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**Equality Works: How One Race Equality Centre
Conceptualises, Articulates and Performs the
Idea of Equality in Scotland**

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES), based in Edinburgh, which was funded by the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government to develop several programmes to promote equality in education. Drawing together the disparate approaches to anthropology of organisations, the methodology has included both a focus on a small core group of workers as well as the flow of the materials produced throughout a larger network. Rather than conduct fieldwork at various locations as network or policy studies emphasise, I chose to work for two years with CERES due to their geographic and creational centrality to the -mainstreaming equality initiative.

Beginning at a time when questions of identity in Scotland flourished as a result of devolution, increased immigration and the UK publication of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, the mainstreaming equality projects signify the Scottish Executive's attempt to uphold its duty of promoting race equality. CERES managed three of the seven funded mainstreaming equality projects.

The production of these resources contributes to a campaign through which the Scottish Government has worked to reformulate understandings of what it means to be Scottish. This is achieved by drawing upon the myths of a new and egalitarian Scotland in order to displace the myth that there is no racism in Scotland. Within this context, the research's central questions revolve around this creation in the stages undertaken at CERES. Examining the Centre's daily tasks, this research demonstrates that although commissioned to contribute to the same overall initiative, the way in which CERES depicts equality is ultimately very different than the approaches developed within the government. The materials created by CERES, which unlike *One Scotland*, do not include national symbols, have engaged with the complexities of equality and discrimination more than the media campaigns yet have had a smaller audience.

Once the idea is developed it encounters further manipulation, both physical in the case of teaching tools and ideological in working to make the identities included reflect Scotland through statistics and discussions of subjects already embedded in the national curriculum. From the vantage point of the creation process, this ethnography contributes to the anthropology of organisations and highlights the legal and policy negotiations undertaken across various levels of governance.

Abbreviations

A-8	'Accession 8' countries
ACE	A Curriculum for Excellence
AiFL	Assessment is for Learning
CERES	Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland
CRE	Commission for Race Equality
DRC	Disability Rights Commission
EA	Education Authority
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EDEONS	Equalities and Diversity Education Officers Network of Scotland
EOC	Equality Opportunities Commission
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
GD	General Duty
HgiOS	How Good is Our School
HMIe	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of education
LA	Local Authority
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
LTS	Learning and Teaching Scotland
PAG	Project Advisory Group
REP	Race Equality Policy
RES	Race Equality Scheme
RR(A)A 2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000
SD	Specific Duties
SEED	Scottish Executive Education Department
SGED	Scottish Government Education Directorate
SiSSA	Standards in Scotland's Schools Act
STEP	Scottish Traveller Education Programme

1. Introduction

In 2002, the Scottish Executive began a media campaign entitled *One Scotland: Many Cultures*, which presented a multicultural and inclusive Scotland. The materials promoted a celebratory version of Scotland and only subtly dealt with racism and equality. While legal belonging in Scotland is decided at a UK level, social understandings of belonging are developed at a Scotland level. This led to a large social science interest in belonging after political devolution. Due to the reserved status of legal belonging, the images used to promote Scotland within Scotland were of interest. The UK government has reserved power to legislate for equal opportunities in either new anti-discrimination measures or in amending existing ones. The *Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000* (referred to as the *RR(A)A 2000*) stipulates that public bodies have the duty to actively prevent discrimination and promote equal opportunities. As a public body itself, the Scottish government falls under this mandate. In addition to the equality duties, the Scottish Executive and the Scottish Government actively discuss equality as a central concern and use various cues to pose it as important to the nation's identity.

The notion of identity is central not only to this thesis but to the present Scottish context and campaigns. Since the late 1990s when the question of devolution for Scotland re-arose (having failed to receive sufficient support in the 1977 election), identity has undergone a renewed phase as a topic of interest for academics, reporters and in lay discussions. In 1997 the majority of voters in Scotland voted for devolution to create a new Scottish Parliament, which convened for the first time in 1999. In addition to the Scottish Executive's expanded powers and legislative changes, devolution prompted introspection about Scotland's place in the UK. In everyday conversations racism and belonging are discussed in Scotland as 'different' from the rest of the UK, particularly England. Immigration and citizenship are often discussed when referring to national belonging yet are reserved matters. Both law and education are devolved institutions, marking out complicated territory when taking into account the promotion of equality in schools. The research originally

intended to focus on the difference between UK and Scottish organisations dealing with discrimination and what set apart equalities in Scotland. The focus shifted to consider the development of equality terms within Scotland as a result of the various layers of social and legal influences.

