the healing process. Narrow mindedness undermines the national psyche.

Later, I asked Chris Wallace, “Did you read books on racism, what racism is, how does it happen etc?”

Ans: No, ...we kick off by looking at the Scots Psyche, that’s more important than grafting in someone else’s creation.

Qu: The ‘sticks and stones’ radio ad. That does seem to make a lot of the emotional impact of racism,

Ans: yeah

Qu: suggests that somebody has researched the impact of racism...

Ans: I think that would have been fed in from stakeholders.

Qu: I thought it was to do with ‘past myths’, you know ‘sticks and stones will break your bones’ doesn’t work anymore because words do. You know these myths ‘belong to the old Scotland’ ‘don’t work for us anymore’ ‘not in a new Scotland’ ?

Ans: yeah, yeah, there’s definitely an element of that. It all ties into the Scotland we want to live in.

6.7 Sighthill and the Murder of Firsat Dag

On 5th August 2001, Kurdish Asylum-seeker Firsat Dag, was murdered in Sighthill, Glasgow. The placement of asylum-seekers in this area of the city had been a public issue since the start of the UK Government’s 1999 policy of dispersing asylum seekers to specified areas across the UK. A BBC (TV2) timeline report following the trial of the accused reported that on 6th August “Hundreds of asylum seekers and anti-racism protesters march[ed] to Glasgow’s George Square with Trade Unionists and members of the public to attend an emotion-charged vigil for Mr Dag”. Additionally, “that night more than 200 local residents gather in Sighthill to voice their anger at what they claim is preferential treatment given to asylum seekers housed in the area”. On 8th August, Scottish

Television's *Scotland Today* (TV3) reported that "Sighthill racial tension increases". *The Herald* (NS85) reported that George Foulkes, Scottish Office Minister,

spent yesterday in crisis talks with Scottish Executive and Glasgow City Council officials in efforts to find ways of defusing racial tension in a city which has borne the brunt of the dispersal programme by the Home Office to Scotland.

Mr Foulkes said the National Asylum Seekers' Service, at the request of the police, had decided to "stop the flow" of refugees to Sighthill, where yesterday residents mounted protests over alleged preferential treatment being given to asylum seekers.

Foulkes continued:

If a particular area is under pressure and finding difficulties in getting the numbers they've been allocated properly integrated into the local community, then clearly there is a need to respond to a request to stop the flow for the foreseeable future.

Here lack of integration is paired with the cause of 'racial tensions'. The dispersal of racialised migrants led to 'crisis', a social order problem so serious that police requested the "flow" be "stopped".

A Scottish Executive press release (NR4) issued on 21st August 2001 quoted Deputy First Minister Jim Wallace :

the murder of Firsat Dag and the disorder that followed have demonstrated that much remains to be done to address the problem of racism in Scotland.

We unreservedly condemn acts of violence against refugees in our country. We also condemn intimidation, casual abuse and lack of respect. There can be no excuse for treating refugees in this way. Not poverty, not deprivation, not ignorance. Such attitudes bring shame to our country and are totally incompatible with the Scotland we want – a compassionate Scotland – a fair and caring and tolerant Scotland where everyone matters.

But thankfully the problems are caused by only a handful of people. Everyone has been working hard together to address these problems and it appeared that things were getting better until the tragic events of two weeks ago and I know that Strathclyde Police, local residents, voluntary groups will now redouble their efforts to make sure their previous work is not undone.

The murder and racism consisting of violence, intimidation, abuse and disrespect, bring shame to Scotland. The perpetrators of such shame are a small 'authoritarian' minority

who ruin things for the morally good, whose virtue stems from attempting to obviate such problems in the first place.

On 9th September 2001, Jackie Baillie was appointed Social Justice Minister with responsibility for the 'devolved aspects' of asylum policy. I asked Jackie Baillie about the terms of her brief. She told me,

I was very conscious at the time of being handed responsibility for something that was at boiling point, and was critical.

Jackie Baillie visited Sighthill. She told me

you have to go in there, you have to talk to people, you have to physically be seen around the issue, and you have to acknowledge that yes there are some policy problems and it's up to us in Government to sort them out...

what I saw actually was that much wider understanding, and at some levels, integration in the local community between the folk that were born and brought up in Sighthill and the asylum seekers. Again it was ignorance and it was that lack of understanding that lay behind so much of the frustration and the tensions.

Society has a problem with things they don't understand, people they are not used to. I mean you walk round London, and London I think is truly multicultural, and I think it's great. You come to Scotland, and actually there's not that many people from an ethnic minority background, and therefore to suddenly see a place like Sighthill, which is a poor community/ Loads of people from different backgrounds that you don't begin to understand... We're not very good at being internationalist in Scotland. To have no preparation for that, and to see them being advantaged in a way that you have never been in your life, is a recipe for disaster.

It can incite a response... the scale of which asylum seekers arrived in Sighthill without really any warning or education or preparation of the local community was a recipe for disaster.

Here, the seminal 'race-relations' logic is seemingly being reversed. It is no longer the case that large numbers of migrants correlate with a 'race-relations problem'. Rather, because fewer migrants have located in Scotland in the past, cultural misunderstanding amongst the Scottish population is greater. However, where resources are tight, lack of cultural understanding can lead to a 'race relations problem'. Economic utility is tied to emotion and ignorance. Government intervention must circumvent such an outcome.

Additionally, Baillie praised Police intervention of the time:

the work that the local police did, and I signal them out above all others because they kind of went over and above what I think they are responsible for doing. They in a very real way took some of the local youths, again, indigent population, alongside some of the younger asylum seekers, and in meeting through football activities, which is indeed universal, actually made some connections which otherwise wouldn't have been made.

I asked Inspector Harrigan, "Looking at the murder of Firsat Dag in Sighthill, and events that followed; the police intervened in a number of ways. In your own words, could you tell me what you think the consequences would have been if you hadn't intervened?"

Ans. if the police hadn't intervened I think we could have had large-scale disorder in the area, affecting, not just Sighthill but affecting the wider community as well, because it would have influenced the wider community, probably have created tensions within the community all-over, not just in Glasgow, but all over the Strathclyde Police area. I can't speak for other areas obviously, but it would have had far-reaching implications for the police service if we hadn't intervened. I would have hated to be there if we hadn't intervened. It wouldn't have been very nice. I think there would have been widespread disorder, individual attacks and group attacks and various things that were there bubbling away prior to our intervention.

Key state actors mutually interpret their respective roles as that of obviating 'inter-racial' disorder deemed a potential consequence of immigration. Elite fears of widespread disorder inform their intervention. The Police, an arm of the British capitalist state, is called upon to build 'community cohesion'.

6.8 Scottish Integration?

On 19th September a £700, 000 package was pledged to aid "community integration", and the intention to establish a Scottish Refugee Integration Forum (SRIF) was announced in October (NR5 NR6). SRIF held its first meeting in January 2002 under the chair of new Social Justice Minister Ian Gray (NR7).

Ian Gray said:

There have clearly been problems in the past as asylum seekers and refugees have settled into their host communities. However, I am committed to ensuring that we in Scotland continue with our strong tradition of welcoming and integrating asylum seekers and refugees fleeing from oppression and persecution.

The meeting was also attended by George Foulkes (MP):

A key element of the UK's commitment to providing a safe haven for people fleeing persecution is how we help those who have been granted refugee status to rebuild their lives and to fulfil their potential as full members of society. The UK Government's integration strategy was set out in November 2000 in "*Full and Equal Citizens – A Strategy for the Integration of Refugees into the United Kingdom*."

As well as addressing those issues specific to Scotland, the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum will provide a key part of the UK's integration agenda that is being taken forward through the Home Office led National Refugee Integration Forum.

It would seem that the development of the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum represented a response to a social order problem, considered to be a consequence of the elevation of tensions caused in part by 'unintegrated' migrants and the 'understandable' response to those migrants which emanated from a lack of cultural understanding/ignorance and jealousy. Lack of integration elicits a 'circle of degeneration' which integration circumvents. Migration is a problem for the purported Scottish virtue of welcoming those who are the victims of 'immoral regimes'. To be Scottish should be 'welcoming', and this virtue obviates disintegration. The management of the 'racially risk averse' is institutionalised at a Scottish level within the rubric laid down by UK immigration policy. This however is *not* equated with racism by policy-makers. In fact, it is a strategy for obviating racism.

In testing this interpretation with Jackie Baillie, I offered the following observation. "It strikes me that integration, as an issue, is used by the government as a means of stopping these 'tensions' from occurring in the first place".

Ans: Explain what you mean.

Qu: I'll put it another way, is the logic underpinning the Government's integration strategy as follows: 'If migrants come to a new country they may elicit a negative response unless the rest of the population are prepared in advance for that'?

Ans: In Sighthill it was a scale issue. Because if you look at the experience in Castlemilk or Drumchapel and many other places that accepted asylum seekers, that wasn't the same, you know, Toryglenn, Rutherglenn. You know, we can name them. There wasn't the same difficulty. It's a combination of lack of understanding, poverty and scale that really was behind Sighthill. So I don't think Government uses integration as an excuse for saying oh we can't do this. I mean I would quite positively pursue actively immigration policies that enabled people to come to a particular country, including Scotland, and therefore I don't see integration, in that

sense being a barrier, if it's dealt with properly, and in those circumstances, as I said before, there was an issue of scale, there was an issue of poverty there, and a lack of awareness.

Qu: I wouldn't argue that the government uses it as an excuse, but it can come across that the government's immigration strategy incorporates the worry that migrants coming into an area may elicit a negative response, which could lead to the 'boiling point' at which, as you stated previously, you took up responsibility for asylum in Scotland.

Ans: Depends what type of migrant, if I can be as brutal as that. Let me give you a classic example. This local community [East Dunbartonshire] that I represent has a huge problem with sustaining a hospital because we have insufficient numbers of consultants and doctors. If a hundred consultants and doctors arrived tomorrow from Saudi Arabia, from China, from wherever, this local community could not give two hoots about their colour, about the language they speak or their cultural background, because it's satisfying a local need, quite clearly, and in fact they would probably line the streets to cheer them on to come on in. If however you flooded an area with people who have a particular skill and that skill was already catered for and there were huge levels of unemployment in the area, that's when I think you would breed resentment, but then I'm particularly describing an economic migrant rather than immigration in general. So I think there are differing circumstances and therefore differing responses from people. I do genuinely believe that it is a responsibility of government to actually influence how society thinks about broader principle questions, and therefore, if we have an anti-racist strategy then we also recognise as part of that the benefits that migration can bring to society. Now I'm keen we cover all bases.

Baillie's differentiation between migrant groups eludes to class, in terms of occupational distinctions. Migrants of a lower or similar class to those of her constituency are more of a threat than those migrants from higher occupational groupings, in terms of resource competition. Only the presence of specific migrant groups raises questions of integration. I explored the issue of integration with Inspector Harrigan.

Qu. Were you involved with the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum?

Ans. Strathclyde police are involved.

