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Experiences of Racism and Racial Harassment in South Lanarkshire

**Report Prepared By: K Hampton
For : South Lanarkshire Black and Ethnic Minorities
Research Committee**

December 1999

Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit



SCOTTISH



ETHNIC
MINORITIES
RESEARCH UNIT

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A Note on Terminology:

For the purpose of this presentation, the terms "black" "black and minority ethnic communities" and "ethnic minorities" are used descriptively to refer to 'people of colour', mainly of African/Caribbean, Chinese and Asian (Indian, Pakistani & Bangladeshi) descent and does not in any way refer to the status of those communities.

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The Black and Ethnic Minorities Research Committee was represented by the following organisations:

Lanarkshire Ethnic Link Committee

Lanarkshire Chinese Association

AfrumAsian Sungham (Open) Kolej

Chaand Women Group

Rutherglen/Cambuslang Ethnic minorities Group

Black and Ethnic Minorities Employees Forum

An Independent Community member

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Finally, the Committee would like to thank all the organisations and individuals who agreed to participate in this study.

Kay Hampton
SEMURU, December 1999

Executive Summary

Background

- The absence of regionally disaggregated information on black and minority communities in certain localities has resulted in a patchy development of appropriate services to meet the specific needs of these communities.
- As part of an initiative to address such issues, the South Lanarkshire Council supported the establishment of the South Lanarkshire Black and Ethnic Minorities Research Committee (SLB&EMRC) to explore local minority ethnic needs and the incidence of racism and racial harassment.
- The key aim of this study (which was commissioned by SLB&EMRC) was to establish the extent and nature of local racism and racial harassment by coordinating information pertaining to the experiences of black and minority ethnic communities in South Lanarkshire so that appropriate strategies may be devised to tackle racism and racial harassment.
- It is anticipated that the Council's Equal Opportunities Policy Review Group will consider the research report and then make recommendations for appropriate actions by the council.

Methodological Approach

- The primary objectives of this study necessitated the use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in data collection.
- The research comprised two key strands with empirical data being collected through interviews with members of black and minority communities within South Lanarkshire (**Fieldwork 1**) and relevant individuals within local service providing organisations (**Fieldwork 2**).
- The first strand of the research involved the use of an appropriately designed questionnaire including both closed and open questions while the second made use of a fairly structured topic guide to direct qualitative discussions.

Profile of Respondents (*Fieldwork 1*)

- The study focused primarily on the four predominant minority ethnic groups in the area; Chinese, Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean. Respondents from each group were drawn from areas of ethnic concentration across South Lanarkshire.
- Interviews were conducted in seven districts within South Lanarkshire; Cambuslang (28.8%), Hamilton (28.4%), East Kilbride (20.2%), Clydesdale (12.6%), Rutherglen (5.3%), Larkhall (3.1%) and Blantyre (1.1%).
- More than a third of the respondents defined themselves as being either Pakistani (35.8%) or Chinese (36.8%) and a smaller proportion as Indian (22.1%) or African-Caribbean (5.3%).
- Respondents were fairly youthful with the majority (67.4%) being under 45 years of age. Indeed, more than a quarter (26.3%) were between 26 and 35 years of age and a fair proportion (16.8%) were between 16 and 25 years. The Chinese respondents were especially youthful with the majority (60%) being under 35 years of age.
- There was a fairly even distribution of male (44.2%) and female (55.8%) respondents in the sample.
- The educational level of respondents was notably high with almost half (46.3%) being university graduates. While such trends are similar to ones recorded previously (Walsh et al, 1995 and Hampton et al, 1997), the educational qualification of most respondents in this study is exceptionally high with, for example, 71.4% of Indian respondents being graduates.
- The majority of the respondents (67.4%) were married and had children while a smaller proportion were either part of an extended family (8.4%) or were living with parents (15.8%).

Profile of Respondents' Households

- Household size of respondents ranged from as low as 1 person to over 7 in some cases, with the overall average household size being 4. The average household size of Pakistani and Chinese respondents tended to be slightly larger at 4.4 and 4.2 respectively, with the African-Caribbean being the smallest at 2. The average household size of the Indian respondents was 3.4.

- The employment pattern was generally positive in that at least 45.7% of the respondents were from households that had at least one employed person. Indeed, a notable proportion of the respondents (48.5%) belonged to households with more than one employed person. Moreover, in most cases (96.6%), the main earner within households was employed on a full-time basis.
- In terms of occupation, while more than a third (37.4%) of main earners were professionally employed, a predominant self-employment pattern similar to those recorded previously by Dalton and Hampton (1994) and Hampton (1998) was also noted in this study.
- Household income of respondents was roughly analogous with occupations of main earners with professional households for example, earning a gross monthly income of more than £2,000 per month.
- Indeed, the average gross household income for the sample as a whole (based on valid responses) was approximately £ 2,349 per month which is higher than the average gross income (£336 per week) recorded for the whole of Scotland in 1996 (Source: Equal Opportunities Commission, 1997).
- The primary source of income for most households (93.7%) was '*profits and earnings*' with a relatively small number depending on '*social benefits*' (2.1%). Overall, only a small proportion of households received social benefits (12.6%), the predominant type being disability.
- The overwhelming majority of respondents (87.4%) were from households that owned properties either outright (25.3%) or on mortgage (62.1%) with only a small number renting from the Council (5.3%) or Housing Associations (1.1%).
- The overall employment, income and tenure patterns suggest that the majority of respondents were from households that are fairly affluent yet there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that this pattern of prosperity is necessarily true for the entire black and minority ethnic population across South Lanarkshire.

Perceptions of Residential Area.

- Respondents are well established in their residential neighbourhoods and more than half (55.8%) had been living in their current residence for more than 10 years.
- The residential stability of respondents is further supported by data which show that most respondents (89.5%) indicated no immediate desire to move from their present locality.

- A least 1 in 5 respondents (21.1%) indicated that they were *'very satisfied'* with their neighbourhoods and although the majority of the respondents had initially moved to certain localities for purely practical reasons, often work (32.6%), many were nevertheless extremely positive about their local neighbourhood.

- Respondents commented positively on neighbourhoods, referring mainly to the *'peacefulness'* (46.3%), the *'convenience in terms of amenities'* (41.2%) and the *'friendliness of neighbours'* (31.9%).

- Despite the widespread positive aspects recorded in terms of neighbourhoods, mention was nevertheless made of certain negative ones. In this respect, discussions focused mainly on local adolescent misdemeanor and racially motivated activities (31.2%).

- Notwithstanding the negative aspects, most respondents (83.2%) felt safe in their respective areas, having lived there for a long time, and for many this feeling of safety was further enhanced by the close proximity of friends (77.9%) and in some cases, relatives (33.7%).

- Overall, there was little evidence to suggest overt forms of social isolation and indeed, when asked about their contact with the local indigenous population, almost half the respondents (49.5%) indicated that they knew many of the local people and socialised with them occasionally.

Attitudes Towards Local Services

- A number of the respondents were unable to comment on certain local services due to limited awareness or experience of accessing them. The latter included in particular, the local Specialist Support and Advise (50.6%), Housing (46.2%), Social Work (48.2%) and Social Security services.

- Nonetheless, respondents considered the services they used, including for example, Education (83.7%), Health (80%), Transport (73.8%) and Recreational services (70.5%), to be adequate.

- While a relatively small number of respondents, by comparison, discussed services that they regarded inadequate in terms of black and minority ethnic communities, such responses were nonetheless thought provoking and warrant acknowledgement. Criticisms in this respect related mainly to cultural insensitivity, the inability to accommodate language and communication difficulties and underlying institutional racism and prejudice.

- There was a low level of awareness regarding services that cater specifically for members of the black and minority ethnic population and indeed, the majority (65.2%) indicated awareness of none in the local area.

Perceptions and Experiences of Racial Abuse

- Racism was associated directly with discrimination based on *'skin colour'* (95.7%). Additionally, in instances where respondents mentioned terms such as *'race'* (67.3%), *'culture'* (11.1%) and *'religion'* (5.3%) this was usually in conjunction with references to skin colour.

- Respondents generally associated racial harassment with prolonged abuse of people who are visibly different by individuals and institutions that are predominantly white.

- Whilst the majority of respondents (63.8%) felt that racial abuse occurred mainly as isolated incidents, the number of respondents albeit relatively small, who believed that racism occurred frequently (14.9%) or indeed, daily (6.4%) in areas where they lived, should not be ignored.

- More than half the respondents (53.8%) believed that all black and minority ethnic people were equally vulnerable to racial abuse, irrespective of age or gender and about a third (30.8%) felt that black and minority ethnic youth were particularly vulnerable.

- A vast majority of the respondents (86.8%) believed that racial abuse was most likely to be instigated by white members of the community, especially young white males.

- Personal racism, both direct (52.5%) and indirect (23.8%), was cited as the most likely type of racism to occur in South Lanarkshire, mainly in the form of verbal abuse (81.1%) and damage to property (11.6%).

- Respondents generally believed that racial abuse was most likely to occur *'on the streets'* (71.3%), at *'other public areas'* (51.1%), *'educational institutions'* (40.4%), and *'places of employment'* (34%).

- More than half (51.1%) the respondents had experienced racial abuse personally and more than a quarter (28.7%), were aware of other members of their community who had suffered abuse.

- Experiences cited most frequently usually involved name calling, damage to property and physical abuse, often occurring simultaneously and over a period of time.
- As with previous research elsewhere (Walsh, 1987; Hampton, 1998) this study also recorded widespread incidents (87.9%) of derogatory and disrespectful name calling. Yet regrettably, such behaviour is often unchallenged by victims who sadly have become accustomed to such regular abuse and see little benefit in reacting.
- Incidents relating to physical abuse and damage to property were mentioned less frequently than name calling, yet the nature of such incidents was nonetheless quite disturbing.
- Respondents felt that more effort should be made by those in authority to contribute to the support of victims of racial abuse. In this regard, many believed that the existing mainstream services were not necessarily the appropriate ones to deliver such support, given their current approach, and that specific organisations ought to be set up for this purpose.
- Chinese respondents (76.9%) in particular, commented on insufficient provisions in terms of language and communication and thus saw a need for improved interpreting services.
- Pakistani and Indian respondents frequently referred to the lack of effort made by mainstream services providers to; build sound community relations (67%), raise awareness of racial issues (57.6%) and provide culture sensitive support for victims (37.1%).
- Ultimately it is fair to conclude that most respondents saw a key role for the local Council and its various departments in terms of addressing local racial abuse. Initiatives mentioned in this regard, include education programmes aimed at mainly young members of the community via schools and social events, aimed at integrating different sectors of the community.