Scotland is an interesting location in which to study race relations and equality with national, UK-wide and European factors influencing legal frameworks and identity negotiations. First, as a nation within a larger state Scotland balances between laws and identities formulated both nationally and on a UK level. Second, immigration to Scotland is a matter reserved for Westminster. The qualities and quantities of desired immigrants are decided for the UK as a whole and messages on belonging often focus on high immigration rates and the worry over job-availability. Worries over immigration set up false barriers not only between citizens and non-citizens but between perceived 'races' and 'cultures'. Third, European Union citizens have freedom of movement meaning there is a certain level of ease with which individuals from other European countries can enter the UK to travel, study or work. Intertwined with these occurrences Scotland, the UK and the EU are expanding and refining equality laws and activities and further influencing questions of (national) identity.

As researchers and politicians work to come to terms with Scotland's identities, regardless of any change post-devolution, the nation is also faced with a declining population. There are several UK Governmental schemes and websites in place to attract workers to the country or entice students to remain. Scottish websites detail aspects of life in Scotland and encourage site visitors to apply to the Home Office (UK) for the five-tier points based immigration system. These messages imply that immigrants and incomers should be welcomed in Scotland. In the national media one hears continual remarks about the 'brain drain' and population decline, often in support of what incomers may contribute to Scotland. In contrast and competition with this message are the UK wide news programmes based in England with the view that since the UK is 'crowded' the immigration is unwelcome. Unfortunately,

audiences in Scotland may hear both views in a single television viewing session.

To maintain consistency when discussing activity throughout historical periods the nomenclature for governance is as follows; the 'UK Government' will be a standard term and references to a specific administration or administration's actions (such as the Scottish Office having founded CERES) will be indicated. When referring to governance in Scotland across administrations 'Scottish government' will be used. This is in contrast to 'Scottish Government' the current administration. Further, the 'government' is used if it is in reference to the government in Scotland since this is my primary level of analysis. Lastly, 'governments' may be employed in theoretical discussions to refer to general governmental structures across locations. Although it is generally correct to capitalise one's government to do so in this writing would not only imply the current administration in Scotland but could be mistaken for a reference to the UK Government.

In 2000, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded a research program on Devolution and Constitutional Change. They commissioned 35 projects around the UK to gauge, amongst other questions, if there was a correlation between those who felt 'more' Scottish (or Welsh) and those who favoured devolution (Jeffery 2004). As researchers aimed to uncover what Scots believed were markers of Scottishness, the Scottish Executive undertook research on discrimination. The Scottish Executive promoted *One Scotland* as inclusive of 'Many Cultures' and later 'No Place for Racism' after reviewing reports on high incidences of racism. The campaign drew heavily on ideas of belonging. With academic research on Scottish belonging and a governmental campaign drawing upon such ideas, there was little research on the convergence of the two elements: how ideas on belonging were used for the Scottish government's political aims, particularly in promoting equality and reducing the risk of racist incidents. Further, the questions dealt with in the literature on belonging largely revolve around definitions and boundaries of Scotland or Scottishness and do not question how equality materials use these definitions to present the nation.

Aims

Alongside this campaign the Scottish Executive funded seven programmes for mainstreaming equality into education. The mainstreaming equality programme is part of a larger (Scottish) governmental initiative to not only comply with UK law but also promote equality. In doing so, the Scottish Executive and the Scottish Government have moulded a specific image of Scotland and what it means to be part of the nation. Most broadly this thesis contributes to understanding of the way belonging has been promoted politically in Scotland under the mainstreaming equality initiatives and, more specifically, how the messages are developed. The Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES) was an organisation funded to manage three of seven governmental mainstreaming projects. A major aim in this research was to understand how race equality was articulated within these circumstances and how specific messages and narratives signified Scotland and Scottish. These programmes undertake a type of nation formation through marking out the ideal citizen and social body.

Research on mainstreaming equality was best conducted in one of the organisations responsible for creating the educational programmes. CERES is a piece of the national equality puzzle. Through examining its actions and negotiations with the themes and throughout its network of contacts, it is possible to explore specific definitions and approaches to race and equality employed in Scotland and promoted by the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government. Not only is this a devolved area responding to reserved matters but education is one of the ways in which citizens are created. CERES has a large influence in the equalities and education fields, having developed materials for race-related topics and with staff members who have published in academic journals and are cited in equality or education research. Based on its subject influence and wide network, a key emphasis in this thesis is to understand how CERES conceptualises equality and approaches the development of project materials. Teaching students in schools across Scotland will already be focused on Scotland but this programme had the opportunity to make explicit statements on the nation. Since the media campaigns did not actively engage with

racism and the reasons behind discrimination, this research questioned whether the education programmes would parallel this or raise reflective discussions.

The fieldwork took place at a time when Scotland's population was described as changing rapidly. In the decade after devolution Scottish identity is still being readjusted and re-presented. In addition to the longer standing complications with race relations such as sectarianism, Anglophobia and Islamophobia, through which those living in Scotland may be positioned as 'outsiders' an increase of economic migrants from within the European Union has led to newer forms of 'outsider' discrimination. This is commonly understood as xenophobia but the Centre treats it as a form of racism.