Qu. What you were saying earlier about not being able to communicate with people in Sighthill because of language difficulties, would that be an issue that the Police have pushed in the forum?

Ans. We've pushed it everywhere. So much so that, I'm led to believe that actually in America they've taken our example of what we done in Sighthill. They found it a very good initiative. It's spread elsewhere as well, and if you think about it, it is very simple because what was happening was that Officers were walking past

groups of young people, asylum-seekers and just nodding to them and walking off, and if we had an interpreter beside us we could actually stop and chat to them and ask them about issues.

Qu. So the nod could give the impression that they were being checked-up on, whereas somebody actually speaking to them would have given a different impression?

Ans. That's right and we had interpreters fortunately that could speak maybe four or five languages and they could stand and chat, and pass the time of day with them 'how you doing boys?' You know, just normal chat.

Qu. Is it important to the police not to give the impression to people seeking asylum that they're being picked on?

Ans. what you've got to realise is that people coming here who are seeking asylum are fleeing very oppressive governments, very oppressive regimes, and they don't care much for the police, they don't care very much for anyone in uniform. I have seen images of asylum-seekers from other countries coming here, the police try to speak to them and they [motions a defensive posture by placing his arms up across his face], they try to protect themselves because they think the police are going to do something. You tell them 'we're not here to hurt you we just want to talk to you'. You can see the relief in people's faces, and we're here to break down barriers. The police again, being a utility service have got to be seen trying to avert any public disorder, and I think we done it very well. It cost a lot of money, a lot of resources, but to break down those barriers, just to have someone at your side who could actually converse on an individual level 'what are you doing hanging about the street?' 'Oh I hang about the street because back home I hang about the street', 'Why don't you like the police?' 'The police beat us up and throw us in jail for no apparent reason' 'Ok we're not here to do that, we don't carry guns'. If you can tell them these things and make them more aware of it then it does break down barriers, and that's what we've got to try and do.

Taken at 'face-value', Harrigan's approach can be construed as reasonable, even commonsensical. However, it is important to remember the role of the police as an arm of the state. The aim of the police is to maintain order in a social formation which accepts the legitimacy of British immigration control, and the reactionary basis of British citizenship restrictions. Subjecting Harrigan's narrative to a subversive realist interpretation therefore reveals a different logic. For Strathclyde Police, people's experience of fleeing persecution can make them a potential social order problem, because they don't trust the police. The language barrier inhibits the building of relationships with the state and therefore inhibits the maintenance of social cohesion. The subtlety of this argument lies in the logic that some asylum-seekers, in fleeing persecution from repressive regimes, have experiences which are at odds with the maintenance of civil peace. The perceived consequence is that

frustrated relationships with the wider community will lead to a sense of ghettoisation, i.e. polarisation from within which potential social breakdown may emanate in future. The narrative extends the logic of 'race-relations' in the contemporary context.

6.9 *Dungavel*

The development of this integration logic paralleled growing dissent over the establishment of Dungavel immigration detention centre in Lanarkshire, in September 2001. Pro-refugee campaigners confronted the opening of the centre. The protest drew Scottish-wide television coverage. Mark Brown from the *Glasgow Campaign to Welcome Refugees* said:

We are entirely opposed to the detention of the people who are seeking refuge. We think it is against all laws of humanitarianism to put people behind barbed wire without charge and without trial, that's the sort of behaviour which the governments these people are fleeing from indulge in. (TV4)

John Swinney, leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP) also voiced concerns:

I'd have enormous concerns if people were being detained in Dungavel having been dispersed in the Home Office scheme and going into the community, because I don't think it's the right way to detain people, under lock and key. That's something that would cause me enormous concern. (TV5)

By April 2002 Dungavel drew further media attention amid protests over inhumane treatment and the decision of 40 detainees to go on hunger strike (TV6). A group of opposition MSPs who visited the centre criticised the Government. On BBC *Newsnight Scotland* (TV7) Tom Harris, Labour MP for Cathcart, responded to the criticisms:

We have to ask ourselves the question: First of all, do we think detention centres are a necessary part of immigration policy?... I happen to believe that they are... but secondly, do we actually want immigration policy in Scotland to be decided in London or do we want it to be decided in Edinburgh? The SNP actually want an open-door immigration policy for Scotland. That would send some very worrying signals to all of these immigrants who are arriving in the South of England, to, you know, come on up to Scotland. The consequences of that would be disastrous!

Tom Harris attempted to draw political capital from the SNP by appealing to the fears of prospective SNP voters. However, Labour-SNP debate over the detention centre and immigration dovetailed with the electoral rise of the far-right *Le Front National* in France. Consequently, with this added 'international' dimension, Scottish politics focussed more

acutely on the issue of racism, migration and the purported causal factor of authoritarianism, as symbolised through the ‘immorality of nationalism’. Whilst speaking at a *Progress Conference of Labour Modernisers*, First Minister Jack McConnell stated

This week in particular, following the vote for the far right in France, it is important to focus instead on the social justice agenda. We can't be complacent about the politics of hatred and easy populism. We have to put the politics of nation and hatred into the dustbin of history. (NS86)

The following day *Scotland on Sunday* (NS87) published the findings of ‘research’ it had carried out. Its front page article “Shock Poll lifts lid on Racist Scots” reported that 46% of Scots thought “there should be a repatriation programme for immigrants”. Its centrepiece story, “BNP Message of hate takes the High Road” linked nationalism with events in Sighthill, the success of Far Right groups across Europe and the possibility that the BNP could capitalise on the fear of immigration. The centrepiece carried Visual 14:

Visual 14: Sullied Saltire?

BNP message of hate takes the High Road



Message – The racist is culturally backward. His mentality, symbolised by his long bulging forehead, low brow and the distance between his nose and protruding, swollen bottom lip, is close to that of an ape, i.e. non-human, Neanderthal. His cultural attachments are representative of his backwardness. The swastika, an archetype of Nazism, represents backwardness and immorality, and by association, overt nationalism is also representative of that which is distasteful. Nationalism is therefore immoral. Only those who hold an

unsophisticated attitude to sense of place find the cultural symbols of old appealing. And look at the 'place' he is attached to. Those old attachments lurk in the dark and unattractive 'alleyways' of an outdated industrial national psyche. They are symbolic of the masks that the sinister hide behind. This Bovva-booted character is prone to violence and breathes the politics of hatred. He is psychopathic. His footwear is lethal. He is lurking in the background, waiting for the moment when you 'unwittingly' invite him to take centre-stage in your cultural identifications and subject you to an authoritarian, racially exclusive, violent political cocktail. The headline "BNP message of hate takes the High Road" conveys the idea that a cultural symbol of Scottishness which both links and demarcates Scotland from England, 'the High Road', a sign of tradition and seeming innocence, is a path through which the immoral can infiltrate Scotland. Racists want to use nationalism in order to promote a racially exclusive Scotland. They want to use your seemingly innocent pleasures, the little spiky Scotty-dog, against you. 'Scotty' could be a wolf in sheep's clothing – so beware! He is an ever-closer danger which could lead to Holocaust. The medium for such catastrophic human emiseration is that uneducated and unsophisticated element in Scottish society who remain attached to outdated ideologies and hence who are susceptible to the influence of the immoral – the Lumpen poor.

The *Scotland On Sunday* study drew wide media coverage across Scotland. Consequently, in response to the First Minister's speech, John Swinney stated,

Last year all the parties signed up to the Commission for Racial Equality's compact not to play the race card in Scottish politics. After his grubby attack at the weekend the first minister should remember that this agreement must be more than just worthy intentions (NS88)

Former leader of the SNP, Alex Salmond, added,

The SNP has an impeccable record both in terms of race relations and its internationalist outlook and a Nationalist is no more a racist than a democratic socialist is a totalitarian communist (NS88)

The debate signified that immigration and anti-racism could be used to elevate the moral standing of the devolved Government. In effect, the debate represents contestation over who sets the agenda on how Scottishness and the nation should be defined, and also over who should command the legitimate voice of Scottishness. The debate therefore represented insecurity over what it means to be Scottish. 'Race-relations' becomes a

vehicle for establishing the moral credentials of elites. The debate refracts 'race-relations' through the prism of Scottish virtue via an appeal to the electorate's fear of fascism. In short, Scottish New Labour attempt to pair the SNP's 'brand' of nationalism with authoritarianism, and hence, the vehicle for racialised social disorder.

6.10. Some Final Observations

Prejudice is an unacceptable reality in many of our communities. Many of the crimes committed in our streets have their roots in people's prejudices, whether it is hatred of another person's religion, race or some other aspect of their personality. Although the term may not be part of everyday language, hate crime is not new. – Margaret Curran, Minister for Communities (NR8)

In the summer of 2003, the Scottish Executive set up a cross-party working group to "look at the current criminal justice system and consider improvements, including legislation which might be made to deal with crimes based on hatred towards social groups" (Scottish Executive 2003: 3). Its consultation paper made the point that

The term "hate crime" originated in America where it was originally applied to racism. At its most extreme, hate crimes have been known to take the form of genocide, ethnic cleansing and serial killing. In other forms, they can include assaults, name-calling, harassment or vandalism. (para. 3.2)