Profile of Service Providers (*Fieldwork 2*)

- 25 service providing organisations, including statutory (14) and voluntary (11), were interviewed during **Fieldwork 2**. The organisations were located across South Lanarkshire and provided services to a range of areas in South Lanarkshire

- Respondents from organisations were predominantly female (60%) and white (76%). A small number of respondents were Chinese (8%), African-Caribbean (8%) or Indian (4%).
- Respondents held fairly senior positions within their respective organisations and more than half (52%) were managers or project coordinators.
- Key services provided by the organisations included, for example, the provision of information, advice and advocacy (48%), support for users and carers (31.1%) and statutory welfare, health or housing services (28.9%).
- While participant organisations were mostly mainstream providers, some catered for a range of specific target groups within the wider population, (some were gender specific, others were ethnic, age or need specific).
- Only two organisations had been established to cater specifically for members of the black and minority ethnic population, the rest admitting that they were predominantly generic in their aims and operational approach.
- Respondents conceded that, in general, members of the black and minority ethnic population were under-represented in their work, both in terms of their target groups and their internal staff complement.
- The activities of organisations were centered primarily around their specific aims and objectives and only three organisations prioritised targeted black and minority ethnic work.
- Overall, the key statutory organisations interviewed, appeared to be slightly more advanced in their work directed at black and minority ethnic concerns than the voluntary. Initiatives undertaken by the former, include for example, the facilitation of link or outreach strategies, interpreting services and the establishment of forums to discuss issues effecting black and minority ethnic communities.
- Organisations were at different levels of strategic development regarding service delivery to black and minority ethnic communities and while some (27%), mainly voluntary organisations had not fully considered these aspects, others (predominantly statutory) were at best, making sincere efforts to reach certain isolated sectors of the community albeit in an ad hoc manner.
- Similarly, levels of contact with black and minority ethnic communities were equally disparate with statutory organisations, again, being slightly more ahead in their strategic development than voluntary ones.

Service Providers' Perspective on Local Racial Abuse

- Personal knowledge and awareness of local racism and racial harassment was generally low as was respondents' direct involvement with victims of racial abuse.
- The majority of respondents generally believed that incidents of racial abuse were isolated, area specific and indeed, unintentional.
- Yet it was admitted (67%) that even though certain organisations had made some effort to meet the needs of victims of racial abuse, such efforts were not entirely adequate.
- In terms of addressing the needs of black and minority ethnic communities, the majority of respondents (47%) believed that the solution lay in the employment of additional black and minority ethnic staff who are better placed to deal with such matters. On the other hand, others (39%) believed that the needs of these communities could be met adequately by existing staff within organisations with increased race awareness and equality training.
- The vast majority of respondents (79%) indicated that they were unaware of any local organisations that were established especially to address issues of racism and racial harassment, nor were they aware of ones that provide support for victims of racial abuse.
- Yet despite a large number of organisations (87%) having formal equal opportunities policies in place, very few had specific initiatives set up to support either victims of racial abuse or indeed, deal with wider issues concerning members of the black and minority ethnic communities.
- Education, both formal and informal, was regarded by the vast majority of respondents (79%) as the key strategy for addressing local racism and racial harassment.
- It was generally agreed that complex matters such as attitude and cultural change required long term commitment and careful co-ordination, and many believed that the enhancement of race relations in any locality required the involvement of key partners and all sectors of the community to ensure credibility.

Concluding Comments

- Respondents displayed a sense of complacency sustained by the belief that incidents of racial abuse in South Lanarkshire are isolated and thus not a matter of urgent concern. On the contrary, the overall picture is much more disturbing and warrants closer consideration within the context of the *nature and impact* of incidents rather than the *extent*, as numerical factors become less significant within small, scattered communities.
- The racial experiences of visible minorities in this study, are in many ways consistent with those in large inner city areas despite differences in social circumstances. Indeed, there is strong evidence in this study to suggest that despite the affluence of many, their racial experiences are no different from those recorded in inner city areas as they were found to be equally vulnerable and were similarly subjected to derogatory name calling and physical abuse.
- Moreover, the reader is cautioned against interpreting positive neighbourhood identification as necessarily an indication of sound race relations as there was ample evidence to support the contrary.
- While similar studies conducted in areas of ethnic concentration have frequently highlighted, for example, employment and housing needs, the respondents in this study placed greater emphasis on the lack of support services for victims of racial abuse. It is therefore strongly recommended that service providers explore as a priority, ways in which this particularly critical need could be effectively met.

Section 1 Introduction

Understandably, race research in Scotland has concentrated predominantly on areas that have larger settlements of black and minority ethnic communities, especially Glasgow and Edinburgh, yet this tendency has resulted in limited information being available about minority ethnic communities in other areas across Scotland. Whilst it is conceded that certain data may be comparable across minority ethnic communities, other information especially that relating more closely to local service planning and provision requires specific detail. The absence of such disaggregated information has resulted in a patchy development of appropriate service provision to meet the specific needs of black and minority ethnic communities within certain localities in Scotland.

One such locality, with a black and minority ethnic population of around 2,000 (South Lanarkshire Council, 1998) scattered across a large geographical area, is South Lanarkshire. It is quite conceivable that the South Lanarkshire black and minority ethnic communities would be directly effected by the overall lack of area based information and indeed, the tendency to plan service provision on generic population size rather than on specific unmet needs. Such broad issues and more directly, ones concerning the vulnerability of minority ethnic groups, local criminal activities and racial harassment, were noted by the South Lanarkshire Council. As part of an initiative to address these concerns, South Lanarkshire Council supported the establishment of the South Lanarkshire Black and Ethnic Minorities Research Committee (SLB&EMRC) to explore the needs of the local minority ethnic communities within the context of potential racism and racial harassment.

Against this background, the Committee (SLC&EMRC), who had deliberated the current initiative over a period of one year, commissioned the Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit (SEMURU) to conduct a survey on racism and racial harassment in the area.

More specifically, the main aim of the research may be summarised as follows:

Aim

- **To establish the extent and nature of local racism and racial harassment by coordinating information pertaining to the experiences of black and minority ethnic communities in South Lanarkshire so that appropriate strategies may be devised to support victims of local racial abuse.**

In order to achieve this aim the following key objectives were undertaken by an examination of:

- **the qualitative racial experiences of members of the black and minority ethnic communities in South Lanarkshire**
- **black and minority ethnic members views on strategies to tackle racism and harassment**
- **the level of existing support and services to assist victims of racial abuse in South Lanarkshire**
- **the key areas that require development in terms of equality and race awareness**
- **the views of service providers within South Lanarkshire regarding racism and harassment and strategies to address these.**

It is anticipated that the Council's Equal Opportunities Policy Review Group will consider the research report and then make recommendations for appropriate actions by the council.

Section 2 Methodological Approach

The research framework to meet these objectives was organised as follows:

i) Methodological Framework

As is customary, the methodology and sampling technique used was based on previously tried and tested techniques and was developed further with SLB&EMRC. Whilst it was initially proposed that a mainly qualitative approach be taken to conduct the research, committee members felt that it would be equally useful to gather certain baseline quantitative information, for example, on the population profile of the target communities, given the limited nature of such information. This necessitated the use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and as a result the original proposed sample size of 60 was increased to approximately 100 to enhance the credibility of the information gathered.

In order to achieve the outlined aims, the project encompassed two key strands of research:

- i) **individual, in-depth interviews with members of the black and minority ethnic communities across South Lanarkshire, and**
- ii) **in-depth interviews with representatives from key service providers in South Lanarkshire**

The first strand of the research involved the use of an appropriately designed questionnaire to collect both quantitative information (through the use of closed questions) and qualitative information (through the use of open-ended questions) while the second, made use of a fairly structured topic guide to obtain mainly qualitative information.

The method used in interviewing service providers is particularly suited for obtaining diverse perspectives about the same topic and allows for the inclusion of personal insights into common occurrences within specific settings. Thus rather than being representative, the responses obtained through the use of this technique illustrate real circumstances and processes reflecting the ways in which needs, experiences and processes (ie trends) differ or are essentially similar (Dalton and Hampton, 1995). Ultimately the overriding benefit of such a methodology lies in the latitude accorded to researchers to record responses in participants' own words thus ensuring that the true spirit of interviewees' feelings is accurately depicted while maintaining confidentiality.

ii) The Fieldwork

The research team worked closely with SLB&EMRC to develop both the questionnaire and checklist of topic guides from an initial draft through to a pilot

version. This was tested in terms of the timing and logistics in a pilot survey, prior to the main survey.

To ensure consistency, the interviews with service providers were conducted by a trained Researcher Assistant who recorded data through the use of a tape recorder. A slightly different approach was taken with regards to the community interviews as during initial discussions the researcher was made aware of the committee's preference to recruit field workers from the local community. With this in mind, an advertisement targeting black and minority ethnic people was placed at key centres throughout South Lanarkshire and in local newspapers.

This resulted in two Chinese, one African-Caribbean and three Asian (Pakistani and Indian) fieldworkers being interviewed (by a panel which consisted of committee members and the researcher team), recruited and formally trained to arrange and conduct interviews. Regarding the latter, a half day compulsory training event was provided by the research team and covered various relevant aspects related to conducting fieldwork. The programme included, for example, background information on the project, making contact with respondents and strategies to record information accurately.