In the anthropology of organisations and networks ethnographies have generally focused on very large or small scale organisations: following interactions across regional or national information networks or in studying the daily tasks in a small centre. My ethnography sought to pay attention to the point at which they connect by examining daily practices of an organisation and its internal and external communications as well as its parallel initiatives on a governmental, national level.

Prior to fieldwork the main issues relevant to research were theories on belonging (presented in Chapter Two). These theories often dealt with birthplace, accent or claims on the nation but did not engage sufficiently with how excluding certain identities from belonging may lead to and influence discrimination. The other debates that arose through fieldwork were the theoretical complications of defining equality and choosing which forms to enact, and the ability to accommodate difference within that structure. Another debate surfacing was the need to measure equality practices and the feasibility of such monitoring when equality is not merely the absence of discrimination.

Overview

The idea of equality underpins CERES work but what drives it? By understanding

the driving messages behind the Scottish government's race equality campaigns the reader will be prepared to position CERES activity described in subsequent chapters, as part of the larger work toward projecting an image of the ideal Scotland. To achieve the aim of understanding which (and how) messages were chosen to signify Scotland in the equality materials, this thesis explores the elements of the campaigns and lesson plans. It seeks to learn how those in CERES and its networks interpret 'equality'. This will be achieved through close attention to the organisation's discourse, interactions and materials produced. The various starting points and types of equality, as well as challenges, link the chapters. This thesis will explore 'equality works' in a variety of ways. These include the system or structure in which equality is created (at the Centre and in projects) and its functioning parts; the role, activity and location of employment as well as what is involved in *making* equality work.

Chapter Two places CERES in its general context in relation to the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government as well as detailing the relevant equality and race relations policies and legislation. As these documents delineate legal belonging this chapter also presents social science research on concepts of belonging in Scotland. The *One Scotland* campaign, aimed at influencing popular notions of belonging, is presented here. The analysis draws comparisons with a London-based anti-racism campaign. The tone and content are analysed to question the extent to which the campaign marks itself as exclusively Scottish and the ways in which racism are presented.

The following chapter details the methods employed and anthropological positioning informing this thesis. While CERES is largely research-focused its work is political as it negotiates policies, various stakeholders and social and moral themes. The methods chapter discusses conducting research from an engaged or active standpoint in an attempt to contribute to the positive efforts undertaken by those with whom I worked. This chapter also questions the problems of dividing anthropologists between those who are 'at home' or 'away' and conceptual insiders or outsiders. This dualism speaks closely to experiences of racism and identity.

Chapter Four picks up on racism and identity and presents theories on concepts linked to discrimination. Exploring philosophical approaches to equality the discussion aims to identify which form of equality are promoted in Scotland and the complications from attempting to ensure equality for all. Equalities may conflict and yet equality policies must state which identities are included. Race, ethnicity and racism are explored as the forms most relevant to this research. As a concept for analysis the usefulness of 'identity' is questioned, while acknowledging its salience in policies and practices of belonging and discrimination. In light of the theories this chapter returns to the *One Scotland* campaign within a discussion on nation-formation, asking the extent to which Scotland has actively undergone nation-formation since devolution and which narratives the campaigns utilise to achieve that aim. The narratives often portray a harmonious and egalitarian nation and, I argue, position racism as a threat to the social body.

Equipped with the contextual and theoretical basis for the following chapters Chapter Five begins the main ethnography. Drawing upon founding documents and published resources this chapter presents the Centre's recent history and major productive output within the context of anthropological approaches to organisations. The evolution of equality terms and work as experienced within Scotland foreground the following chapter's attention to daily life in the centre. Chapter Six presents the manual and ideological work carried out at CERES, detailing the main actors and ideas. Its networks of support, authority, control and action shape these race equality concepts and final products. The equality materials developed at the Centre are aimed at the actions and attitudes of teachers, pupils and other workers in Education Authorities. As part of a larger campaign for Scotland, the mainstreaming equality programme supports change on an individual level. Policy change has been implemented by the *RR(A)A 2000* and the *Scotland Act*, which detailed the legal duties for the new Scottish government. Exploring how the CERES staff members interpret their responsibilities while working daily for equality will show how the materials have been shaped. This chapter also shows the communications important

to the Centre's daily and quarterly work. This approach will highlight the relationship between CERES and those dealing with (race) equality.