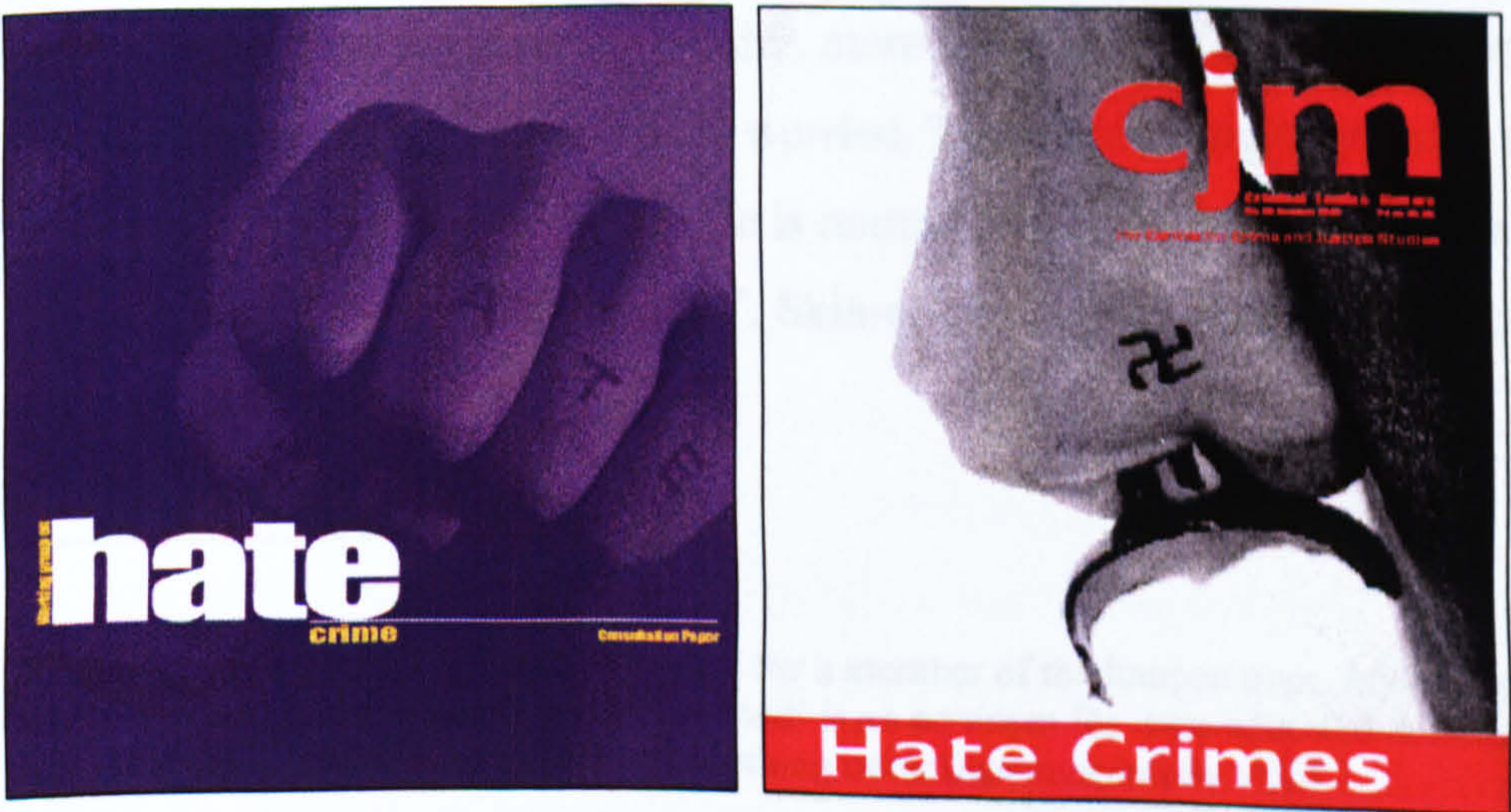
Page 6 lists "Distinguishing aspects of Hate Crime":

- Research shows that some social groups, such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) people and disabled people, are proportionately more often victims of harassment and crime, and that much of this is motivated by prejudice against those groups.
- Hate crimes cause more psychological damage to a victim than crimes that are not motivated by hatred, because the victim's core identity is being attacked. This personalises the crime and causes the victim a greater amount of distress.
- Hate crime is socially divisive. Such crimes need to be particularly condemned in order to avoid a situation in which the relevant group feels victimised as a group with members in constant fear of attack. Prejudice against groups can lead to a number of consequences, ranging from fear of crime and inability to participate in normal social activities to paranoia and vigilantism.

The idea that ‘hate crime’ is not new, allows the Executive to present itself as challenging something previously unchallenged. The source of this particularly heinous crime lies in the personality. Both subject perpetrator and subject target is the dangerous personality. Thus, the subject of dangerous emotion is racialised to his/her core identity. But note that ‘race’ is paired with disability and sexual orientation. The common denominator which they share is that their subject’s are victims. Any attack focussed on such an identity is likely to trigger something so volatile that it can move subjects experiencing ‘hate words’ to paranoia and vigilantism, leading inexorably to social division and possibly even genocide – such is the power of ‘racial hate’. Psychological damage can lead to social breakdown because the ‘core’ of the ‘victim’s identity is being attacked’. The emotionally ethnicised subject forms the target of hate.

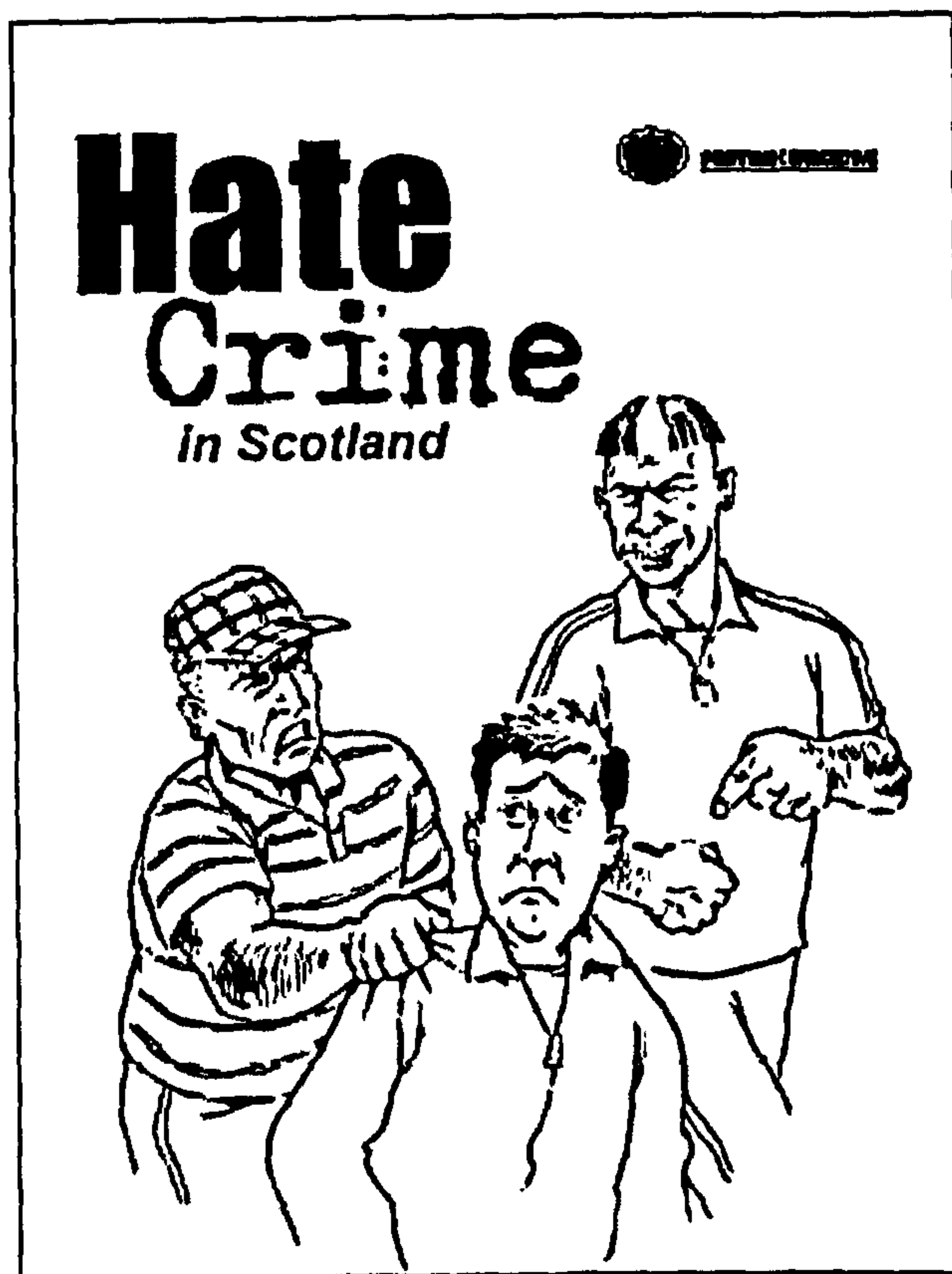
The designation of hate crime as not new is lifted directly from an academic collection published by the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, in which the editorial makes the point that “Hate crimes are as old as civilisation itself, yet only recently have they come to be placed so carefully under the political lens, notably in the aftermath of the Stephen Lawrence murder” (Croall and Wall 2002:3). This dehistoricisation is given credence in another article in the same collection by Dr Elinor Kelly (2002), a prominent spokesperson on ‘race’ in Scotland. Kelly pairs the idea of hate crime with the murders of Axmed Sheekh in 1989, Imran Khan and Surjit Singh Chhokar in 1998 and Firsat Dag in 2001. The respective front covers of both publications (Visuals 15 and 16), illustrate that the clenched fist of authoritarianism is being paired with nazi imagery, thus symbolising a perceived relationship between aggression as dangerous emotion, and the Holocaust.

Visuals 15 and 16: Subjects of hate



The 'easyread version' of the Executive's publication, prepared for readers with 'Learning disabilities', gives a more explicit illustration of the subject perpetrator/target of hate (see Visual 17).

Visual 17: Hate Crime in Scotland



The perpetrators have chiselled jaw lines, they are sneering, hairy armed, snake-eyed, fingerpointing/accussing/judgemental, clenched fists, and muscular build – stereotypically masculine. Their heads are tightly shaved – ‘ned’ haircuts¹⁰⁴. Baseball cap could be Tartan, and they could be wearing tracksuits. They are barbarians. The target on the other hand, has a rounder face suggesting a gentler, more unassuming feminine character, not stereotypically masculine, and he is worried. There is nothing aggressive about his demeanour, and so he is a victim. He is normal. Note, the subject target is not a ‘phenotypically non-white minority’. Skin-colour is not a necessary attribute of the subject target of hate.

¹⁰⁴ ‘ned’ is a specifically Scottish metaphor for a member of the lumpen poor. My awareness of the term is purely anecdotal: I have heard it said that ‘ned’ is an acronym for ‘non-educated delinquent’ but I cannot claim that my knowledge of the term is anything other than anecdotally valid.

On 24th February 2004, First Minister Jack McConnell stated “[a] year ago today, I laid down a challenge to Scotland – the challenge of growth. I set out the economic and social case for increasing Scotland’s population through promoting ourselves within the UK’s policy of managed migration” (Scottish Executive 2004: 1). On 16th March ‘Scotland’ held its first ‘citizenship ceremony’. On 16th February 2004, a second phase of OSMC had begun. Chris Wallace told me that when Barkers was researching the campaign,

We’d barely started when Firsat Dag got killed, and we went off on a tangent looking at ads for asylum seekers, and ‘can communication play a role there?’ And by and large it can’t because if you’re a tooled up 16 year old an ad ain’t gonna change your mind. Peer pressure might eventually.

At the time of writing this chapter, two Billboard ads from the campaign’s second phase had come to the author’s attention (see Visuals 18 and 19).

Visual 18: The Utility of Emotional Regulation; Visual 19: Regulating Emotions



The first features an “Inflammable materials” health and safety notice: the orange and black flame framed by the words “Inflammatory behaviour”. The billboard strapline informs the reader that “Scotland works better without Racism”, thus pairing anti-racism with economic growth, and racism with explosive consequences. The second ad features three different coloured ‘Love Heart’ Sweets. Each Love Heart is inscribed with the words “RESPECT”, “FAIRNESS”, “EQUALITY”. The launch represents the Executive’s strategy of stepping up its anti-racist message. From a sociological point of view, the launch reflects the full incorporation of a psychological understanding of racism in government anti-racist policy. The message is clear: the management of potentially explosive racialised emotions is central to the development of cosmopolitan nationalism, especially where the racially risk-prone come into contact.