It is worth noting that the latter is a slight departure from SEMRU's normal approach to fieldworker recruitment in that the unit usually recruits from an in-house pool of trained fieldworkers who are employed by the unit. However it was felt that given the widespread and 'invisible' nature of the black and minority ethnic communities in South Lanarkshire, the use of local people as field workers might result in a more favourable response from the target communities. Indeed, such efforts were positively rewarded in that the fieldworkers were able to complete the desired number of interviews within the given timeframe. Further, despite the many challenges encountered in the field, a stringent monitoring procedure, which involved regular assessments of completed questionnaires, resulted in a high quality return from the field.

iii) The sample

The sample will be described in terms of the two key sources of empirical data namely; community interviews (which will be referred to as **Fieldwork 1**) and service providers' interviews (**Fieldwork 2**) and the latter will be briefly dealt with, initially.

During **Fieldwork 2**, a total of 25 organisations, both statutory (14) and voluntary (11) were interviewed. The organisations were located across South Lanarkshire and provided services to a range of areas including for example, Hamilton, Larkhall, Cambuslang, East Kilbride, Carluke, Clydesdale, Rutherglen, Blantyre and Strathaven. Services included amongst others, statutory education resources, public information, users and carers support, victim support, community education, aspects of community care support, welfare services, respite care and grass root community support. A detailed discussion pertaining to this aspect of the study is provided, later in the Report.

On the other hand, given the mainly quantitative approach taken during **Fieldwork 1**, a more detailed process was involved in the establishment of an

appropriate sample frame for this strand of the research. The practical difficulties (the 'invisible' and dispersed nature of black and minority ethnic communities in South Lanarkshire) in using a Representative Random Sample technique was acknowledged and instead conscious efforts were made to ensure a fair representation of different sectors of the black and minority ethnic population in South Lanarkshire by using an alternate (non-parametric) sampling method.

A snowballing technique was proposed with a view of using primary contacts within the communities to generate the desired sample. Regarding the latter, the 1991 census albeit dated and fraught with limitations, was used as a guideline to determine an acceptable sample size reflecting an equitable spread of respondents from different ethnic, gender and age groups within the known areas of ethnic concentration.

It was decided that the study would focus primarily on the four predominant minority ethnic groups in the area; Chinese, Indian, Pakistani/Bangladeshi and African-Caribbean (who according to the 1991 census, constituted approximately 1,658 of the black and minority ethnic population: Source 1991 Census). Whilst a 6.6% (110 interviews) sample was initially proposed, the researchers eventually settled for a slightly smaller sample size at 5.7% (95 interviews) which was equally acceptable, more manageable and realistic given the available resources.

More specifically, Table 1 below, shows that respondents were interviewed mainly within seven areas across South Lanarkshire. The localities reflected in Table 1 are recorded as defined by the respondents themselves and not necessarily as officially classified post code areas.

Table 1: Sample Distribution by Locality		
Locality	Number	%
East Kilbride	19	20.2
Hamilton	27	28.4
Clydesdale	12	12.6
Rutherglen	5	5.3
Blantyre	1	1.1
Cambuslang	28	29.8
Larkhall	3	3.1
Total	95	100*

* Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to rounding

It is evident from Table 1 above that the majority of the respondents interviewed were from Cambuslang (28.8%) and Hamilton (28.4%) and about a fifth (20.2%) were from East Kilbride. By comparison, a smaller number of respondents were interviewed in Larkhall (3.1%), Blantyre (1.1%) and Rutherglen (5.3%).

Section 3 The Participants

Fieldwork 1

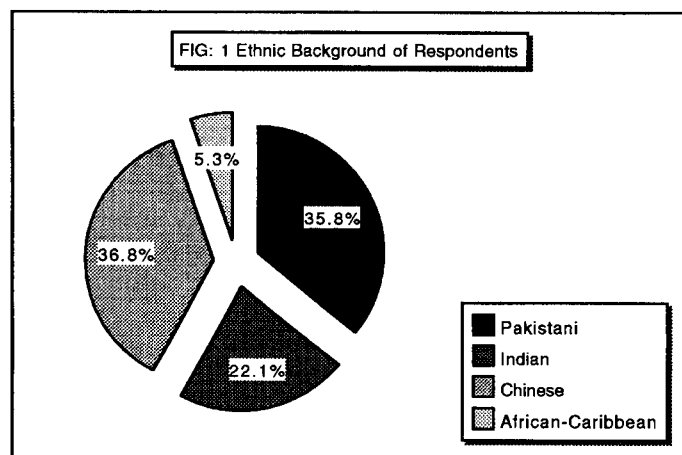
i) Profile of Respondents

This section of the Report provides a summary of the data pertaining to the profile of respondents interviewed during **Fieldwork 1**. The information provided in this section clearly indicates that the primary objective of acquiring a fair distribution of respondents in terms of age, ethnicity and gender was adequately achieved.

Ethnic Background

Given the nature of this study, one of the key variables against which much of the data was analysed is ethnicity. Acknowledging the sensitivity surrounding aspects related to ethnicity and cultural identity, respondents' ethnic background is reflected with care and sensitivity. Thus the information pertaining to 'ethnic background' in this instance, is based on respondents' own definitions of ethnicity rather than ones imposed by the researcher.

In this regard, more than a third of the respondents defined themselves as being either Pakistani (35.8%) or Chinese (36.8%) (**Fig:1**)



By comparison, **Fig.1** shows that a smaller proportion of respondents in the sample were either Indian (22.1%) or African-Caribbean (5.3%). Nonetheless, the

overall distribution of respondents in terms of ethnicity more or less mirrors the ethnic pattern recorded for South Lanarkshire as a whole, during the 1991 census (Source: 1991 Census).

In terms of location, approximately a third of the Chinese (31.4%) and slightly more Pakistani (37%) respondents were from Hamilton while the majority of Indian respondents (42.9%) were from Cambuslang. On the other hand, the majority of African-Caribbean respondents (60%) were from East Kilbride and only a relatively small number, by comparison, of Pakistani (15.2%), Indian (14.3%) and Chinese (22.9%) respondents were from this area.

This pattern of ethnic clustering is not unexpected given the technique used to generate the sample (snowballing). Nonetheless, the researchers were pleased to note that despite this minor pattern of clustering overall, a fair representation of the key ethnic groups were recorded within each of the locations identified in **Table 1**, above.

Age

In terms of age **Table 2** below, shows that while the vast majority of those interviewed were under 55 years of age (84.2%), they were nevertheless fairly evenly distributed within the different age categories.

Age Cohorts	Number	%	Cum %
16-25	16	16.8	16.8
26-35	25	26.3	43.2
36-45	23	24.2	67.4
46-55	16	16.8	84.2
56-65	13	13.7	97.9
66+	2	2.1	100
Total	95	100	

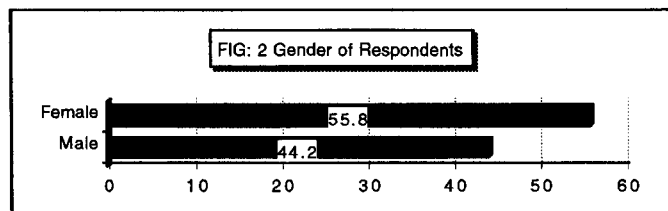
Respondents were somewhat youthful with more than two thirds (67.4%) being under 45 years of age (**Table 2**). In addition, more than a quarter (26.3%) were between 26 and 35 years of age and a fair proportion (16.8%) were between 16 and 25 years. Only 2.1% of the respondents were over 66 years of age.

When cross-examined in terms of ethnicity, the age data revealed that Chinese

respondents were especially youthful with the majority (60%) being under 35 years of age. Interestingly, none of the Chinese respondents were over 66 years of age and only 2 (5.7%) were between 56 and 65 years. On the other hand, Indian respondents were generally older with more than half (57.2%) being over 45 years of age. African-Caribbean and Pakistani respondents were evenly represented across the age categories and the majority in each case being between 26-55 years of age.

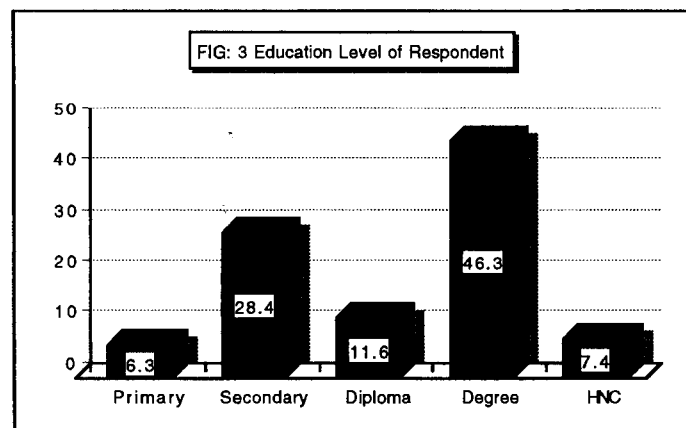
Gender

Fig. 2 shows reasonable distribution of male (44.2%) and female (55.8%) respondents in the sample.



Education

The educational level of respondents was remarkably high with almost half (46.3%) being university graduates (Fig: 3).



In addition, as reflected in Fig. 3, a further 19% of the respondents were in possession of diplomas (11.6%) or HNC qualifications (7.4%).

Such trends are similar to ones recorded elsewhere (Walsh et al, 1995 and Hampton et al, 1997, Hampton, 1998) yet it is worth pointing out that while the educational qualification of respondents is consistently high, those of Indian respondents are exceptionally so. Indeed, while almost three quarters of the Indian respondents (71.4%) were university graduates, by comparison, a smaller number of Pakistani (50%), African-Caribbean (40%) and Chinese respondents (28.6%) had equivalent qualification. The majority of Chinese respondents had either secondary (40%) or primary education (14.3%) which is not entirely unexpected given the general youthfulness of these respondents.

ii) Profile of Respondents' Households

Household Size and Structure

The majority of the respondents (67.4%) were married with children, while a smaller proportion were part of an extended family (8.4%) or were living with parents (15.8%). Only three respondents (3.2%) lived alone and five (5.3%) were single parents.