Once acquainted with the Centre's structure, workers and line of work, Chapter Seven takes up the overarching and seemingly transparent concept of equality by focusing on one major project. This discussion is organised around an artefact and how this material item signifies the entire mainstreaming equality programme. It follows the production of a proscribed and mediated knowledge. This knowledge includes how those at CERES negotiate the materials and ideas in (re)writing reports and guidance, the lifetime (conception, gestation, birth, reception and acceptance) of reports and images, their (dis)use and where they live through all these stages. CERES presents the Identity Wheel as a gateway to discuss the issues of discrimination and equality, which are central to the mainstreaming programme. This wheel is a personalised object created by participants in a mainstreaming equality lesson plan. Overall, this chapter looks at what those requesting the projects say, the stipulated content, its development and realisation, in an attempt to make equality work. The chapter then explores the process of choosing identities for inclusion in projects and how the equality illustrated may differ from how philosophy interprets the term. With attention to aspects of identity chosen or omitted in the materials it is possible to see which issues are privileged by and therefore acceptable for government support.

Government support of equality initiatives has enabled CERES to continue its work over the years and is also a present concern for those in the wider CERES network. Drawn from the conversation of a formal meeting, Chapter Eight presents support and other shared barriers for race equality workers in Scotland. Attention to both the spoken and unspoken elements of a meeting uncovers common concerns within the race equality sector. Within an anthropological frame of performance it deals with the repetitive nature of network discussions as a means to understand how the comments and demands constitute the parameter of the equalities field. The repeated concerns create an artefact that reflects the social and historical moment. To

conclude, Chapter Nine assesses the implications of the research findings and how the thesis contributes to an understanding of equality work and contemporary Scotland.

2. Context

Just a short walk down the hill from the Royal Mile in the centre of Edinburgh, the Cannongate witnesses a continual stream of tourists throughout the year. Located in Scotland's east, Edinburgh is part of the 'central belt' area of high population density. This capital city is the home of the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament as well as a popular tourist destination. Tour buses drive up and down the hill to shuttle passengers between the castle, Parliament building, and other points of interest. During commuting hours the bustling work crowd punctuates this stream. Tucked behind an archway off the Cannongate is Moray House School of Education, associated with the University of Edinburgh.

The Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES, pronounced 'series') is based on the second floor of a Moray House building. This floor contains staff offices, meeting rooms doubling as classrooms and a few research centres. The CERES bulletin board displays information on recent equality legislation, take-away lesson plans to address inequalities and fliers for up-coming events across Scotland. CERES was founded by the Scottish Office to further race equality work in education. Several of the staff working for CERES have variously lectured on equality and discrimination to students in teacher training while others are currently, or have been, teachers themselves.

Education in Scotland is formulated and legislated for nationally, being one of the areas that had been governed in Scotland prior to devolution. The curriculum, frameworks and guidance are all Scotland-specific and form part of the daily structures for teachers, Education Authorities and CERES. The Centre is largely concerned with race equality, which is a reserved matter legislated at Westminster. Although equality laws are reserved, the Scottish Parliament has responsibility for promoting equalities and the observance of the laws (Alexander and Davies 2001: 100). Since education is a public service, the *Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000* (referred to as *RR(A)A 2000*) UK legislation provides a larger legal context as the

most recent race-related anti-discrimination law at the time of fieldwork. An ethnography of CERES provides understanding for analysing the point at which devolved and reserved matters interact in Scotland. This chapter contextualises the geographical, political and social landscape surrounding CERES during fieldwork. It will address the ways in which equality legislation, belonging, and the concept of egalitarianism shape race equality work in Scotland.

All public bodies in the UK, such as those in the education and health care sectors, have the duty to eliminate discrimination and promote equality. In addition to the equality duties the Scottish Executive and the Scottish Government have actively discussed equality as a central concern and posed it as important to the nation's identity. They have promoted mainstreaming as the holistic implementation of equality. The concept of mainstreaming equality requires inclusive policies and practices embedded in the daily activities of a service. For education this would mean actively questioning inequality and stereotypes in all subjects and topics and not simply in those directly addressing discrimination. Following the negotiation of identities, materials and concepts, I found that the UK desire to monitor the implementation of equality measures contradicts the fundamental aspect of mainstreaming. Due to the difficulty measuring the presence of equality, Education Authorities with positive outcomes do not appear as inclusive as those with good outputs. It is the lack of a clear idea of what exactly equality entails that presented the Centre's role in the development interesting. The context can be viewed as a pyramid with UK equality legislation at the top, Scotland in the middle, and the discourse and concept of egalitarianism as the base underpinning it. Both work toward the middle as the UK equality legislation and Scottish egalitarianism influence Scottish approaches to equality. While CERES workers discuss the legislation they deal with politically, the national context for race equality seems to have developed from a different impetus than that of the UK wide anti-racism movements shaping how Scotland is (and presumably should be) viewed as distinct and egalitarian. With the *RR(A)A 2000* as the legal context devolution forms the social and political context to race equality in Scotland.