6.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to uncover the making of the meaning of 'racism' in the devolved Scottish context via an exploration of key events. Using a variety of sources I have explored the concerns of key actors, placing those concerns within the wider portrayal of 'racism' facilitated by media amplification. The evolution of state-endorsed anti-racism at a UK level has significant implications in the devolved Scottish social formation, where a 'No problems here' consensus has given way to recognition by the Scottish Executive that racism is a Scottish problem requiring significant state-intervention. Beginning with the election of New Labour in 1997, 'racism' was quickly incorporated under the rubric of Social Inclusion Partnerships. Consequently, anti-racism became a 'joined up solution to a joined up problem'. It is clear from the strategy adopted by GCC that the management of particularisms was integral to the approach of GARA. It should also be clear that a universalist logic was not put in its place. Rather, GARA represents a move to make 'black' and 'ethnic minority' young people feel good about themselves. GARA posits no higher goal than the management of particularist identity claims: to control and tame apparently dangerous emotions, and to 'protect' 'minority and majority young people' from their own polarisation. It could be argued that the psychological study which formed a core element in the Alliance's strategy, was merely coincidental, or that it simply continued the logic of RAT programmes. Such a conclusion, whilst having merit, would however be a mistake. The contrary which the state is now asserting is that of disrespecting cultural difference, but in the absence of a coherent nationalist project. Nation-building is problematic for elites who seek to incorporate 'different cultures' in the absence of competing political ideologies. With the acceptance of no alternative to capitalism, state intervention has become the therapeutic management of perceived social division.

It is within this therapeutic management that the issue of 'race' and/or 'ethnicity' comes to have significance, in the continuation of some key instituted themes in Scottish anti-racism. The absence or presence of fascists is a constant theme, harking back to past glories as a means of providing social esteem. Debates between New Labour and the SNP over who gets to lead the Scottish Imaginary draw on such themes, but keep a tension alive. That tension is that neither can assert a sense of Scottishness as a nationalist project which asserts any form of superiority. If New Labour attempts to appeal to a sense of

Scottish Egalitarianism, this merely gives credence to the SNP, and will quickly be drawn away via the symbolic pairing of the latter with nazism. Thus, neither political party can successfully command a Scottish nationalist project. Cosmopolitan nationalism is thus symptomatic of a historical context in which the culture of limits, not only affects anti-racist claims, but also those elites who seek to cohere their legitimacy via the building of constituencies.

Through interviews with key actors, I have demonstrated that the establishment of the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum, the Executive's endorsement of the Home Office's 'managed migration' programme, and a Scotland-wide media-based anti-racist campaign match concerns over the legitimacy deficit. Focussing on the latter, a contextual constructionist approach has enabled me to discern the influence of 'emotional governance' on re-fashioning the definition of racism as a social problem, such that a historical move to disavow the 'No problem here myth' is refracted through an understanding of the 'racially risk-averse' human subject which informs 'Third-Way' governmental narrative. In the absence of a confident Universalism, the Scottish anti-racist imaginary represents a diminished capacity, a capacity which is instituted by the diminished subjects of the Therapeutic state.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to bridge a gap in our knowledge pertaining to the issues of British state racism, anti-racism and the dynamic of such in contemporary Scotland, through an exploration of the relationship between anti-racist typification, representations of 'racism' and the policy requirements of state. In doing so, the relative absence of academic attention to the issue of racism and anti-racism in Scotland has been significantly addressed. In addition, a new problem for research has been opened in respect of the construction of 'racism' as a social problem.

This thesis began from the assumption that anti-racist policy cannot be taken at face value. This assumption is underpinned by a marxist understanding of statehood. The modern state is a second-order institution. Modern by virtue of a specific conception of the subject as afforded by the philosophical premises of Enlightenment and those moments of ideological rupture presented historically as a revolutionary transformation of the social imaginary predicated on utopias. In legitimising itself, the modern state justifies policy via an appeal to the rational subject who posits ends and means of acquiring those ends. However, the rational subject only partly informs the objective basis of capitalist social reproduction. The continuance of irrationalist conceptions of subjectivity, in reaction, presents a political challenge to Enlightenment, and to the legitimacy of a state which presents equality as a universal standard. In doing so, the modern subject occupies a contradictory location in the state-societal relation. This contradiction is captured by the ideal of universal equality and the continuance of inequality in a system of social reproduction which is unable to deliver the promise of Enlightenment. The disparity informs state appeals for legitimacy. Foucauldian conceptions of the subject as discursive subjection, whilst useful, cannot grasp that the modern state must manage this relation via the assertion of the contrary. Consequently, inequality is rationalised. Contra Goldberg, it is not rationality, or means-end instrumentality, that lies at the heart of racist policy per se. Indeed, to argue this will render the anti-racist somewhat defenceless against the rationalisation of inequality and the institutionalised form which heteronomy takes. Anti-racism must posit an end – the eradication of racism, and a means toward that end – action.

A project of autonomy is subverted by the presentation of continued heteronomy as an explanation. According to Castoriadis, heteronomy, as external determinacy, requires a diminished conception of human subjectivity at odds with the project of humanness – to

make one's own laws. According to Malik, 'racial determinacy' underpins this diminished conception, and for Lukács, it is within this contradiction that we grasp the dynamic of resistance and political change. Whilst we have utopias, the fight can continue. Hence, Žižek concludes that the exclusionary universal will be opposed by those who are excluded. Their resistance opens up the exclusionary boundaries of nationhood, thus transforming the universal. However, the basis for an exclusionary universalism – capitalist (re)production – remains intact, thus necessitating new forms of state rationalisation for exclusion. Today, in the absence of utopias, the rationalisation of inequality is formed within a culture of social limitation, adopting a more permanent form in line with Fukuyama's End of History thesis. The contradiction is flattened, thus narrowing the space of contestation. The elevation of emotion as a subjective force reflects the culture of limits. State-legitimacy takes on a therapised form with the aim of making people feel good about themselves. These tenets underpin Füredi's exploration of societal change from Welfarist to Therapeutic conceptions of subjectivity in social policy, and have informed the understanding of the anti-racist state utilised here. Thus, an indirect challenge is posed to post-structuralist formulations without reverting to the rigidity of structuralism. The state-societal relation is dynamic, directed, and open to unforeseen but human-determined interventions.

In focussing on anti-racist representations, this thesis adds to the study of discourses of anti-racism, a central position to the *subject of racism* – both perpetrator and victim. Following the tenets of contextual constructionism, I applied my understanding of the subject of racism to the typification of 'racism as a social problem'. My tool has been the anti-racist explanatory. Rhetorically, anti-racist representations present a construction of the subject and a posited solution to the end of meeting the challenge of racism. In doing so, anti-racist representations of 'racism' construct a problem, the typification of which is open to contestation. The anti-racist state's apprehension of the issue informs its response, which exerts a powerful force over the definition of 'racism as social problem'. In short, the state also posits an end, in line with its interests, which requires a means of realisation. Those means are to manage, via incorporation, the protest of groups whose very resistance is predicated on a contradiction. A dynamic state-societal relation is predicated on conceptions of subjectivity which emanate from the need to legitimise in the face of the contradictory experience of inequality. Consequently, not only must we remain cognisant of racisms' changing form(s), we must also be aware of the role which the anti-racist state

plays in articulating conceptions of 'racism' which may construct a problem against the interests of those resisting racism. Here, these insights have been applied to the contemporary-historical study of anti-racism, and hence representations of 'racism' in Scotland.

Focussing on post-WW2 Scotland has demonstrated that the argument for the institutionalisation of racism in British immigration law, and hence the *assertion of the contrary* to equality, was conceded by anti-racists from the start, rationalised via the political economy of welfarism. That 'resources are finite' acts as an apologia for the inadequacies of the market, and reflects a pessimistic view of human subjectivity – humans cannot or do not have the capacity to transcend the inequalities of the market, certain human 'groups' will be more or less of a threat to these finite resources. Acceptance of this logic underpins British immigration control – restrictions have taken a racialised, that is, heteronomous form. Welfare rights were national rights were racialised rights. Consequently, a consensus emerged among anti-racist formations. This consensus reflected the adoption of significant tenets of the British state's policy on 'race' and migration. The state acts as a mediator and buffer for an unequal system of social reproduction. 'Race-relations' legislation, in taking a welfarist position, reflected the inequalities experienced by racialised migrants entering Britain, and the incorporation of their protest into the machinations of state. Additionally, the fears of elites; that is, of 'racial-revenge', were institutionalised in the form of significant institutional developments, culminating in the emergence of the CRE in 1977. Thus, anti-racist formation in Scotland accepts the seminal logic underpinning the rationalisation of capitalist inequality. British resources are finite, the rightful property of the British, whilst racialised migrants were competitors whose claims must be regulated in order to obviate the potential for social disorder which their presence would inevitably cause.

This statal incorporation process is evidenced by the interplay between SILC, SCRC and the STUC. Scotland-based anti-racism in the 1970s posits a specifically Scottish conception of 'racism as social problem'; SILC's solution required a radical nationalism. However, this typification process did not override that of the British state's, but fitted within it. The establishment of SCRC in 1971, with the aim of countering the possibility of future 'inter-racial' disorder, exposes the influence of a 'race-relations' logic on Scotland-based anti-racist state-institutional formation. Here, Gilroy's description of anti-Nazism

and 'race relations' in the post-Holocaust moral order is important to our understanding of anti-racism in Scotland. Typification takes on a specific form which bolsters the idea of Scottish egalitarianism against the immoral 'Tory-Nazi-English'. Thus, contradiction, which took on a specific political form in Scotland against the notion of English imperial domination, refracted anti-racist representations against a posited English oppressor. Englishness, its pairing with Conservative support, and the electoral success of the NF, as contrasted with a Scottishness bereft of Toryism and NF affiliation, exerted a typifying force on the construction of 'racism as social problem' in Scotland, such that the presence of good 'race-relations' was taken as evidence of a heightened Scottish morality. This construction reinforced the view that a smaller proportion of racialised migrants in Scotland had obviated 'the kind of problems' experienced in England. Thus, the heteronomy institutionalised in British Immigration and 'race-relations' legislation – a hallmark of the post-war welfare consensus – went unchallenged. The politically organised working class subject of racism in Scotland, in elevating Scottish particularism, did not prevent the anti-racist welfare state from legitimising itself via an appeal to an exclusionary universalism. This presented a problem for racialised migrants whose experience ran contrary to a racism-free Scotland. However, this experience could only be experienced as contradictory because of a prior acceptance of equality as a universal good. Without the latter, there would be no resistance. In Scotland, the contradiction took the form of protest against the denial of a problem.