Table 3 below shows that Indian (85.7%) and Pakistani (76.5%) respondents were more likely to be married with children than any other ethnic group in the sample.

Table 3: Living Arrangement By Ethnicity

Ethnic Background of Respondents				
Family Type	Pakistani	Indian	Chinese	A/C
Married & Children	76.5*	85.7	51.4	40
Extended Family	17.6	0	5.7	0
Single Parent	0	9.5	2.9	40
Live Alone	0	0	5.7	20
With Parents	5.9	4.8	34.3	0

* Denotes % of the total Pakistani respondents in the sample

Moreover, it is evident from Table 3 that a greater proportion of Chinese respondents (34.3%) lived with parents, again a trend which is in keeping with the youthful age pattern recorded earlier for this group. Whilst none of the Pakistani

respondents lived alone or were single parents, a significant number of African-Caribbean ones (20% and 40%, respectively) did. Instead, Pakistani respondents were more likely to be part of extended families (17.6%) than respondents from other groups.

Household size of respondents ranged from as low as 1 person, to over 7 in some instances, with the overall average household size being 4. The average household size of Pakistani and Chinese respondents tended to be slightly larger at 4.4 and 4.2 respectively. The average Indian household was 3.4 and the African-Caribbean was smallest at 2.

While the overall pattern in terms of household size, is more or less consistent with ones recorded elsewhere (Dalton and Hampton, 1995, Hampton 1998) it is nevertheless noteworthy that the household size of Chinese respondents in this sample appears to be slightly larger than ones in Glasgow (Dalton and Hampton, 1996: Household size, 2.8 and Hampton, 1998: Household size, 2.9).

It is therefore not surprising that a substantial proportion of Chinese respondents belonged to households with more than two children (34.3%). Overall, only a small number of respondents (5.3%) were from households with no children.

Regarding special needs, only 5 respondents (5.3%) indicated that someone in their household had any requirements (Indian: 2; Pakistani: 1; Chinese: 1).

Household Employment Patterns

Employment patterns were generally positive and only a small number of respondents (6.4%) indicated that no one in their household was employed. Indeed, almost half the respondents (45.7%) came from households that had at least one or more (48.5%) employed persons. Moreover, a substantial number of main earners (96.6%) within households were employed on a full-time basis.

Notwithstanding this optimistic trend at least a fifth (19%) indicated that there were persons in their household who were actively seeking work yet remained unemployed.

In terms of occupation, more than a third of main earners (37.4%) were engaged in professional activities (Table 4). This pattern of employment is not entirely unexpected, given the relatively high levels of education recorded for respondents (Fig. 3) in general. Yet it has to be noted that participation in professional employment is remarkably high in this study compared to previous ones, for example, Hampton, 1998 (Professional Rate: 10.8%, P 25). Moreover, during the 1991 census, the overall participation rates (recorded in Glasgow for minority ethnic groups) in the professional category was 10.4% as compared to 5% for the white population as a whole (Dalton and Hampton, 1994).

Occupation	Number	%
Professional	34	37.4
Managerial	7	7.7
Skilled Lab	11	12.1
Manual Lab	2	2.2
Clerical	2	2.2
Self Employed	31	34.1
Pensioner	4	4.4
Total	91	100
Missing	4	

Nonetheless, Table 4 reflects a self-employment pattern that is similar to ones recorded in previous studies (Dalton and Hampton, 1994; Hampton, 1998) and serves to support the notion that participation in this category of work remains consistently high for certain minority ethnic households.

In terms of ethnicity, the professional category was dominated by Pakistani (41.2%) and Indian (41.2%) households and the self-employment category, by the Chinese (51.6%). A greater proportion of African-Caribbean households were represented in the skilled labour (40%) and managerial (40%) categories.

Household Income

Household income was roughly analogous with the occupations of main earners and there is evidence to show that professional households often earned a gross income of more than £2,000 per month and at least 17.7%, more than £4,000.

A small number of respondents (16.8%) refused to reveal their household income but by cross-examining the responses on occupation, education and income data, one can concede that the information provided is relatively realistic.

It is worth mentioning that the income pattern recorded here is distinctly different from ones recorded elsewhere for minority ethnic communities (Hampton, 1998). In particular, a study carried out recently in Glasgow (Hampton, 1998) using a similar sampling technique, found that only 4.4% of sampled households earned a gross income of more than £2,000 per month with the majority (45.5%) earning between £600 and £1,000 per month and a significant proportion (22.2%), even

less.

Indeed, the average household gross income for the sample as a whole (based on valid responses) was approximately £ 2,349 per month which is higher than the average gross income (Gross weekly Income: £336) recorded for the whole of Scotland in 1996 (Source: Equal Opportunities Commission, 1997).

Consequently, only a small number of respondents (12.7%) came from households that earned under £800 a month, the majority of whom (50%) were Chinese. Indeed, when compared with other ethnic groups, Chinese households appeared more concentrated in the lower earning categories, with for example, more than half (54.2%) earning between £801 and £2,000 per month (Table 5).

Income £	Pakistani	Indian	Chinese	AC*
Under 800	9.7	5.3	20.8	20
801-2,000	29	15.8	54.2	60
2,001-2,800	22.6	21.1	4.2	20
2,801-4,000	19.4	31.6	8.3	0
4,000+	19.4	26.3	12.5	0
Total	100	100	100	100

**AC' used throughout Tables to refer to the African-Caribbean Sample

Interestingly, main earners from Chinese households were predominantly engaged in self-employment (Table 4). Likewise, the majority of African-Caribbean households (80%) earned less than £2,000 per month. Indeed, the average gross income of African-Caribbean households was the lowest at £1,440 (as compared to the Indian: £2,989; Pakistani: £2,516; Chinese: £1,816).

'Profits and earnings' was the primary source of income for most (93.7%) households and only a small number relied on 'social benefits' (2.1%). In particular, regarding benefits, only 12.6% of households collected 'social benefits', the predominant type being disability.

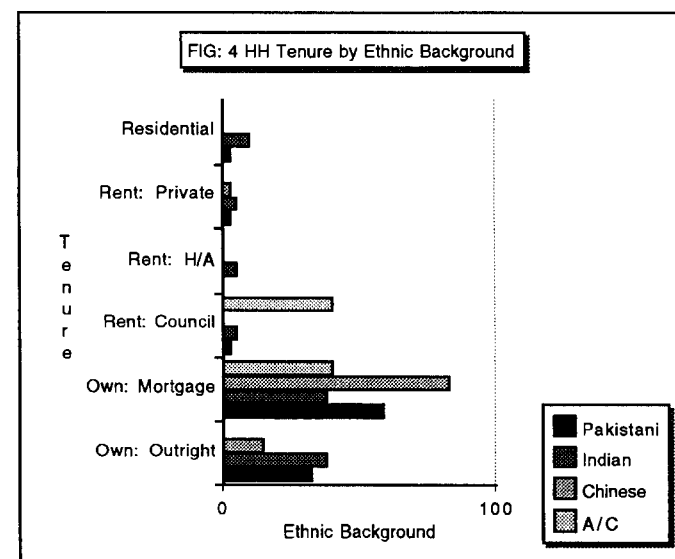
Tenure of Respondents

The overwhelming majority of respondents (87.4%) were from households that owned properties either outright (25.3%) or on mortgage (62.1%) with very few renting from the Council (5.3%) or Housing Associations (1.1%).

Similar patterns of high home ownership rates amongst minority ethnic

communities have been recorded elsewhere (Dalton and Daghlian, 1990; Dalton and Hampton, 1995), yet it has been frequently argued that such patterns are not always an indication of prosperity and wealth. In this instance however, the contrary might be argued since the disproportionately high rate of home ownership recorded amongst the Pakistani and Indian households especially, is complemented by relatively high rates of professional occupations and incomes.

In particular, Fig. 4 below shows that a substantial number of the Indian (38.1%) and Pakistani (32.4%) respondents were from households that owned their property outright.



Whilst it is acknowledged that an equally large proportion of Chinese respondents were also from households that owned property, the majority were nevertheless still paying for them. It is also evident from the above figure (Fig. 4) that almost two thirds of the African-Caribbean respondents (60%) were in accommodation rented from the Council.

In concluding this section, one needs to draw attention to the overall employment, income and tenure patterns. The above discussions suggest that the majority of respondents were from households that are fairly affluent yet there is no conclusive evidence to imply that this pattern of prosperity is necessarily true for the entire black and minority ethnic population across South Lanarkshire.

Having acknowledged this, it has to be noted that similar sampling strategies used elsewhere (Dalton and Hampton, 1995; Hampton, 1998) generated samples which were fairly representative of the overall target population.

This section of the report provides a detailed quantitative description of the respondents and their households and it is suggested that the key findings presented in the following sections be considered within the context of the information provided here.

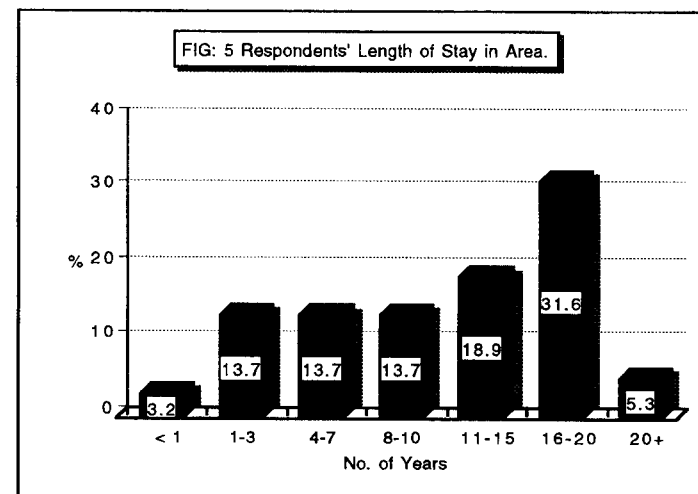
Section 4 Respondents' Perceptions of their Local Area, Racism and Racial Harassment

Data in the following two Sections are presented both qualitatively and quantitatively, as appropriate. In particular, the qualitative data are presented in an active format, mainly as extracts of conversations and direct quotations from respondents' discussions surrounding personal experiences and perceptions of their residential area, racism and racial harassment.

i) Perceptions of Residential Area.