Scotland is a nation within the larger UK state and functions through a combination of local, national, and UK-wide media, public services and legal systems. As Scotland is the level of concern for this analysis -nationøwill henceforth indicate Scottish level activities and UK or -UK wideøshall refer to the larger whole. -Localø will be used for smaller areas such as councils or regions. The UK Parliament has reserved control over areas such as national and social security while most other areas, notably law and education, are devolved. The discussion of who is *socially* accepted as Scottish or English may conflict with legally accepted categories of Britishness and is a sensitive topic when dealing with discrimination in relation to race, ethnicity or immigration across devolved and reserved levels. When referring to Acts and actions in the same piece of legislation yet enacted at different levels of government throughout the UK it becomes complicated to differentiate between government on local, council-wide, national and UK-wide levels. Prior to devolution, the Scottish Officeø a department of the UK Governmentø undertook actions relevant to Scotland. After devolution in 1999 the newly devolved government in Scotland went by the name of Scottish Executive. During my fieldwork, the new administration re-branded the Scottish Executive as the Scottish Government after the Scottish election in May 2007. The 32 Local Authorities (LAs) conduct local governance across Scotland and the Education Authorities within each LA deal specifically with schools and education.

Race Legislation

The following section details the succession of Race Relations Acts in the UK and relevant Scottish mandates on education. The first *Race Relations Act 1965* covered protection from direct discrimination in public areas of leisure activity and denied protection from indirect actions as well as direct discrimination in housing, education and employment (Ratcliffe 2004: 148). The prime minister at that time, Harold Wilson, remarked that if a law was in effect then more radical measures could follow, causing criticism that he was fearful of advancing the situation in any meaningful

way (*ibid.*). The *Race Relations Act 1968* outlawed direct housing discrimination but still did not deal with indirect racism, perhaps due to a climate where it was thought that the only way to maintain good race relations was through tight immigration control as evidenced in the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of the same year (*ibid.*: 148, 149; see also Gilroy 1992: 44). Indirect discrimination was not covered until the *Race Relations Act of 1976* (Ratcliffe 2004: 150). This form of discrimination results from structures, rules or expectations to which certain groups cannot easily adhere due to their religious or cultural beliefs, for example.

The murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993¹ and the *MacPherson Report* published in 1999 examining how the case had been handled were major impetuses for the *RR(A)A 2000* and successive anti-racism campaigns. The UK government's *RR(A)A 2000*, along with the Statutory Duties for Scotland, were enforceable from 2002. The Act made it unlawful to discriminate on the grounds of race, colour, nationality (and citizenship) and ethnic or national origin. This document was significant in that it was the first time legislation covered institutional racism including all indirect structures and practices, thus mandating a proactive approach to race equality. Within this Act there are both Specific Duties and a General Duty. The Specific Duties of the Act are for public bodies to monitor and publish progress and publish a Race Equality Scheme for the next three-year period, detailing how they plan to uphold and carry out the Specific and General Duties. Each Education Authority within a Local Authority has the obligation to write and publish a Race Equality Policy. While the Race Equality Policies necessarily focus on education it is permissible and increasingly common for a Local Authority to include the Race Equality Policy within the Race Equality Scheme rather than produce a separate document. The Specific Duties (SD) to monitor and publish should include continuing work; each published piece should be informed from consultations with service users and monitored for progress. Impact Assessment for a policy's effect on

¹ A black teenager was beaten by a group of white teenagers and the attack was thought to be racially motivated. Although he escaped, he died nearby. The charges were eventually dropped due to insufficient evidence yet there were questions over how the police handled the incident.

service users (including employees, pupils, and parents) should occur, according to the Act, by the end of each three-year cycle in LAs and Education Authorities (EAs). The outcome of assessment and consultations inform the changes necessary for the next three-year scheme or policy.

The General Duty (GD) is less quantifiable and requires institutional changes not just for policy but also for everyday practice. With the mandate to eliminate race discrimination, promote race equality and promote good relations between different racial groups, the GD is much more complex than the Specific Duties. The multiple changes were no doubt difficult to adhere to quickly, particularly for administrators and teachers who had not previously dealt with these issues on a large scale. The years between 2002 and 2005 marked the adjustment period during which Scottish governmentally appointed organisations, such as Her Majesty's Inspectorate of education (HMIe), the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), CERES and Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) provided guidance to LAs. CERES also provided Local Authorities with examples of 'good practice'. At the end of the first cycle LAs and EAs were required to publish updated schemes or policies and document how the LA had progressed with handling equalities. By 2005 LAs were expected to provide training opportunities to staff, promote and record instances of 'good practice', research the changes that had taken place and write a new scheme to account for the project's ongoing development. The first cycle had ended shortly before I began fieldwork in March 2006. At this time LAs were beginning to produce their policies and schemes for the next cycle.