The formation of SAAC in 1981 ran concomitantly with a demise in welfarism, and a rise of multiculturalism as a statal means of incorporation and regulation. In support of Sivanandan's thesis, the tensions between SACC and SCRC around 'Middleton' and access to resources reflected not only the former's dissatisfaction with the latter, but also the opening up, by Central Government, of funding resources for the regulation of 'black' militancy, and the institutionalisation of competing 'ethnic claims' in the form of multiculturalism at a local level. However, the weaker position of independent 'black' self-organisation in Scotland, possibly a result of the dominance of SILC and SCRC in the 1970s, and the absence of a significant racialised 'non-white' population, kept SILC and SCRC in a favoured position with local government. This began to open up somewhat with increased participation of 'black' activists in the Scottish Labour Party, which maintained its dominant electoral position in Scotland throughout the 1980s. Of significance here is the launch of the 'St Andrew's Day Save the Saltire' annual demonstration. The drive to

keep the Saltire unsullied by NF infiltration represented the continuance of typificatory strands laid down in the previous decade, and ensured that anti-racist representations of 'racism' maintained a Scottish particularist slant. This approach was favoured by Labour activists who sought to defend the welfare settlement against Conservative onslaught. However, such an approach could not challenge the logic of British immigration legislation, which presented itself as a legitimate guarantor against 'inter-racial' disorder. Thus, the merging of 'race-relations' and anti-fascism is given a more public pro-Scottish stance in the form of the annual demonstration. Following Malik (1996) 'race-relations' begins to fragment and is substituted by 'culture' as homologue of 'race'. This is evidenced by Strathclyde Regional Council's sponsorship in 1986 of 'Strathclyde Multi-Racial Action Year'. An appeal to respect for cultural difference as a means of obviating social discord institutionalises the fragmentation of anti-racist action, making a virtue out of the particular. The logic of 'race-relations' is embodied in the rhetorical orbit of multiculturalist discourse.

Additionally, the collapse of the Soviet 'utopian' experiment, welfare consensus, working class defeat, and the elevation of New Social Movements as potential allies, pushed the STUC to defend its weakening institutional position vis-à-vis the labour movement; hence, the formation of its 'race-relations sub-committee'. The pivotal role now played by the STUC in the St Andrew's Day march and the elevation of a political demand for a Scottish Convention would ensure that the subject of 'racism' required reconfiguration towards the end of Scottish devolution. Such an end would require a Third Way.

By the time New Labour was elected in 1997, the issue of 'racism as Scottish problem' had gained a significant public profile in the Scottish press. This increased media profile was facilitated primarily by party political interventions and those of state-institutional anti-racists. In bringing to light the most prominent voices, a complex picture emerges across the ever-increasing public availability of representations shaping the content of 'racism', informing the placing of 'racism as a Scottish problem' on the political agenda.

Between 1994 and 1997 party political 'racism in Scotland' debate revolved around the question of the relationship between racism and Scottish nationalism and centred on who should legitimately command the Scottish social imaginary. The linking of 'extremist' groups to the SNP formed the main basis of party political representations of 'racism'. Labour, accusing the SNP of precipitating 'extremism', continuously forced the latter to

mount a defence of Scottishness by castigating Britishness as the source of racism and hence an implicit attribute of those who defend the Union. This debate represents a consistent and dominant theme of political representations of 'racism' in Scotland, centring on the question of 'anti-English racism' and the propensity of such to act as a significant catalyst of victimisation. The debate receives support from increasing claims of 'racial' victimisation from both 'English' and 'Scottish' individual claimsmakers, coupled with the 'threat' of BNP agitation and the relationship of such to the 'immoral' politics of Conservatism. Each time political debate takes place, both parties define the meaning of 'racism', altercasting according to their respective needs, delineating for themselves a moral community predicated on their posited role as 'hero' to those victimised by their rival's claims. Embedded within their respective explanatories is therefore the continuance of the coupling of 'extremist', in the form this typification takes, aka BNP/Fascist/Nazi/Authoritarian subject perpetrator, with the ideology of each party's political rival. The outcome is that the distance each party attempts to position between itself and racism culminates in the typification of the racist as an extremist relic of British imperium.

There is also evidence that both Labour and SNP adopt an anti-universalist logic, in favour of a 'protection of ethnic difference', and this lends itself to the justification for state intervention, in the form of re-education programmes for those council tenants who engage in 'offensive' behaviour. On the election victory of New Labour, the process of typification begins to take on the additional construction of the 'anti-social' subject perpetrator. It is clear that New Labour attempts to make racism an issue, but the formulation of 'racism' as a social problem comes to enable the state to enforce behaviour codes associated with speech as 'offensive' behaviour. Furthermore, in line with Giddens's prescription, 'racism' is reduced to a dialogical psychological problem taking the same significance, for example, as paedophilia. The development is also taken up by significant sections of the press, who present arguments which represent 'underclass demonisation'. Racists are the 'scum of Scotland'. This 'anti-racism' presents itself as a medium for nation-building against 'extremists' both within and without the moral boundaries of the nation.

However, the nation being made requires a cosmopolitan nationalism which stands against an elitist position associated with authoritarian nationalism. Identity claims are to be

respected and incorporated into the Scottish imaginary. The agenda of elites is to uphold the tenets of anti-elitism, which means that any subject professing the contrary is castigated as immoral. The irony is that anti-elitism takes on the force of an absolute elitist position which condemns the 'wrong kind' of anti-racism. Moreover, any identity which can claim victimisation must be recognised. The common denominator of 'racism' is henceforth the victimisation of identity claims-makers, whether they be English, Scottish, or Pakistani, etc, identities. Anti-racism becomes the protection of 'vulnerable minorities'. The social fragmentation that elites deem problematic is enforced through the recognition of the differences they seek to foster in defence of the identified victim.

Additionally, 'racism' debate was influenced by anti-racist claims-makers – institutional and self-organised. Here there are three main typificatory strands, each of which flows from criticism of the idea that racism is not a problem in Scotland: 1. the relationship between football hooliganism, extremism and racism; 2. claims of increasing harassment and discrimination; and 3. the potential for disorder if the claims of minorities are not recognised. In this sense altercasting provides, via their anti-racist explanatories, a further component to agenda setting and the shaping of the 'social problem of racism', including the constitution of the subject target as victim in need of state assistance. Focussing on the latter, there is significant evidence to support Füredi's thesis regarding the increased emotionalisation/psychologisation of the subject. Indeed, this component of narrative subject formation is significant in the explanatory of state-institutional anti-racism. It is clear that there is an element of demonisation of the working classes, but not as explicit perpetrators. This labelling only applies as a derivative consequence of 'their' manipulation by sinister political 'forces'. Here the question of 'extremism' fuses with the emotional vulnerability of the 'victim perpetrator' and the subject target.

There is also evidence to suggest that the subject perpetrator is presumed to embody negative traits associated with masculinity; the focus on football providing the main evidence for this. The behaviour of 'football fans', for example, in the content of their chants, is deemed to lend itself in some way to infiltration by extreme right-wing groups. It would seem that what is being replayed here is the view that National Socialist Germany arose to a large extent on the back of the duped masses, perhaps indicating the influence of theories of mass psychology and the authoritarian personality on anti-racist rhetoric. As has been evidenced, the character of both subject perpetrator and subject target is being

defined according to the 'logic' of racialised emotion – a danger to community cohesion. The very fragmentation which is deemed problematic for cohesion is conceptualised in a way which posits the racialised regulation of fragmented identities as a solution to 'racism', but is extended into the sphere of individual psychology.

The final chapter involved a detailed exploration of the making of the meaning of 'racism' in the devolved Scottish context. Using a variety of methods and data sources, the concerns of key actors were placed within the wider media portrayal of 'racism as a Scottish problem'. The evolution of state-endorsed anti-racism at a UK level had significant implications in the devolved Scottish social formation, where a 'No problems here' consensus gave way to recognition by the Scottish Executive that 'racism is a Scottish problem' requiring state intervention. The contradiction of the previous three decades was seemingly resolved. However, it would be truer to say that the Scottish polity adopted an anti-racist stance which defined 'racism' according to its terms, those terms being dictated by the collapse of Politics. 'Racism' was now being defined in reference to the legitimacy requirements of a state not made by utopian vision *and* a concomitant collapse of the public sphere. Beginning with the election of New Labour in 1997, 'racism' was quickly incorporated under the rubric of Social Inclusion Partnerships. Consequently, anti-racism became a 'joined up solution to a joined up problem'. It could be argued that, by the time of devolution, New Labour had to reconcile its pro-devolutionist stance with an anti-nationalist position, and in doing so sided with the 'post-colonial victim'.

The murder of Imran Khan and the related formation of GARA provide the empirical verification of such a strategy. It is clear from the strategy adopted by GCC that the management of particularisms was integral to the approach of GARA. It should also be clear that a universalist logic premised on a centred rational actor was not the subject of policy. Rather, GARA represents a move to make 'black' and 'ethnic minority' young people *feel good* about themselves. GARA posits no higher goal than the management of particularist identity claims, to control and tame apparently dangerous emotions, and to 'protect' 'minority and majority young people' from their own polarisation. It could be argued that the psychological study which formed a core element in the Alliance's strategy was merely coincidental, or that it simply continued the logic of RAT programmes which had come to prominence in the preceding decades. Such a conclusion, whilst having merit, would, however, be a mistake. The contrary which the state is now asserting is that of

disrespecting cultural difference, but in the absence of a coherent nationalist project predicated on a utopian future vision. Nation-building is problematic for elites who seek to incorporate 'different cultures' in the absence of competing political ideologies. With the acceptance of no alternative to capitalism, state intervention is orientated to the therapeutic management of social division.

It is within this therapeutic management that the issue of 'race' and/or 'ethnicity' comes to have significance to the continuation of some key instituted themes in Scottish anti-racism. The absence or presence of fascists is a constant theme, harking back to past glories as a means of providing social esteem. Debates between New Labour and the SNP over who gets to lead the Scottish imaginary have drawn and continue to draw on such themes, but keep a tension alive. That tension is that neither can assert a sense of Scottishness as a nationalist project which posits any form of superiority. If New Labour attempts to appeal to a sense of Scottish Egalitarianism, this gives ground to the SNP, and will quickly be drawn away via the symbolic pairing of the latter with nazism. The tension is cancelled out. Thus, neither political party can successfully command a nationalist project.

'Cosmopolitan nationalism' is thus symptomatic of a historical context in which the culture of limits not only affects anti-racist claims, but also those elites who seek to cohere their legitimacy via the building of constituencies.

Through interviews with key actors, I have demonstrated that the establishment of the Scottish Refugee Integration Forum, the Executive's endorsement of the Home Office's 'managed migration' programme, and a Scotland-wide media-based anti-racist campaign match concerns over the legitimacy deficit. Focussing on the latter, a contextual constructionist approach has uncovered the influence of 'emotional governance' on re-fashioning the definition of 'racism' as a social problem, such that a historical move to disavow the 'no problem here myth' is refracted through an understanding of the 'racially risk-averse' human subject which informs Third Way governmental narrative. In the absence of a confident rationalist universalism, the Scottish anti-racist imaginary represents a diminished capacity, a capacity which is instituted by the diminished subjects of the Therapeutic state. To be more specific, emotion has become the universal subject – a subject in diminished form. It is the need to regulate and incorporate 'ethnic emotion' which informs the legitimacy appeals, the justification of policy instruments, and the meaning of 'racism' instituted by the anti-racist state.