Attitudes Towards Neighbourhood

It is clear from the evidence that accrued that many respondents had lived in their neighbourhood for a relatively long time and were, in a sense, quite settled. Whilst respondents' length of stay ranged from as little as a year to over 20 years, overall more than half (55.8%) had lived there for more than 10 years and just over a third (39.9%) for more than 16 (Fig. 5).



As reflected in the above figure (Fig. 5), only a small proportion of respondents (N=3; 3.2%) had lived in South Lanarkshire for less than a year.

Moreover, a review of the data in terms of specific localities indicated that those living in certain areas, particularly; Hamilton, Clydesdale, Rutherglen and Cambuslang had, on average, been living there for more than 12 years. Whilst little variation was noted in terms of ethnicity, the data nevertheless indicated that Chinese respondents were slightly more established in areas than other minority ethnic groups (average length of stay in areas: Chinese 13.1 years as compared to Indian: 11.6; Pakistani: 10.9 African-Caribbean: 9)

This pattern of residential stability is supported further by data which indicates that the overwhelming majority of respondents (89.5%) do not plan to move from their present locality in the short or medium term. Indeed, more than half the respondents (55.8%) specifically mentioned that they were 'satisfied' with their neighbourhoods and at least 1 in 5 (21.1%) were 'very satisfied'. Moreover, whilst the majority of the respondents had initially moved to areas mainly for practical reasons, for example, employment (32.6%), many were extremely content with, and positive about their local neighbourhood.

In particular, respondents commented on the 'peacefulness' of areas (46.3%), the 'convenience in terms of amenities' (41.2%) and the 'friendliness of neighbours' (31.9%). The following quotations provide an insight into typical comments made in this regard:

"...the environment is pleasant, things are handy, the bus stop, the shops and people are generally nice..."
(African-Caribbean, Male: East Kilbride)

"...It is very convenient for schools and shops, close to work, also..."
(Chinese, Female: Hamilton)

"...since we moved to this area, children have been very happy because schools are good and we have good friends and neighbours..."
(Indian, Female: Strathaven)

"...quiet, peaceful, clean and nice residents..."
(Pakistani, Male: Rutherglen)

"...nice peaceful area, good neighbours...very quiet..."
(Chinese Female: Clydesdale)

"...all amenities are nearby, local amenities are good... good links (transport) to Glasgow..."
(Indian, Female: Carlisle)

Yet, despite these positive feelings, some respondents mentioned aspects of their neighbourhood which were of concern. Discussions in this regard, were focused primarily around local adolescent misdemeanor and racially motivated activities (31.2%). The following extracts of conversations gives a flavour of the nature of discussions in this regard:

"...some kids throw stones to the windows and cars get broken into. About....years ago someone would phone occasionally and threaten us saying 'we know where your daughter goes to school, we have guns, we can fight you 'Chinkie' with your martial art', so I had to put my phone on ex directory, it lasted for ... much better now..."
(Chinese, Male: Hamilton)

"...not (the area) suitable for children. Local people call you names when you go out, feel like a prisoner in your own home..."
(Indian, Female: Blantyre)

"...there is too much disturbance by the youth in the area, but very little presence of the police..."
(Chinese, Female: Cambuslang)

"...the kids...drinking, smoking, and their language... cause a lot of damage in the area..."
(African-Caribbean, Female: East Kilbride)

"...growing number of gangs hanging about, surrounding area is quite rough..."
(Pakistani, Female, Hamilton)

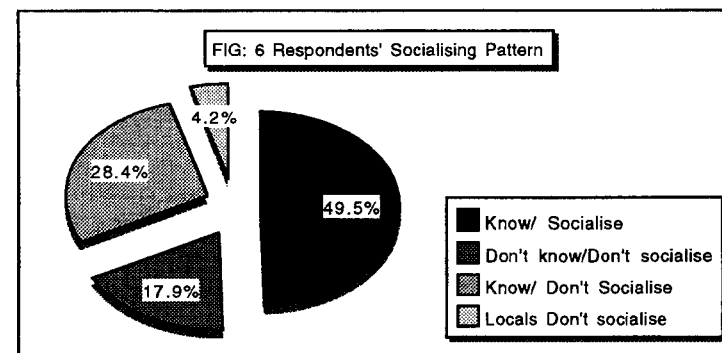
Notwithstanding this, the majority of respondents (83.2%) felt safe in their neighbourhood having lived there for a relatively long time:

"...I know quite a lot of local people and I've stayed here for a long time and got used to the area..."
(Chinese, Female: Clydesdale)

"...we have been living in this area for over 16 years, never experience any personal, unpleasant incident...nice neighbourhood..."
(Indian, Female: East Kilbride)

"...grew up here, and know everyone, so feel safe..."
(African-Caribbean Male: Hamilton)

For many this feeling of safety was enhanced by the the close proximity of friends and in some cases, relatives. More specifically, over three quarters of the respondents (77.9%) indicated that they had close friends living nearby and about a third (33.7%) close relatives. There was therefore, little evidence to suggest that respondents were experiencing visible forms of social isolation. Indeed, when asked about their contact with the local indigenous population, almost half (49.5%) indicated that they knew and socialised with many local people (Fig: 6).



It is clearly evident from Fig. 6 that only a small number of respondents were unfamiliar with the local indigenous population (17.9%) and that in fact, a slightly larger proportion (28.5%) did know the local people but preferred not to socialise with them. The latter was qualified by statements including, for example:

"...Our lifestyle does not allow us to socialise with neighbours..."
(Pakistani, Male: Rutherglen)

"...cannot trust them, they (local people) always stab you in the back...they want to know your business, nothing more..."
(Indian, Female: Blantyre)

"...nothing against indigenous people, we do not socialise because of cultural differences..."
(Indian Female: Clydesdale)

"...I don't drink so it's not often that I socialise because when asked out it is usually to the pub, I prefer to read..."
(African-Caribbean Male: East Kilbride)

"...we prefer to socialise with the same ethnic background people, same language etc..."
(Pakistani, Male: East Kilbride)

Whilst principally, little variation was apparent in the social patterns in terms of ethnic background, a closer examination of the data nevertheless revealed certain minor differences. For example, Chinese respondents were more inclined not to socialise locally because of unfamiliarity with the people (64.7%) while the Pakistani preferred not to because of cultural differences (40.7%).

Though it has to be conceded that, generally, those who socialised locally did so occasionally, yet satisfactorily:

"...neighbours are helpful and there is a mutual amount of socialising..."
(Indian Female: Clydesdale)

"...socialise occasionally, with a busy lifestyle ...don't have the time..."
(Pakistani Female: Cambuslang)

"...I always find that if we try and socialise with local people they are friendly and helpful especially in the time of Christmas and New Year...we visit each other and exchange good wishes..."
(Indian Female: East Kilbride)

ii) Attitudes Towards Local Services

Interestingly, when asked to comment on the adequacy of specific local services in terms of minority ethnic communities, a substantial number of respondents were unable to do so, due to limited personal experience or knowledge of some or all of those mentioned. The latter were recorded as "don't know" for the purpose of this analysis and this is reflected accordingly in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Respondents' Attitude to Local Services

Services	Adequate	Not Adequate	Don't Know
Housing Provision	43.6*	10.3	46.2
Social Work Services	39.8	12	48.2
Social Security	48.2	10.6	41.2
Education	83.7	10.9	5.4
Employment	45.5	23.9	30.7
Health Services	80	12.2	7.8
Sport/Recreation	70.5	13.6	15.9
Public Transport	73.8	9.5	16.7
Specialist Support	32.5	16.9	50.6
Info On Services	56.8	12.3	30.9

* Refer to %

It is evident from Table 6 that respondents were generally satisfied with the local Education (83.7%), Health (80%), Transport 73.8%) and Recreational services (70.5%) and considered them to be adequate.

Yet, on the other hand, it is of some concern that respondents were least able to comment on a number of key services including for example, the local Specialist Support and Advise (50.6%), Housing (46.2%), Social Work (48.2%) and Social Security.

Nonetheless, even though a relatively small number of respondents, by comparison, indicated services that did not cater adequately for black and minority ethnic communities, their qualitative responses relating to these services were nevertheless thought provoking and warrant acknowledgement. In this regard, respondents generally discussed issues relating to culture, language and communication, underlying institutional racism and prejudice.

The following 2 case studies serves to illustrate these concerns more clearly:

Case 1: Pakistani Male: (Age: 36-45 years, Married)

"...children are bilingual, there are no special services for them. For us it is very important to keep our culture and traditions (intact). There are no facilities for the children to keep in touch with their cultures and traditions. In the South Lanarkshire area there is no funding available for ethnic minority people but in North Lanarkshire the funding is available for people. Ethnic people are far behind as far as the availability of employment is concerned...no provision in health for (those) with language difficulties. Same for social security...because people who can't speak English are very reluctant to go to these places..."

Case 2: Indian Female (Age 36-45 years, Single Parent)

"...due to my personal problems, I went into depression and was in hospital for...months. My boys were placed in...home and my daughter, because she was very young was fostered by a...family. My daughter, at the age of 4 was sexually abused by the man of the house. When I complained to the social work services, no action was taken. I didn't want a house in...for personal reasons but I was not given any choice. There is racism in the social work services. Someone else in the same situation as myself is getting a lot more help than I am..."

The most striking feature in the above two cases is the perception that service providers are not sensitive to individual needs and are, indeed, racist. Whilst it may be argued that the above cases are distinct individual experiences and might not necessarily be representative of the wider experiences of black and minority ethnic people in South Lanarkshire, it is still significant in that it reflects an image of local service providers that is adverse. Consequently, regardless of how isolated such cases may be, they remain unacceptable in terms of equal opportunities. On the other hand, it can be argued further that these cases may well be one of many that occur regularly yet remain hidden due to limited avenues of communication between service providers and this sector of the population.