Essentially, the RESs produced in 2005 were the first retrospective *and* forward looking evaluations published by each of Scotland's Education Authorities; the first tangible effects from the *RR(A)A 2000*. In this respect, my involvement with the education and race equality sectors is very timely. Just before this milestone at the end of 2004, CERES carried out research in order to measure successful implementation. The research uncovered great inconsistency across the country's LAs. According to the report, some written policies reflected the Commission for

Race Equality (CRE) guidance but were unlikely to have resulted from consultations and staff development and seemed 'marginal to the mainstream operations of their EA's' (CERES 2004: 44). Although these Race Equality Policies at the local level were well written and addressed the appropriate issues yet the practices described were not embedded in the actions of the Education Authorities. This led to questioning how widely spread the difference was between policy and practice and the factors contributing to that difference. It is difficult to gauge the progress of, or effort applied to, the General Duty yet it has the potential to create profound change. Due to this difficulty of measuring achievement or compliance, a research interest early in fieldwork was how Westminster's desire for assessing the impact of equality measures had been reconciled with the desire for more qualitative change in Scotland's equality sector.

Equalities in Scotland

Although the Scottish Executive only held responsibility for enforcing and implementing the points relevant to Scotland, one initial research question was to understand what angles of the Scottish were distinct from other UK equalities work and how these initiatives and centres delineated that difference. The legal and policy context is one of the ways in which Scotland is distinct and this impacts upon justice, health care, education, housing, local government and economic development, to name a few (Cabinet Office 2010). The aforementioned areas all have the potential to interact with equality issues. Before the 2007 Scottish government restructure the legacy commissions (the Equal Opportunities Commission, Commission for Racial Equality, and the Disability Rights Commission) had distinct representation in Scotland, only partially explained by legal differences between the countries. For example, the former Commission for Race Equality served England and Wales while the Commission for Race Equality Scotland addressed different issues. The Scotland-based branches of Great Britain's centres, with concerns different to England and Wales, provide a context to understand why Scottish programmes are so vocal about the Scottish angle alongside the daily barrage of supposedly UK-wide

applicable messages broadcast from London. In providing the rationale for an audit of current research on Scotland and race, Netto *et al.* cite not only the legal and administrative differences but the 'proportionately smaller' minority ethnic population in Scotland in comparison with England, with dissimilar 'settlement patterns' and ethnic composition (2001; see also Hopkins 2008). In addition to size and composition of the minority ethnic population and legal structures in Scotland, Hopkins argues that there are also different distribution and class patterns (Hopkins 2008: 116-117).

Alongside compliance with national UK laws, the Scottish government passed acts, presented images of the nation and began to formulate what it meant to live in the 'new' Scotland through a process similar to state formation. This is the context in which CERES worked – the materials produced and concepts advocated were tools in the process of state formation. The education system is often one of the first differences proffered when delineating what is specifically Scottish in the daily context of British and European influences. Scottish education comprises a coherent national curriculum with educational content and stages distinct from elsewhere in the UK. The Scottish Executive released the *Standards in Scotland's Schools Act (SiSSA)* in the same year as the *RR(A)A 2000*. This act aimed to standardise the primary and secondary education system and contained a set of five National Priorities for schools. The priorities included raising levels of student attainment, staff development, promoting parental involvement, equality and student ambition, to paraphrase a few (Office of Public Sector Information 2006). *National Priority 3, 'Inclusion and Equality'* was a close reflection of the *RR(A)A's* General Duty.

Other education guidance and frameworks contain sections on equality in Scotland. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education's 2007 publication *How Good Is Our School?* 3 (HGiOS 3) was intended as a school self-evaluation guide and includes the Quality Indicator 5.6 on 'Equality and Fairness' for promoting and ensuring race equality and inclusion in schools. *A Curriculum for Excellence* is a curricular approach launched by the Scottish Executive, which aims to develop Four Capacities

in pupils aged 3-18. The capacities promoted are Successful Learners, Confident Individuals, Effective Contributors and Responsible Citizens. Success, confidence, effectiveness and responsibility all require a positive learning experience not only free from discrimination but also one that encourages active engagement with inequalities and how to redress them. Essentially, the successful implementation of this Scottish education guidance would also mean the full implementation and success of the General Duty. As shown in the Four Capacities, schools across Scotland are important sites for promoting the official and acceptable images of the country through the curriculum and education frameworks.

When the question of devolution arose in 1997 and received a positive response to create a Scottish Parliament in 1999, there was an increase in research on Scotland, Scottishness and belonging. The research studied how people perceived and expressed belonging prior to, and since, devolution. Some research discusses perceptions of identity since devolution, concepts of nationalism and language or politics and race. Its place as a nation within a multinational-state, the history of immigration to and from Commonwealth countries and political devolution all influence images of contemporary Scotland. The manner in which one frames and presents Scottishness and belonging depends upon how he or she imagines the acceptable Scot. Understandings of belonging are therefore relevant to race and racism in Scotland as being viewed as an outsider in one's daily life is at the centre of discrimination. While previous research on Scottish identity and racism is broad and drawn upon extensively in this thesis, there is little research synthesizing the two and exploring how equality initiatives in Scotland are presented as specifically Scottish. With equality laws written at Westminster and implemented nationally and locally, the interest lies in how this is balanced in the Scottish context.