Future research initiatives could build on the insights developed here in a number of ways. First, there is the capacity to extend the embryonic theorisation of the state adopted, as a challenge to Foucauldian theories of subjection. I am thinking here particularly of Goldberg's considered thesis on the racial state. A more thorough elaboration of the anti-racist state could make a significant contribution, not only to state theory, but also to a Marxist critique which moves beyond the perils of structuralism. Second, empirically, the anti-racist explanatory could be extended to an analysis of anti-racist campaigns in general. This would provide an adequate basis from which cross-national comparative studies could embark. It would be interesting to compare anti-racist initiatives, both state and self-organised, globally, so as to examine the representational trajectory of anti-racism between nation-states, and to assess the extent to which a culture of social limitation informs the meaning of 'racism' internationally. Third, an opportunity to challenge the tenets of policy vis-à-vis state policy on immigration, especially in Scotland, is evidently heightened by the critical space opened here. The critical task which now presents itself is that of attending to the dissemination of these research findings, both within and without the academy.

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59. *The Herald*, 26 September 1996, Pg. 9, "War of words over financial cost of immigration dominates start of Nationalists' conference; Tories accused in 'racism' row".
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61. *The Herald*, 21 November 1996, Pg. 6, "SNP complaints over Tory advert dismissed".
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64. *The Herald*, 28 March 1997, Pg. 6, "Scottish force now faces a full hearing into allegation that it discriminated against an English officer; Police attack ruling on bias claim".
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67. *The Herald*, 20 June 1997, Pg. 10, "As one family continue a court fight, another is forced to flee their home; Couple in lone battle".
68. *The Scotsman*, 19 June 1997, Pg. 10, "Inquiry launched into racist leaflets".
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70. *The Scotsman*, 3 March 1997, Pg. 4, "Political rivals unite for attack on BNP".
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72. *The Herald*, 1 May 1997, Pg. 18, "Back to the same old Yah Boo confrontation".
73. *The Herald*, 16 May 16 1997, Pg. 22, "Remember parable of the light and the gravel".
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3. Scotland Today (2001) *Sighthill Racial Tension Increases*. Television News Report, 8 August 2001.
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5. Scotland Today (2001) *Swinney Demands Asylum Guarantee*. Television News Report, 10 September 2001.
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¹⁰⁴ Unless otherwise stated, news programmes were recorded by University of Glasgow Media Services.

Appendix 1 – Scottish Press search

All newspaper articles from 1994 to 2004 were retrieved via the websearch engine Lexis Nexis Professional located at <http://web.lexis-nexis.com>. Below I outline the process by which Lexis Nexis was selected as the favoured media search tool, and the results of the search.

Selection Method

In total I began with the best-known media search engines. Six research tools including web-based, CD Rom and manual Index searches were used:

- 1. Factiva
- 2. Lexis Nexis
- 3. Herald CD Rom
- 4. Back Issue
- 5. News Quest
- 6. Manual Search

The search term used was ‘racism’.

Factiva carries on-line catalogues for nine Scottish-based newspapers. In total, nine newspapers were searched encompassing both broad sheet and tabloid, national, city-based and local press. Geographically, the newspapers chosen covered Western, Eastern and Northern locales.

Newspapers searched (Factiva Group):

Title	Readership (Feb 2000) ¹⁰⁵
Aberdeen Press & Journal (Aberdeen and Grampian)	104, 548
Evening Express (Aberdeen and Grampian)	65, 607
Evening News (Edinburgh)	80,754
Scotland on Sunday (Edinburgh)	112, 312
Scottish Daily Record (National)	625, 820

¹⁰⁵ Readership figures cited in Lynch (2001: 189).

Sunday Herald (Glasgow)	54,316
Sunday Mail (National)	147, 929
The Herald (Glasgow)	100, 603
The Scotsman (Edinburgh)	75, 648

Search 1

As on-line availability differs for each Newspaper a first stage historical sweep encompassing all available article dates was carried out. *Factiva* was able to locate a total of 19, 977 hits up to and including 20/12/03. However, there is a discrepancy between earliest dates of Newspaper hits. The following newspapers show no hits prior to 1998:

	<i>First hit</i>
Evening Express	25 th June 1998
Evening News	2 nd Mar 1998
Sunday Herald	25 th Jul 1999
Sunday Mail	27 th Jan 2003

This could be for a number of reasons. Either the newspapers searched do not have any articles carrying our search terms prior to their respective ‘first hit’, or the discrepancy could be due to historical variance in the archival material held by *Factiva* for each newspaper. *Factiva* may have different contracts with each newspaper publisher which could explain, for example, why hits for the *Sunday Mail* begin as late as 2003. An information check on *Factiva* reveals that archives for each newspaper are dated as follows:

Newspaper Group		
Title	Archive start date	First hit
Aberdeen Press & Journal	5 th Nov 1981	19 th Mar 1985
Evening Express	12 th Jan 1998	25 th June 1998
Evening News	18 th Feb 1998	2 nd Mar 1998

Scotland on Sunday	17 th Jan 1993	18 th Apr 1993
Scottish Daily Record	1 st Mar 1995	14 th Mar 1995
Sunday Herald	18 th Jul 1999	25 th Jul 1999
Sunday Mail	5 th Mar 1995	27 th Jan 2003
The Herald	21 st Sep 1981	18 th Oct 1984
The Scotsman	29 th Mar 1994	4 th Sept 1990

Factiva holds full coverage for Six of the above newspapers, including:

Aberdeen Press & Journal	5 th Nov 1981	19 th Mar 1985
Evening Express	12 th Jan 1998	25 th June 1998
Scotland on Sunday	17 th Jan 1993	18 th Apr 1993
Sunday Herald	18 th Jul 1999	25 th Jul 1999
The Scotsman	29 th Mar 1994	4 th Sept 1990
The Herald	21 st Sep 1981	18 th Oct 1984

Selected coverage is maintained for the following:

Sunday Mail	5 th Mar 1995	27 th Jan 2003
Scottish Daily Record	1 st Mar 1995	14 th Mar 1995
Evening News	18 th Feb 1998	2 nd Mar 1998

Discrepancies

It is necessary to discard the three papers which do not hold full coverage. However, of the remaining six, it is evident that coverage for at least two publications begins much later than the other four. This could have the effect of skewing results so as to give the impression of a dramatic rise in news coverage of ‘racism’ issues, when in reality such a rise could be explained by a larger newspaper sample size due to the later inclusion of

more publications. Factiva group B (below) therefore includes only four newspapers, all of which have similar start dates, allowing for a more representative quantitative historical analysis.

Factiva Group B.

Aberdeen Press & Journal	5 th Nov 1981	19 th Mar 1985
Scotland on Sunday	17 th Jan 1993	18 th Apr 1993
The Scotsman	29 th Mar 1994	4 th Sept 1990
The Herald	21 st Sep 1981	18 th Oct 1984

5640 hits were found for Factiva Group B between 1992 and 2004.

A Lexis Nexus comparator of the same newspapers found 10,480 hits between 1992 and 2004. The Lexis Nexus group retrieved nearly double that of Factiva. Factiva was therefore discarded. Next, confirmation of the verifiability of Lexis Nexus was sought with the use of comparative tools. Taking The Herald as a sampler for the years 1996 and 1997, using the newspaper's CD Rom found 222 and 245 hits respectively. A search through the same years using Lexis Nexus found 321 and 357 hits respectively. The CD Rom was therefore discarded. Using The Herald's own recommended on-line archival search engine *Back Issue* for 1998 retrieved 191 citations. Lexis Nexus retrieved 278 for the same year. A *Back Issue* search for 1999 retrieved 107 hits for the Sunday Herald, compared with 119 via Lexis Nexus. Back issue was therefore discarded. Next, in order to substantiate Lexis Nexus' retrieval power, citations for 1994 and 2003 were compared using on-line and manual index searches.

A manual search for The Herald for 1993 and for 2003 found 98% validity. In order to circumvent the possibility that articles covering 'racism' issues may be included under index listings other than 'racism', searches were also conducted under the following terms:

racism, racial, race relations, race problem, race awareness, racial relations, racial harmony, ethnic tensions, racial equality, racial inequality, anti-racism, anti-racist, ethnic, ethnic relations, racial harassment, racial discrimination, institutional racism, multicultural, multiculturalism. Riots. Race-riots. Discrimination. Harassment. Racialism, racialist. Community relations. Multiculturalists. Race

Lexis Nexus found 365 and 206 citations respectively, in comparison with 368 and 212 via manual search. This indicates that any possible rise or fall in the number of citations over the given period cannot be attributed to improvement in technical capacity. Lexis Nexus is as robust for 1993 citations as it is for 2003. It was therefore possible to conclude that Lexis Nexus could be used with considerable confidence in its representativeness of racism coverage over the given period.

I could now answer the following question -

Is there a demonstrable rise in press coverage of racism issues in the Scottish press?

Lexis Nexus holds on-line archives for ten Scottish newspapers.

Title	Online Archive start date
Aberdeen Press & Journal	1981
Aberdeen Evening Express	1998
Evening News	1998
Scotland on Sunday	1993
Scottish Daily Record	1994
Sunday Herald	1999
Sunday Mail	1994
The Herald	1981
The Scotsman	1994
Evening Times	1998

‘Racism’ search 10 Scottish Newspapers Lexis Nexus

Year	Herald		Sun. Hrld	Evn Ts	Sctsmn	Scot. On Sun	Evn. Nws	Ab'deen Prs & Jrnl	Ab'deen Evnl.Exp.	Dly Rcord	Sun. Mail
1990	0		-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-
1991	0		-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-
1992	333		-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-
1993	365		-	-	49	16	-	0	-	-	-
1994	256		-	-	129	41	-	0	-	42	12
1995	326		-	-	115	59	-	0	-	63	8
1996	321	222*	-	-	155	51	-	0	-	73	13
1997	357	245*	-	-	137	64	-	0	-	115	32
1998	278		-	0**	201	71	161	43	24	190	21
1999	361		119***	0**	282	61	160	66	31	285	32
2000	347		146	42	364	115	165	28	21	189	52
2001	423		135	148	437	114	156	32	19	245	60
2002	264		81	76	334	121	125	67	18	178	45
2003	206		70	76	178	63	64	60	23	173	50

* No. of hits using *Herald* CD Rom.

** Zero score multiple search via *Back Issue*

Back Issue search for The Herald 1st Jan- 31st Dec 1998 only retrieved 191 hits in comparison to 278 retrieved via Lexis Nexus. A similar search for 1999 for the *Sunday Herald* only retrieved 107 hits compared with 119 via Lexis Nexus.