Suggestions for improvements of local services were invariably linked with key areas of concerns, particularly communication and equality issues. The following are examples of suggestions made by respondents:

"...some people cannot communicate very well in English, I think there is a need for interpreting services in this area..."
(Indian Male)

"...treat everybody equally, give equal opportunities to black and white..."
(Pakistani Female)

"...no provisions for people with language problems. There should be interpreters available in hospitals..."
(Pakistani Female)

"...more community policing, dealing with problem neighbours, moving harassed council dwellers to safe areas... need fast action..."
(African-Caribbean Female)

"...special provision can be made to educate service providers about cultural issues...so that we are able to understand each other..."
(Pakistani Male)

Respondents generally had little awareness of services that cater specifically for members of the black and minority ethnic population and the majority (65.2%) knew of of none in the local area. Those who did, mentioned specific ones (5 in total were mentioned), mainly social clubs. The organisations mentioned were all culturally specific, catering exclusively for either the Indian, Pakistani or Chinese community. None of the respondents mentioned organisations that catered for the African-Caribbean members or generally for all members of the black and minority ethnic people.

iii) Perceptions of Racism and Racial Harassment

Racism

Respondents generally associated the term '*racism*' directly with discrimination based on '*skin colour*' (95.7%). In cases where '*race*' (67.3%), '*culture*' (11.1%) and '*religion*' (5.3%) were mentioned, it was usually done in conjunction with references to skin colour. Interestingly, statements made by respondents were remarkably similar and no significant pattern of variation was noted in terms of ethnicity. Such evidence ultimately supports the notion that racism is an experience that is commonly shared by people who are perceived to be visibly different and, indeed, there is little doubt that those on the receiving end of such discrimination are acutely aware of being treated unfavourably.

Respondents spent little time discussing the meaning of racism as it was felt that most people ought to understand what it meant. Consequently, responses to this question were usually brief and to the point. The following are examples of statements that were frequently made in this regard:

"...to pick on people of different backgrounds purely on the basis of colour or religion or both..."
(Pakistani Male: Rutherglen)

"...discrimination against anyone who is not white..."
(Chinese Female: East Kilbride)

"...one group of people discriminate against another due to the difference of their skin colour..."
(Chinese Male: Hamilton)

"...being discriminated against, being made to feel dirty because I'm black, having verbal abuse hurled at you, for example, "*Darkie*..."
(African-Caribbean Female: Larkhall)

"...discrimination by white community because of your colour..."
(Indian Female: Clydesdale)

Interestingly, unlike in a previous study (Hampton, 1998) where racism was

perceived in a much broader sense as any form of prejudice or discriminatory behaviour (including skin colour, religion, ethnicity) the respondents in this study perceived racism in a more 'traditional' sense ie: primarily in terms of colour discrimination. Ultimately, the perpetrators were seen always as being white (individuals or institutions) and the victims those who are visibly different (mainly people of colour).

Given the above perceptions, it is therefore not surprising that most respondents associated racial harassment with the abuse of people who are visibly different by individuals and institutions that are predominantly white:

"...when whites bully an individual of a different colour..."
(Chinese Female: East Kilbride)

"...when you are picked on, excluded from, denied services in the case of employment by those in power, usually white..."
(Pakistani Male: Hamilton)

"...physical and mental torture to minority people by majority community because they belong to different race and have different skin colour..."
(Indian Female: Carlisle)

Based on their understanding of the terms 'racism' and 'racial harassment', respondents were asked to describe the frequency, nature, knowledge of and personal experiences of racism and racial harassment in their local area. The main elements of such discussions are summarised below.

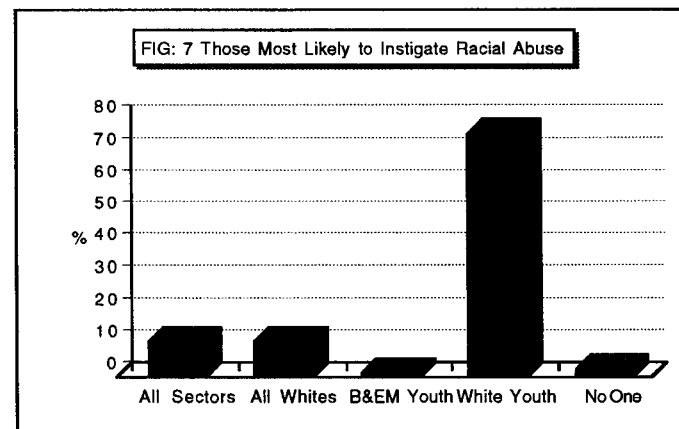
The Nature of Local Racism

Whilst the majority of respondents (63.8%) felt that racism and racial harassment occurred mainly as isolated incidents in their respective areas, one should not ignore the number of respondents who believed that racism occurred frequently (14.9%) or, indeed, daily (6.4%) in the areas where they lived.

On closer examination of the data, it becomes apparent that certain areas appeared more vulnerable to racism and racial harassment than others. For example, at least two thirds of the respondents (66.6%) who felt that racism occurred daily, came from either Hamilton (33.3%) or Clydesdale (33.3%), while almost half of those who felt that racism occurred frequently yet not daily (42.8%) were from either East Kilbride (21.4%) or Rutherglen (21.4%). On the other hand, the majority of respondents living in Cambuslang (81.5%) felt that racism occurred mainly as isolated incidents.

When asked which sector of the black and minority ethnic population was most vulnerable to racism, more than half (53.8%) felt that all black and minority ethnic people were equally vulnerable, irrespective of age or gender. Yet, remarkably, a substantial proportion of respondents (30.8%) felt that black and minority ethnic youth were particularly vulnerable to racism and racial harassment. The latter were mainly from Cambuslang (48.1%), Hamilton (22.2%), and Clydesdale (18.5%). By comparison, only a small number of respondents felt that either black and minority ethnic women (5.3%) or men (1.1%) were especially vulnerable to racism and racial harassment.

In keeping with respondents' overall understanding of the term 'racism', as discussed earlier, it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of respondents believed that the sector (of the population) most likely to instigate racial abuse, was the white (86.8%). The figure below (Fig. 7) shows that more than a quarter of the respondents believed that white youth, in particular, were most likely to instigate racial abuse and racial harassment.



Indeed, the above figure (Fig. 7) shows that only a small number of respondents (11%) were prepared to accept that all sectors of the population were equally likely to instigate racial abuse and only one respondent (1.1%), that racism could be instigated exclusively by the black and minority ethnic community (in this case the youth).

While generally the majority of respondents conceded that personal racism, both direct (52.5%) and indirect (23.8%), is the type of racism most likely to occur in their area, there were others (18.8%) who felt that indirect institutional racism rather than personal, would be more likely to occur in their locality. Regarding the former, respondents generally believed that the most common forms of personal racism in their area would be verbal abuse (81.1%) and damage to property (11.6%).

By comparison, only one respondent mentioned physical attacks and a small number graffiti (8.4%) and social exclusion or isolation (8.4%). It is worth drawing attention to the latter in particular, as the relatively small numbers recorded in this instance support the favourable responses recorded earlier in terms of social interaction patterns within neighbourhoods.

In terms of where racial abuse is most likely to occur, the majority cited 'on the streets' (71.3%), 'educational institutions' (40.4%), 'places of employment' (34%) and 'other public area' (51.1%). Overall, no significant variation was noted in terms of

ethnicity or locality except that slightly more respondents from Cambuslang (51.9%) and Clydesdale (41.7%) believed that racism is most likely to occur in 'educational institutions'.

Experiences of Racism

When asked if they or any member of their household had experienced any form of racism, more than half (51.1%) the respondents indicated that they did. Interestingly, the experiences mentioned in this regard were curiously analogous with the forms of racism discussed earlier. There was thus a strong sense that many respondents whilst referring and discussing incidents hypothetically, were in reality speaking from personal experiences. Further, more than a quarter of the respondents (28.7%), indicated that apart from their own personal experiences, they were also aware of others in their community who suffered racial abuse.

It is fair to say that on the whole the racial experiences cited most frequently included name calling, damage to property and physical abuse. These three key forms of racial abuse usually occurred simultaneously and often over a period of time. Whilst incidents relating to physical abuse and damage to property were mentioned less frequently in relation to name calling, the nature of incidents relating to the former were nonetheless quite disturbing, as illustrated in the following cases:

Case 3: Indian Female, 26-35 years, Married

"...the young white boys from the neighbourhood had thrown stones and broke our bedroom, kitchen and living room windows. They broke our back light too. They also threw eggs into my house... the police came but so far they had not found the culprit...local Council should help black and ethnic people with this harassment by listening to them seriously..."

Case 4: Pakistani Female, 26-35 years, Married

"...(my) 11 year old son gets comments in school that is not acceptable. (My) husband while travelling from work experienced some physical violence on the way. My husband had stopped at the lights. This white man walking by looked at my husband, started to shout abuse and damaged my husband's car. My husband owns a big car maybe it had something to do with that and the colour of his skin... (referring to the son again)... I spoke to the teacher in school, the teacher took some action but was not firm enough, then I had to go to the school myself and speak to the child... for the past 12 years I have seen racism increasing, I don't think it will ever go down (decrease)..."

Case 5: Chinese Female, 36-45 years, Married

"...some kids from the grammar school whenever they walked past the shop, kicked our shop window...(they did this) everyday...and damaged our garage door which we had to repair. On one occasion, my husband went out to get hold of one of the boys...the boy went home and told his parents that he was assaulted by my husband... the police was called and the social services were involved...shows you how false accusations can cause someone so much problems... we complained to the police and the school. The police said that they could only give verbal warning..."

Case 6: Chinese Male, 17-25 years, Single

"...it happened at the school...four fourth year students attacked me with a protractor in the toilet. I told the assistant head teacher but nothing was done about it... it was totally a waste of time... there needs to be more communication with the Council and the police..."