Exploring *One Scotland* campaign materials will show how the Scottish Executive and other national bodies drew upon myths to articulate Scotland as 'equal' and 'multi-cultural'. This campaign aimed to meet one of the Scottish Executive's founding principles by increasing 'social justice' (Penrose and Howard 2008: 99).

Myths are used to define group membership and in working against racism, the current Scottish myths emphasise civic duties over ethnic characteristics. A central aspect of the organisational ethnography is to explore how the Centre articulates equalities in Scotland and which messages it employs to represent the subject as relevant for Scotland. The key to the differences in issues addressed or promoted lie within the demographics and subject areas of specific concern to Scotland.

Academic literature on equality or racism in the UK, with some exceptions, generally fails to address the Scottish contexts for situations and laws. The Scottish sociologists are driving research on Scottish identity and it is illuminating to read but they are not producing ethnographic accounts. Anthropology needs to expand upon their relevant theories. The main anthropological contributors are Anthony Cohen, Jedrej and Nuttall and Jonathan Hearn. The interplay of belonging and race is explored in Chapter Four.

Belonging

Belonging is largely constructed through identity markers and the differences between self and other. Media coverage in the late 1980s used the differences to show the impact of English incomers on Scottish life and culture (Kiely *et al.* 2001). Jedrej and Nuttall also researched settlers and focused on discourse around the rural repopulation of Scotland after the population decline from the early 1900s through the 1930s. Many rural counties experienced a population decline as working age individuals moved to Scotland's industrial centres, England and North America, weakening the centrality of family and community units (Jedrej and Nuttall 1996: 26, 43). Over the years return migrants and incomers repopulated these rural areas, some encouraged by development efforts. The newcomers came from England, Wales, Ireland, the Scottish lowlands, even Germany and France but all were referred to as 'the English' (*ibid.*: 58, 17). In Dumfries and Galloway, although the incomer population is mainly from urban Scotland, they are called the 'English white settlers'. This is a verbal homage to the British Empire's settling of far away lands where the inhabitants were deemed 'black'. The rural communities in the West Highlands were

largelycrofting communities with relationships tied to communal land rights. Since the incomers are not yet part of that social structure and relate to community members in a one-dimensional way (e.g. as a holiday home-owner) they are thought to lack social relations and are experienced as a threat (*ibid.*: 61). 'Incomer' is another way to state 'outsider'. Although the economy may have improved in these areas since the re-population there is rhetoric of decline used by the 'locals' and long settled 'incomers' alike (*ibid.*: 59). The decline in this case is not a measure of population but the belief that Scottish culture is 'diminishing' (*ibid.*). This takes on particular relevance with the ageing and declining population of Scotland alongside UK concern in the media (although comparatively more relevant in urban England) over high immigration levels.

Hopkins and Moore conducted a study in Scotland to discover which terms and categories individuals use in self-definition (2001: 240). Depending upon the situation the speaker presents his or her self as more or less similar to the other group (*ibid.*: 241). Researchers recorded the stereotypes mentioned after raising the categories of English and Scottish, German and British and asking the interviewees to describe the differences between their town and an English town 30 miles away (*ibid.*: 239). Those conceptualised as 'nearby' in each instance were warm, caring and loyal, while those from 'far away' were described as possessing negative attributes (*ibid.*: 244-245). This use of contrasting language is a technique for promoting a cohesive self-image by stereotyping those with whom one does not perceive a commonality. A similar study by Oakes *et al.* (1994) measured Scottish perceptions of the Scottish, English, German and Australian and noted that the categories evoked are always comparative rather than measurable quantitative differences (Rutland and Cinnirella 2000: 496).

While national belonging is not a question faced by the majority on a daily basis, when individuals encounter the question they invoke birthplace over ancestry (Kiely *et al.* 2005: 152). The emphasis leads to complications for individuals for whom birthplace and ancestry lie entirely outside Scotland and the UK and is interesting

when considered with the aforementioned *Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968*. Although birthplace, ancestry, upbringing and accent are commonly accepted as the strongest national identity markers, the choice of a residence is often supported by those claiming nationality (Kiely *et al.* 2001: 39, 42). Kiely *et al.* researched the ways individuals born in England or Scotland and living in Scotland discuss their national identity. Those born in Scotland cite birthplace as their main indicator. Those born in England claiming Scottish identity invoked the conscious choice to live in and contribute to Scotland as a powerful supporting statement (*ibid.*). Post-devolution Rosie and Bond researched Scottish identities, taking into account the ways in which participants expressed national identity (2006: 142). This research explored the concepts of a civic belonging to Scotland and the role of identity markers such as birth, ancestry and residence. My residence in Scotland points to some forms of commitment and belonging yet one who enjoys legal residence status easily trumps this claim. In this context, residence is understood to mean living in a place regardless of legal right of residence. I am a resident of Scotland and Stirling but I do not yet 'have' legal residence in the UK.