*** *Sunday Herald* online archive launched in Feb 1999.

1. 1994 - 2003

Papers selected - The Herald, The Scotsman, Aberdeen Press & Journal, Sunday Mail, Daily Record. Total articles = 7,595

Three broadsheets give us access to North, East and West coast coverage.

Two Tabloids (1 daily, 1 Sunday) gives national coverage.

Beginning at 1994 enables us to incorporate 5 newspapers whilst minimising the discrepancy in no. of hits resulting from different on-line archive start dates. Also enables pre and post devolution comparison.

Compiling hits for each newspaper by year/month enables us to break down national coverage by Month over the selected time period.

Herald 1994-2003, Jan-Dec

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1994	24	18	35	37	16	28	16	18	14	14	14	11	256
1995	13	25	20	33	26	25	14	33	20	49	29	28	326
1996	33	22	20	28	29	13	24	32	27	23	25	24	321
1997	25	31	35	39	37	21	24	28	35	32	27	22	357
1998	23	20	31	21	11	26	24	17	26	33	25	10	278
1999	15	38	50	28	34	26	33	25	28	16	19	28	361
2000	29	25	41	42	16	34	17	30	35	18	28	30	347
2001	21	25	36	40	55	69	22	48	27	48	12	19	423
2002	18	21	17	33	35	13	16	20	15	28	19	18	264
2003	11	10	17	25	6	20	10	26	20	30	14	16	206

Scotsman 1994-2003, Jan-Dec

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1994	7	6	14	15	17	13	6	12	9	8	4	7	129
1995	14	8	4	5	8	9	14	5	14	16	5	8	115
1996	16	9	23	13	7	11	15	10	16	13	12	9	155
1997	1	9	16	14	17	15	9	11	3	13	5	15	137
1998	13	5	20	11	10	18	17	33	10	22	21	10	201
1999	6	21	41	24	17	18	30	44	17	19	15	19	282
2000	24	41	35	42	28	23	23	30	27	23	25	32	364
2001	31	25	27	39	43	32	28	55	42	35	35	34	437
2002	30	16	31	28	41	18	31	28	21	39	16	24	334
2003	31	13	21	18	16	11	3	13	8	20	2	12	178

Aberdeen Press & Journal 1994-2003, Jan-Dec

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1997	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1998	0	0	3	1	4	2	8	4	4	5	10	2	43
1999	7	12	12	3	5	8	5	4	2	4	3	1	66
2000	5	8	0	1	5	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	28
2001	7	2	2	2	5	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	32
2002	5	4	4	3	4	6	4	6	7	9	6	10	67
2003	6	4	5	10	3	3	4	2	5	5	3	5	60

Sunday Mail 1994-2003, Jan-Dec

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1994	2	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	12
1995	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	8
1996	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	3	0	1	1	2	13
1997	0	0	5	5	2	3	1	6	3	1	5	1	32
1998	1	0	5	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	6	1	21
1999	3	3	3	1	3	1	2	2	2	3	2	7	32
2000	7	4	5	7	5	3	1	4	3	2	1	10	52
2001	5	5	4	4	14	4	1	7	5	6	2	3	60
2002	3	6	2	2	3	7	1	4	1	5	6	7	45
2003	3	7	5	3	1	1	2	6	6	3	11	2	50

Daily Record 1999-2003, Jan-Dec

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1994	4	3	5	7	4	1	5	4	2	0	3	4	42
1995	4	6	4	6	3	8	1	4	4	9	8	6	63
1996	7	5	2	7	2	6	5	12	11	3	9	4	73
1997	9	11	8	18	6	9	7	5	11	14	10	6	115
1998	9	11	18	8	16	20	14	15	13	31	19	16	190
1999	12	30	33	26	12	35	40	32	18	22	13	21	285
2000	16	18	18	26	10	15	11	14	7	19	12	23	189
2001	14	20	11	19	35	24	16	25	24	33	14	10	245
2002	9	5	12	9	20	16	11	10	15	31	23	17	178
2003	11	21	28	11	13	8	11	10	14	17	20	9	173

Next, sample Group A Newspaper Group were combined by Month and Year

1994	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	24	18	35	37	16	28	16	18	14	14	14	11	256
Scotsman	7	6	14	15	17	13	6	12	9	8	4	7	129
Abn, P&J	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D. Record	4	3	5	7	4	1	5	4	2	0	3	4	42
S. Mail	2	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	12
Total	37	28	56	59	38	46	27	34	25	23	22	22	439

1995	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	13	25	20	33	26	25	14	33	20	49	29	28	326
Scotsman	14	8	4	5	8	9	14	5	14	16	5	8	115
Abn, P&J	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D. Record	4	6	4	6	3	8	1	4	4	9	8	6	63
S. Mail	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	8
Total	31	41	28	44	38	43	30	42	39	75	42	43	512

1996	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	33	22	20	28	29	13	24	32	27	23	25	24	321
Scotsman	16	9	23	13	7	11	15	10	16	13	12	9	155
Adn, P&J	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D. Record	7	5	2	7	2	6	5	12	11	3	9	4	73
S. Mail	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	3	0	1	1	2	13
Total	56	38	45	49	38	31	46	57	54	40	47	39	562

1997	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	25	31	35	39	37	21	24	28	35	32	27	22	357
Scotsman	1	9	16	14	17	15	9	11	3	13	5	15	137
Abn, P&J	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D. Record	9	11	8	18	6	9	7	5	11	14	10	6	115
S. Mail	0	0	5	5	2	3	1	6	3	1	5	1	32
Total	35	51	64	76	62	48	41	50	52	60	47	44	641

1998	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	23	20	31	21	11	26	24	17	26	33	25	10	278
Scotsman	13	5	20	11	10	18	17	33	10	22	21	10	201
Abn, P&J	0	0	3	1	4	2	8	4	4	5	10	2	43
D. Record	9	11	18	8	16	20	14	15	13	31	19	16	190
S. Mail	1	0	5	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	6	1	21
Total	46	36	77	42	42	67	63	69	54	94	81	39	673

1999	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	15	38	50	28	34	26	33	25	28	16	19	28	361
Scotsman	6	21	41	24	17	18	30	44	17	19	15	19	282
Abn, P&J	7	12	12	3	5	8	5	4	2	4	3	1	66
D. Record	12	30	33	26	12	35	40	32	18	22	13	21	285
S. Mail	3	3	3	1	3	1	2	2	2	3	2	7	32
Total	43	104	139	82	71	88	110	107	67	64	52	76	1026

2000	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	29	25	41	42	16	34	17	30	35	18	28	30	347
Scotsman	24	41	35	42	28	23	23	30	27	23	25	32	364
Abn, P&J	5	8	0	1	5	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	28
D. Record	16	18	18	26	10	15	11	14	7	19	12	23	189
S. Mail	7	4	5	7	5	3	1	4	3	2	1	10	52
Total	81	96	99	118	64	75	54	80	73	63	68	96	900

2001	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	21	25	36	40	55	69	22	48	27	48	12	19	423
Scotsman	31	25	27	39	43	32	28	55	42	35	35	34	437
Abn, P&J	7	2	2	2	5	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	32
D. Record	14	20	11	19	35	24	16	25	24	33	14	10	245
S. Mail	5	5	4	4	14	4	1	7	5	6	2	3	60
Total	78	77	80	104	152	133	69	136	99	124	64	70	1197

2002	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	18	21	17	33	35	13	16	20	15	28	19	18	264
Scotsman	30	16	31	28	41	18	31	28	21	39	16	24	334
Abn, P&J	5	4	4	3	4	6	4	6	7	9	6	10	67
D. Record	9	5	12	9	20	16	11	10	15	31	23	17	178
S. Mail	3	6	2	2	3	7	1	4	1	5	6	7	45
Total	65	52	66	75	103	60	63	68	59	112	70	76	888

2003	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	11	10	17	25	6	20	10	26	20	30	14	16	206
Scotsman	31	13	21	18	16	11	3	13	8	20	2	12	178
Abn, P&J	6	4	5	10	3	3	4	2	5	5	3	5	60
D. Record	11	21	28	11	13	8	11	10	14	17	20	9	173
S. Mail	3	7	5	3	1	1	2	6	6	3	11	2	50
Total	62	55	76	67	39	43	30	57	53	75	50	44	667

Next, the number of newspapers used was reduced to three in order to achieve greater manageability. Sample Group B Newspaper Group, combined by Month and Year, represents the sample from which articles are drawn in this study.

1994	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	24	18	35	37	16	28	16	18	14	14	14	11	256
Scotsman	7	6	14	15	17	13	6	12	9	8	4	7	129
D. Record	4	3	5	7	4	1	5	4	2	0	3	4	42
Total	35	27	54	59	37	42	27	34	25	22	21	22	437

1995	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	13	25	20	33	26	25	14	33	20	49	29	28	326
Scotsman	14	8	4	5	8	9	14	5	14	16	5	8	115
D. Record	4	6	4	6	3	8	1	4	4	9	8	6	63
Total	31	39	28	44	37	42	29	42	38	74	42	42	504

1996	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	33	22	20	28	29	13	24	32	27	23	25	24	321
Scotsman	16	9	23	13	7	11	15	10	16	13	12	9	155
D. Record	7	5	2	7	2	6	5	12	11	3	9	4	73
Total	56	36	45	48	38	30	44	55	54	39	46	37	549

1997	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	25	31	35	39	37	21	24	28	35	32	27	22	357
Scotsman	1	9	16	14	17	15	9	11	3	13	5	15	137
D. Record	9	11	8	18	6	9	7	5	11	14	10	6	115
Total	35	51	59	71	60	48	40	44	49	59	42	43	609

1998	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	23	20	31	21	11	26	24	17	26	33	25	10	278
Scotsman	13	5	20	11	10	18	17	33	10	22	21	10	201
D. Record	9	11	18	8	16	20	14	15	13	31	19	16	190
Total	45	36	69	40	37	64	55	65	49	86	65	36	669

1999	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	15	38	50	28	34	26	33	25	28	16	19	28	361
Scotsman	6	21	41	24	17	18	30	44	17	19	15	19	282
D. Record	12	30	33	26	12	35	40	32	18	22	13	21	285
Total	33	89	139	78	63	79	103	101	63	57	47	68	928

2000	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	29	25	41	42	16	34	17	30	35	18	28	30	347
Scotsman	24	41	35	42	28	23	23	30	27	23	25	32	364
D. Record	16	18	18	26	10	15	11	14	7	19	12	23	189
Total	69	84	94	110	54	72	51	74	69	60	65	85	900

2001	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	21	25	36	40	55	69	22	48	27	48	12	19	423
Scotsman	31	25	27	39	43	32	28	55	42	35	35	34	437
D. Record	14	20	11	19	35	24	16	25	24	33	14	10	245
Total	66	70	74	98	133	125	66	128	93	116	61	63	1105

2002	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	18	21	17	33	35	13	16	20	15	28	19	18	264
Scotsman	30	16	31	28	41	18	31	28	21	39	16	24	334
D. Record	9	5	12	9	20	16	11	10	15	31	23	17	178
Total	57	52	60	70	96	47	58	58	51	98	58	59	776

2003	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Herald	11	10	17	25	6	20	10	26	20	30	14	16	206
Scotsman	31	13	21	18	16	11	3	13	8	20	2	12	178
D. Record	11	21	28	11	13	8	11	10	14	17	20	9	173
Total	53	44	66	54	35	39	24	49	42	67	36	37	557

Appendix 2 – Scottish Executive News Release Retrieval Method

Scottish Executive News releases were retrieved from the Scottish Executive's official website at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/>.