All four cases reflect serious violations of property or person yet it is apparent that none of the respondents were satisfied with the manner in which their experiences were handled by responsible institutions. It would appear that in all instances, the relevant authorities were alerted yet respondents remain disillusioned and are left with a feeling that appropriate action had not been taken by those responsible. It is no wonder that the respondents above hold little or no hope of matters improving in the near future.

Still, overt and physical forms of racism like the above are usually more tangible and the wider community can more readily recognise such obvious forms of attack. Yet one of the most common forms of racial abuse in Scotland, verbal abuse, remains imperceptible. This study like others (Walsh, 1987; Hampton, 1998) had also recorded widespread incidents (87.9%) of derogatory and disrespectful name calling. Regrettably, many victims of name-calling in this study blandly accepted such behaviour as normal and were thus not prepared to challenge it, as reflected in the following statements:

"...in the community, it would be just as normal for people to be taunted about religion, obesity or even the colour of their hair...this is normal..."
(African-Caribbean, Male)

"...it has become part of living here, there is no point telling anyone, you just have to ignore them and hope they will go away..."
(Chinese Female)

"...I could not think of anything to say to them, they do it all the time, it is now accepted that someone will call you a name, the incident (name-calling) is not serious enough to be reported..."
(Indian, Male)

"... I did not think that it was serious at the time...We have to take it as part of our life in a foreign country and put up with a thing like this..."
(Chinese Male)

"...At the moment, I do not think it is serious enough to take any action...just little kids doing the name calling..."
(Chinese Female)

It is strongly recommended that the adverse effect of this form of racial abuse ought not be overlooked or underestimated and that relevant support be provided to assist victims of such racial abuse.

Strategies to tackle Racism

During discussions surrounding strategies to tackle racism, respondents made frequent reference to the lack of and need for, victim support. It was generally felt that more effort should be made by those in authority to support victims of racial abuse. Yet many believed that the existing mainstream services were not necessarily the appropriate ones to deliver such support, given their present efforts and that specific organisations ought to be set up by mainstream providers to deliver such services.

In this regard, the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that they were unaware of any specific organisation in the area that provided support for victims of racial abuse (94.7%) or of any that provided relevant information and advice on the subject (97.8%). Consequently, there was common (97.8%) agreement that such explicit services were required in the area.

Comments in this regard included for example:

"... we have a large Chinese community in South Lanarkshire...if there is a place that people can go to for advice, especially people who cannot speak English...it would be useful...they (those who cannot speak English) cannot go to CAB for advice..."
(Chinese Female)

"...yes there should be a place where people can make a complaint and seek help...it (racial abuse) is too small a problem for the police...but it is a big problem to the people who have to deal with it everyday...so these have not been attended to properly so far..."
(Chinese Male)

"...there should be organisations with Asian staff who can give advice and information to victims in our mother tongue..."
(Pakistani, Female)

"... there is no such organisation in our area, the main service providers do not deal with victim support...to get help, I had to find out myself about the CRE in Edinburgh...there should be similar organisations in East Kilbride..."
(Indian Female)

It might be worth noting that one of the key factors frequently mentioned by the majority of Chinese respondents (76.9%) in terms of the limitation of mainstream service providers, was insufficient language and communication provision. Thus the need for improved interpreting services was regularly mentioned by these

respondents.

On the other hand, Pakistani and Indian respondents felt that the key limitations of mainstream services providers lay in their inability to build sound community relations (67%), raise awareness of racial issues (57.6%) and provide culture sensitive support for victims (due to the lack of knowledge of different cultures) (37.1%).

When asked *who* they saw as being responsible for tackling racism and racial harassment in South Lanarkshire, the overwhelming majority mentioned the Council (78.9%), the educational institutions (57.7%) or the police (43.1%). By comparison, a smaller proportion of the respondents saw this to be the responsibility of local Councillors (22.7%) or members of the community (17%). Such responsibility was viewed both exclusively and in partnership with one another as is evident in the extracts of conversation provided below:

"...I think the education department...then the police and community together..."
(Chinese Female)

"...the Council should have a Department to deal with this, then the school working with parents and police dealing with property damage..."
(Indian Male)

"...the local police and parents of both sides..."
(African-Caribbean Female)

"... first the parents, then the police...but the name calling should be dealt with at schools..."
(Chinese Male)

Ultimately it is fair to conclude that most respondents felt that the local Council and its various departments had a key role in addressing local racial harassment and racial abuse.

Finally when asked to comment on the prevention of racial abuse and the enhancement of race relations in the area, many felt that the solution lay in education (78%), social mixing (67%) and mutual tolerance and respect (56%). More specifically, respondents (57%) generally felt that the Council should support initiatives that involve education programmes aimed at, especially, very young members of the community via schools or facilitating social events to encourage social integration. The latter in particular was mentioned frequently in terms of enhancing race relations in the community:

"...to educate the young about different cultures and how to co-exist in a multi-cultural society. To make the wider public aware of it as an unacceptable thing to do...get people together more often so that it is seen as everyone's problem...not just black people..."
(African-Caribbean Male)

"...try to integrate young children into local activities and to create more multi-cultural activities to make local people more aware of different cultures..."
(Chinese Female)

"...establishment of social activities which should bring about harmony and understanding between various communities, also educating children from an early age about racial equality can improve race relations..."
(Indian Male)

"...we should try to know each other, people should learn to socialise...initiatives to encourage this as a start would be good...will thus accept differences and not be suspicious..."
(Chinese Male)

"...to mix communities, at work I mix with the Scottish people but where I live, I don't like to mix with them.. as I feel that they do not understand me...and are thus racist...the educational element is missing..."
(African-Caribbean Female)

In concluding this Section, it is evident that most respondents are remarkably content with living in their respective areas despite having suffered (or still suffering) different forms of racial abuse. To some extent, the latter may be attributed to respondents' length of stay in areas which contributed greatly to a strong sense of neighbourhood identification and stability. Interestingly, this finding is in conflict with the levels of isolation and alienation recorded in similar studies elsewhere (Hampton, 1998; Hampton 1999). Moreover, it may be argued that respondents in this study are also disproportionately represented in the more favourable social class categories and are thus able to remain undaunted by the blatant existence of racism that surrounds them.

Yet it has to be acknowledged that such positive indicators of neighbourhood identification and fortitude on the part of respondents are still tarnished by the regular occurrence of racial abuse which is not acceptable in a just society.

The following Section (**Section 5**) highlights the key findings in terms of the service providers' perspectives on local racism and racial harassment.

Section 5

Service Providers' Perception of Racism and Racial Harassment in the Area

(Fieldwork 2)

The reader is reminded that this part of the research was included in order to allow service providers the opportunity to contribute their experiences and understanding of local racism and racial harassment. Given that the major focus of the research was **Fieldwork 1**, the discussions in this section will be relatively brief in terms of detail. Instead, the key elements of our discussions with service providers will be highlighted only to draw attention to crucial and essential data in terms of future policy and planning.

i) The Participant Organisations

The Respondents

As mentioned previously, a total of 25 organisations were interviewed across South Lanarkshire. While the ethnic and gender backgrounds of respondents were varied, the majority were nevertheless female (60%) and white (76%). A small number of respondents were Chinese (8%), African-Caribbean (8%) or Indian (4%), predominantly (at least 3) from statutory organisations. The majority of the respondents held fairly senior positions within their respective organisations with more than half (52%) being managers or project coordinators.

The Organisations

The majority of the organisations provided services for specific localities within South Lanarkshire, but about a third (32%) the entire South Lanarkshire population. The key services provided by organisations included, for example, the provision of information, advice and advocacy (48%), support for users and carers (31.1%) and statutory welfare, health or housing services (28.9%).

The participant organisations were mainly mainstream yet some catered for a range of specific target groups within the wider population. Thus while some were gender specific, others were ethnic, age or need specific. In this regard, only two organisations indicated that they were set up to cater especially for members of the black and minority ethnic population, the rest admitting that they were predominantly generic in their aims and operational approach. The latter were nevertheless open to all sectors of the population and were keen to include members of the black and minority ethnic communities in their provision.

Comments made in this regard included for example:

"...the black and minority ethnic community is scattered but we do work on mainstream

groups to encourage participation from black and minority ethnic communities..."

"...we don't target sectors of the population or members of the public, we deal with carers... but we are mainstream..."

"...we cover men and women in C...and R..., not specific ethnic groups..."

"...we cover older people and the carers of older people...this can be friends, family or relatives...all are welcome..."

"...we offer family based services, although we are recruiting respite carers, but we do not do specific targeting..."

"...yes we have several ways whether it be TV or radio (mainstream)...we actually do it through local papers and through contact we have...GPs, Health centres, schools...to my knowledge we have never had any black or African-Caribbean women that we have had to refer...that is probably the extent of my experience..."
(Voluntary organisation)

"...as far as I'm concerned I don't differentiate and neither do our policies in terms of race...they (the organisation) are making an effort from my recollection, to ensure that they try to translate or interpret or get some kind of help but I think that the only service that is making the effort is ...(referring to one of many departments within the organisation)..."
(Statutory Organisation)

"...before we had a post like ...we had little or no contact with the minority ethnic communities...they were invisible...it was as if they did not exist...they weren't recorded (black and minority ethnic clients), they did not participate in our groups...with (the new post) we have broken down a lot of barriers... (the new employee) went out and met people and got them together and shared information and that made it a lot easier to contact them...in the past we went around looking for people there weren't there or they weren't coming to us..."
(Statutory Organisation)

Operational Focus of Organisations

Interestingly, despite describing themselves as being 'open to all' and 'generic', the majority (89%) of the respondents conceded that, in general, members of the black and minority ethnic population were under-represented in their work, both in terms of their target groups and their internal staff complement. In particular, only two respondents indicated that their organisation had black and minority ethnic staff at managerial levels, 5 at officer levels and the rest had mainly volunteers and sessional staff (predominantly interpreters).