Search terms included: racism 16, Prejudice 9, Sectarianism 5, bigotry 2, xenophobia 0, asylum 16, refugees 10, dispersal 1, Sighthill 2, Firsat Dag 0, Dungavel 0, community relations 1, race relations 4, Stephen Lawrence 4, McPherson 0, Chhokar 8, Islam 3, racial tension 1, racial 5.

Between 1999 and 2003, 60 news releases were issued by the Scottish polity pertaining to issues relating to the development of its 'anti-racist' policy. They are listed below.

News Releases 1999 – 2003

1999

1. 25/03/1999
Lord Advocate's response to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report
2. 16/04/1999
Crown meets Chhokar family
3. 02/07/1999
Two Men Indicted for Murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar
4. 20/07/1999
Work with us to root out racism
5. 20/07/1999
Wallace declares war on Scottish racism

2000

6. 14/03/2000
Wallace supports police launch of racial diversity strategy
7. 20/07/2000
Stephen Lawrence Action Plan One Year On
8. 01/08/2000
Wallace Praises Police Response To Racism
9. 28/11/2000
Duty To Learn Lessons From Chhokar - Wallace
10. 29/11/2000
Surjit Singh Chhokar murder - judicial hearing into Crown's decision making

2001

11. 17/05/2001
Chhokar inquiry into family liaison: public session
12. 21/08/2001
Wallace welcomes Lothian and Borders joint declaration against Racism
13. 19/09/2001
Financial aid to integrate communities
Glasgow will receive £700,000 in additional community funding to help with refugees.
14. 28/09/2001
Freedom of Information Bill
Executive draws up Bill that promises to deliver greater accountability of public bodies.
15. 12/10/2001
Race equality report
The Race Equality Advisory Forum (REAF) Report has been made available to the public.
16. 24/10/2001
Improvements to follow Chhokar reports
The recommendations of two inquiries into the Chhokar case have been endorsed by Ministers.
17. 31/10/2001
New Refugee Integration Forum
Initiative designed to help refugees integrate more effectively into local communities
18. 07/11/2001
Parliament debate on Chhokar
Public inquiry ruled out as problems identified by two independent reports are addressed.
19. 08/11/2001
Ministers sign Islam awareness pledge
Ministers sign up to address threat of Islamophobia taking over in UK.
20. 15/11/2001
Parliament debate anti-terrorism Bill
Deputy Justice Minister describes Bill as proportionate response to events of September 11.
21. 30/11/2001
Prejudice-free future in hands of young
Social Justice Minister says good race relations depends on children and teenagers.
22. 13/11/2001
Network House opens in Govanhill
Taleem Trust to run centre to help improve race relations and community integration in Glasgow
23. 05/12/2001
Plans to stamp out racism in NHS
New measures to tackle institutional racism in NHS Scotland have been unveiled.

24. 07/12/2001
Visit to Fife Islamic Centres
Deputy First Minister reassures Muslims over concerns about racial tensions.
25. 11/12/2001
No abuse of stop-and-search powers
Research shows both ethnic minority and white youths are alienated from police.

2002

26. 14/01/2002
Springburn community integration project
Innovative new project aims to bring asylum seekers, refugees and the local community together.
27. 15/01/2002
Welcoming asylum seekers to schools
Welcoming Newcomers, a newsletter designed to help children of asylum seekers, is launched.
28. 21/01/2002
Refugee integration forum
Social Justice Minister chairs first meeting of forum, attended by Minister of State for Scotland.
29. 28/01/2002
Lawrence Group holds final meeting
Group to oversee Scottish response to report on murder of Stephen Lawrence holds final meeting.
30. 26/02/2002
New guidelines for police on racist crime
Lord Advocate has issued guidelines to forces in wake of Chhokar inquiry findings.
31. 12/03/2002
New race relations measures
Race equality responsibilities for key public sector bodies to come into force.
32. 15/03/2002
Bumper funding package for voluntary bodies
£2.3 million for groups handling issues ranging from homelessness to refugees to domestic violence.
33. 18/03/2002
New dialogue begins with refugees
Executive seeks better way of tapping into wider range of views from asylum seekers.
34. 03/05/2002
Research report into racist crime
Justice Minister pledges that racism can have no place in Scottish society.
35. 06/06/2002
Research investigates racism in police
Justice Minister Jim Wallace expresses concern at some of the findings of the research report.
36. 20/06/2002
Refugee council funding trebled
Financial help for agency handling integration of refugees and asylum seekers.

37. 07/10/2002
Ministerial statement on sectarianism
Justice Minister Jim Wallace makes a statement on the 'ugly spectre' of sectarianism in Scotland.
38. 08/10/2002
'See Me' Campaign to end stigma of mental illness
Attempt to show "person behind the label" and end prejudice against sufferers.
39. 11/10/2002
New community projects on the way in Glasgow
Communities Scotland provides £450,000 towards projects in Sighthill area.
40. 16/10/2002
FM meets Old Firm in anti-sectarian talks
Rangers and Celtic discuss ways of tackling bigotry at Bute House in Edinburgh.
41. 29/10/2002
'Respect' for different faiths and cultures
Project bringing together young people of different faiths and cultures now underway.
42. 29/11/2002
Race Equality Strategy published
Minister to tell rally that there is no place for racism in modern Scotland.
43. 02/12/2002
First moves against sectarianism
Justice Minister gives example of how law can be used to tackle religious hatred crime.
44. 03/12/2002
New anti-racism resource for schools
Launch of Educating for Race Equality - A Toolkit for Scottish Teachers CD-ROM.
45. 05/12/2002
Steps to stamp out sectarianism
New aggravated offence of religious hatred proposed after cross-party report.
46. 09/12/2002
Worlds of sport and education give racism red card
Ministers join pupils and top football players and managers to Show Racism the Red Card.
47. 27/12/2001
Cash for ethnic minority initiatives
More than £275,000 is to be spent to help voluntary groups combat racial disadvantage.

2003

48. 21/01/2003
Say No to Sectarianism Football Festival
Deputy Sport Minister says intolerance of other people and faiths unacceptable.
49. 30/01/2003
Warning against 'them and us' mentality
Minister says threat of terror no excuse for prejudice or racism.

50. 10/02/2003
Funding for community integration
Glasgow communities supporting asylum seekers and refugees receive £750,000 for integration work.
51. 19/02/2003
£2 million for English language classes
Extra financial help for integration of refugees and asylum seekers.
52. 28/02/2003
Anti-racism campaign runs again
The second phase of the One Scotland, Many Cultures message begins.
53. 12/03/2003
Ethnic minorities 'reassured' on race crime
Solicitor General says racially motivated crime will continue to be treated seriously.
54. 28/03/2003
Law lessons for refugees and asylum seekers
Fiscal service hosts event to explain how criminal justice system works.
55. 05/06/2003
Executive to take action against hate crime
Working Group set up to address crimes associated with 'unacceptable reality' of prejudice.
56. 27/06/2003
Report on police race relations
Review of policing produces 24 recommendations for Scottish forces.
57. 05/09/2003
Football tackles racism
Minister praises sport's awareness raising role, as Asian football final kicks off in Glasgow.
58. 30/09/2003
Scots call for end to discrimination
Survey shows over two thirds of Scots think more should be done to combat all kinds of prejudice.
59. 27/10/2003
Racism gets the red card
Racism in Scottish football is to be tackled by a new Education Development Worker.
60. 8/12/2003
Ending 'ethnic penalty' at work
Conference delegates told public bodies must take further steps to tackle workplace racism.

Appendix 3 – Request for interview¹⁰⁶. Sample letter to Mick Conboy, CRE

Mick Conboy
CRE Scotland
The Tun
12 Jackson's Entry
off Holyrood Road
Edinburgh EH8 8PJ

15th April 2004

Dear Mr Conboy

Re. Formal Request for Interview

I am a Doctoral Researcher with the Departments of Sociology and Politics at the University of Glasgow. I am currently exploring the issue of racism and migration in Scotland, and the policy response of the Scottish Executive to such. My supervisor is Dr Satnam Virdee, formerly of the Policy Studies Institute (London) and, for the purposes of this research, I am funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. The research findings will be published in the form of academic papers and eventually as published monograph.

Currently, I am focussing on the principles/understanding which underpin(s) the Scottish Executive's *One Scotland Many Cultures* anti-racist campaign. More generally, I aim to unravel the Scottish Executive's thinking on racism by laying bare the various influences which inform policy making/intervention regarding this policy area. In addition, whilst taking into account the historical, social and political specificities in relation to racism in Scotland, I aim to track the 'movement' of policy from the centre to the devolved context.

I have recently been consulted on my work by Zamila Bunglawala, policy advisor to the Cabinet Office (No.10), who has helped put me in touch with key players at the centre. Most recently, I have interviewed Jackie Baillie MSP, Yvonne Strachan (Equalities Unit), Chris Wallace (Barkers Advertising), and Rowena Arshad (CERES).

¹⁰⁶ All letters were printed on University of Glasgow headed paper, and carried the Department of Sociology contact address/telephone number as a footer.

As you have played a key role in anti-racist formation in Scotland, both pre and post devolution, it would be most valuable to my work if I could meet with you for the purpose of interview. I understand the demands of a busy schedule, and am aware that you may not be able to undertake a meeting due to pressures of time. I should however like to stress the importance of the CRE's inclusion in this project. The interview would take no longer than one hour and will, of course, take place at your convenience.

As you were Acting Director at a crucial period in the development of post-devolution CRE-Scottish Executive relations it would be particularly valuable to meet with you. This notwithstanding, I have taken it upon myself to also request an interview with Maureen Fraser as I understand that CRE Scotland is best placed to decide who represents its position. I would be happy to meet with you or/and Maureen as you see fit.

Thanking you in anticipation

Christopher Kyriakides

If telephoning please ask for extension 0449. E-mail: ckyriakidessoctut@hotmail.com

Appendix 4¹⁰⁷ - Interviewee consent form

Consent Form

Interviewee:

Name,

Position,

Organisation,

I hereby give notice that I have agreed to be interviewed by Christopher Kyriakides for the purpose of his Doctoral research and understand that extracts from this interview may be used for academic purposes such as publication in Journals, books or in the form of conference presentations.

I wish/do not wish anonymity (please delete as necessary)

Date

Signature

¹⁰⁷ All consent forms were printed on University of Glasgow headed paper, and carried the Department of Sociology contact address/telephone number as a footer.