Since most organisations were mainstream ones, their general activities were centered primarily around their generic aims and objectives and only three organisations prioritised black and minority ethnic work. In this regard, the key statutory organisations interviewed appeared to be slightly more advanced in terms of initiatives directed towards addressing black and minority ethnic concerns. Examples of such initiatives include, for example, the facilitation of link and outreach strategies, interpreting services and forums to discuss issues affecting black and minority ethnic communities. One forum in particular which comprises members of the black and minority ethnic communities, was highlighted in terms of its success in providing support for black and minority ethnic workers.

Organisations were at different levels of strategic development in terms of service delivery to black and minority ethnic communities. For example, while some (27%), mainly voluntary, organisations had not fully considered this aspect, others (predominantly statutory) were, at best, making sincere efforts to reach certain sectors of the community albeit in an ad hoc manner. The following extracts of conversations illustrates this aspect more clearly:

"...our services are delivered on a needs basis, as you can imagine full scale advertising takes up a lot of resources..."
(Voluntary Organisation)

"... nothing really, we have projects on site now but they are modernisation programmes out in...dealing with tenants from estates to new build programmes...we have some tenants from ethnic minority backgrounds, but the only specific project that we had was that particular one..."
(Statutory Organisation)

Similarly, levels of regular contact with black and minority ethnic communities were equally diverse with statutory organisations being, again, slightly ahead in their strategic development than voluntary ones. Interestingly, in many instances, mainstream voluntary organisations tend to make use of statutory services or forums that have been initiated by statutory organisations to establish contact with black and minority ethnic communities:

"...we are in close contact with social workers, health board staff, council staff and housing staff that we can use as a resource to pull on..."

"...we deal with the ...committee every second month..."

"...the costs prohibits us ... that's why we link with Glasgow...but also with Health Education Board for Scotland..."

Nonetheless, there is ample evidence to confirm that, overall, contact and work with local black and minority ethnic communities is clearly sparse and ad hoc in nature.

ii) Perceptions of Racism and Racial Harassment

Knowledge and Experiences of Local Racism

When asked whether they believed that members of the black and minority ethnic communities were more vulnerable to crime and harassment, respondents were generally divided in their opinions. While about a third (32%) believed that they are, the majority were uncertain (40%). There were also some (28%) who clearly did not believe that members of this sector are especially vulnerable to crime and harassment. Discussion surrounding this aspect was prolonged and the following

excerpts serve to illustrate the nature of perceptions in this regard:

"... we are all vulnerable to crime and harassment to a certain extent in various guises... yes I'm aware of the vulnerability of black and minority ethnic people just due to the basic racism...the fact that you are black and in any way different there is a potential for racism... now I'm not saying that it always happens, there may be members that don't suffer but I would say that there is a double disadvantage there purely because of the fact that people are visibly different and there is racism in the community...I've seen statistics..."
(Statutory organisation)

"...I don't really know how to answer that because I haven't dealt with it, I mean our volunteers go to all races....but again I'm not saying that it doesn't happen, it probably does, but I'm being honest I don't know..."
(Voluntary Organisation)

"...no...I think that lots and lots of people are generally vulnerable. But anyone who can't read the literature, and that's not only ethnic minority groups, are especially vulnerable...and people who can't communicate on an equal level..."
(Voluntary Organisation)

Similarly, responses relating to specific problems experienced by local black and minority ethnic communities were varied with the majority indicating uncertainty based on limited personal knowledge. Yet those who did indicate awareness focused primarily on aspects of racial abuse, related to prejudice, ignorance and intolerance. Overall, respondents generally believed that such incidents were isolated and, indeed, unintentional. Note for example the perceptions recorded below:

"...it does surface from time to time but it is usually not the first thing that the individual comes in with..."

"...I don't think that that it is particularly racist but a lack of acknowledgement and I think it's discrimination...I don't think that it is deliberate..."

"...yes there are problems...but there are prejudices within black and minority ethnic communities as well..."

Whilst all three respondents above are clearly convinced that specific problems if any, are minimal, the comment made by the last respondents is especially indifferent and suggests a degree of complacency.

Indeed, this low level of personal knowledge and awareness of racism and racial harassment on the part of respondents is sustained by an equally low level of personal involvement with victims of racial abuse. Overall, only three respondents mentioned that they had worked with victims of racial abuse, one indicating that the work was related mainly to the complaints relating to local shop keepers and the other two with complaints relating to institutional racism and equal opportunities. In all three instances, respondents were reluctant to reveal details pertaining to the incidents for fear of breaching confidentiality.

Support for Victims of Racial Abuse

The majority of the respondents (67%) admitted that even though certain organisation had made sincere efforts to meet the needs of victims of racism, these were not entirely adequate. It was generally felt that local service providers were not fully able to cope with this aspect, given their limited knowledge and understanding of the circumstances surrounding these cases. Consequently, some respondents (47%) believed that there was a need for more black and minority ethnic staff who would be better able to deal with such matters, while others (39%) felt that the solution lay in increased race equality training for existing staff within organisations. A number of respondents (37%) felt also that the provision of advocacy and information in more relevant ways would assist in raising awareness of existing victim support services which would be able to provide the necessary support.

Despite organisations (87%) having formal equal opportunities policies in place, very few supported this with practical initiatives to support either victims of racial abuse or indeed, to deal with wider issues concerning members of the black and minority ethnic communities. Interestingly, those who did mention initiatives invariably focused on ones set up by the Local Council.

The vast majority of respondents (79%) were unaware of any local organisations that addressed issues of racism and racial harassment, nor were they aware of ones that provided support for racial abuse victims. Yet a substantial number (54%) mentioned organisations outside South Lanarkshire, for example, the Council for Racial Equality and Community Relation Councils.

Nonetheless respondents (54%) did mention certain social groups in the area that provided social support for sectors of the population who would otherwise feel totally isolated.

Appropriate Strategies to Address Racism and Racial Harassment

Education, both formal and informal was seen by the vast majority (79%) of respondents as the key strategy for addressing local racism and racial harassment. Discussions in this regard included race awareness training for staff within agencies providing key services, grass roots community education and specific educational programmes within schools. The following extracts of conversations are typical of a number of similar ones made in this regard:

"...I think education more than anything else. Start with schools... but we have to get that into the home as well as that's where the racist attitude is generated...you have to carry out a long term process of education and information. There should be a Zero tolerance message...need to monitor and prevent it before it happens..."

"...you could probably start with education in schools and colleges...but educating the real thugs is an uphill task...you have to focus on the community and general public..."

"...in general through education. By educating the majority and letting them know that there are certain things that people find offensive. Starting with education at schools. But there needs to be education of the minorities as well..."

"...I think that education is the key...we need to bring it down to primary schools and also parents, but it's a big task...how do we educate the public?..."

"...education, you need to educate people so that they know what the nature of the problem is...it's a two way process both white and ethnic minorities need to be educated. Racism is not confined to one colour. Race awareness courses needed..."

On the other hand, there were some who felt that black and minority ethnic communities should become more actively involved in promoting a cultural change:

"...if we want to change things then we need to do something about it...need to vote, need to stand up and let voice be heard...it's not just a case of sitting back...people are used to waiting for things to happen, but they won't make things happen..."

While others were keen to see racism being challenged more directly through, for example, special forums and campaigning groups:

"...there should be a black and minority ethnic forum to raise issues, make people more aware... networking should be happening so that the wider community are involved...something like the community care forum..."

Overall, most respondents agreed that strategies needed to be long term, sustainable and well supported in terms of resources. It was generally agreed that complex matters such as community race relations and fundamental attitude change require long term commitment and careful co-ordination to ensure credibility.

Ultimately, it is fair to say that respondents displayed a low level of knowledge and personal experience of working with victims of local racism and racial harassment. Thus many, especially those from voluntary organisations, appeared to be less concerned about such matters and ultimately did not fully appreciate the need for prioritising this area of work. The latter is further supported by the limited number of initiatives undertaken by organisations in relation to supporting racial abuse victims or addressing wider black and minority ethnic concerns.

Section 6 Concluding Comments

Since the key findings of the study are summarised elsewhere in the report, these will not be discussed in detail, instead certain general observations will be highlighted.

It is important that the findings of this study be considered within the context of the size and nature of the black and minority ethnic community in South Lanarkshire. Being scattered across a sprawling geographical area, the difficulties faced by members of this community are often not conspicuous and service providers may fail to appreciate the collective impact of locality or ethnic specific issues.

Given the dispersed nature of the communities in question, it is not unexpected that patterns of racial abuse would mirror a similar pattern. Yet a number of respondents, service providers and members of the community alike, displayed a sense of complacency sustained by the belief that incidents of racial abuse in South Lanarkshire are isolated in nature and thus not a matter of urgent concern. On the contrary, the overall picture is much more disturbing and warrants closer consideration within the context of the *nature and impact* of incidents rather than the *extent*, as numerical factors become less significant within small, scattered communities.

It is important to note that similar studies in Britain have predominantly focused on inner city areas which usually comprise large ethnic populations and understandably, such studies have been inclined to consider the widespread incidence of racial abuse primarily within the context of endemic inner city problems, including poverty, overcrowding and limited access to opportunities. Yet this study has shown that the racial experiences of visible minorities are in many ways consistent with those in large inner city areas despite differences in social circumstances.

Indeed, there is strong evidence in this study, to suggest that despite the affluence of many, their racial experiences are no different from those recorded in inner city areas as they were found to be equally vulnerable and were subjected to derogatory name calling and physical abuse. Moreover, the reader is cautioned against interpreting positive neighbourhood identification as a necessary indicator of sound race relations as there was ample evidence to support the contrary.

In many ways, the respondents in this study are relatively worse off in terms of racial abuse than their inner-city counterparts, given the limited services available to them in this regard. Indeed, while similar studies conducted in areas of ethnic concentration have frequently highlighted, for example, employment and housing needs, interestingly, the respondents in this study placed greater emphasis on the lack of support services for victims of racial abuse. It is therefore strongly recommended that service providers explore, as a priority, ways in which this particularly critical need could be effectively met.

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