Identity claims are negotiations: a process during which the phobias and biases of self and other shape how an individual is accepted in different contexts. When incomers are thought to lack social relations and those from far away or outside are described in contrasting (from self) or negative terms, this has direct implications for understanding race and ethnicity in Britain. Depending upon each reference point some markers are arbitrary and circumstantial. Other markers become fixed when cast upon others based on a reinforced stereotype of what it means to be an insider. This is where the potential for racism enters into the equation. Throughout Scotland's history it has been perceived of as a white country in which racism is not an issue (Penrose and Howard 2008: 95). If the criterion for belonging is homogeneous 'whiteness' as the stereotypical Scot, then those who would consider themselves insiders or Scottish yet lack the stereotyped identifier will find themselves on the outside.

No Problem Here

Gaine has written extensively about the issue of whiteness, raising the issue of majority white schools in which racism is thought not to exist due to a lack of visible others and where declarations of 'there's no problem here' are common (2005). He writes about assessing race education in Britain, having encountered schools which did not view racial stereotypes as problematic since the stereotyped groups were not present and notes that the presence of minority ethnic pupils can bring about action (2005: 1-2, 172). Gaine designates areas as isolated where 'most of the population have virtually no first hand contact with Asian and black people at all, in any aspect of life' (*ibid.*: 6-7). Some English counties, North Wales and all of rural Scotland fall into this category. Like discordant messages broadcast on immigration within the UK, the 'no problem here' mindset may be reinforced through the media when comparing race in Scotland to England. News coverage depicting conflicts and attacks in which race is a motivating factor influence parent and teacher remarks in areas where there is thought to be 'no problem.' Regardless of which country experiences more race-related violence, the messages from Scotland will seem less frequent when compared to the wider coverage in England which publicises 'race relations' as problematic (Penrose and Howard 2008: 96). The coexistence of an egalitarian story and a small visible minority may combine to set Scotland apart from the rest of Britain.

While racism is not always based on colour, skin tone remains a salient feature in discriminating between insiders and outsiders. Racism is largely concerned with these 'mechanisms' of inclusion and exclusion (Gilroy 1992: 45). By examining the criteria used in discussions on belonging within Scotland it is possible to infer what each speaker would accept as representative of Scottishness, making the choice of images to promote *One Scotland* interesting in that they show how the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government wish to distinguish Scotland. This campaign is discussed later in the chapter.

Egalitarian Scotland

Arshad and Kelly note how devolution served to reinforce the idea in Scotland of equality and justice during the early days of promoting equality laws (2005). The 'equality of opportunities' was one of the founding principles of the Scottish Parliament. The term egalitarian can be found in government documents that support equality, without definition, as though the presence of 'egalitarian' evidences why the law in question is sufficiently Scottish or relevant to Scotland. In a speech on class sizes the cabinet secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning invoked this egalitarianism as one of six key principles guiding the government's support of education. She wrote that they employ 'an egalitarian approach which embraces the Scottish tradition of the democratic intellect and a belief that education be based on the ability to learn, not the ability to pay' (Hyslop 20 June 2007). This open access to education reflects the equality of opportunity, a form of equality presented in Chapter Four.

Newspapers also unquestioningly mention egalitarian Scotland or Scottish society. In an article discussing political parties in the weeks preceding the May 2007 Scottish general election, for example, *The Scotsman* referred to Scotland as 'a country with such a strong egalitarian culture' (Jamieson 2007). In *The Herald*, Ferguson implied that Scottish egalitarianism arises from the 'Presbyterian tradition' (2007). None of the articles explicate the term and its contexts but all three authors use the phrase to further their arguments. These quotes touch upon two aspects of egalitarianism by citing education and, in 'ability to pay' social class.

Social science writing has attempted to evaluate the egalitarian myth. McCrone *et al.* write about the concept of egalitarianism and how there is a belief in Scotland that 'Scots are more egalitarian than others in these islands' (1982: 127). McCrone argues that this is commonly stated in order to set apart what is Scottish in comparison with the rest of the UK, particularly in relation to England (1996: 104). While this claim cannot be statistically supported, the egalitarian myth is strongly believed (McCrone *et al.* 1982: 129). Citing economic statistics, McCrone *et al.* found that wealth

distribution data showed a wider disparity in Scotland than in England. The authors also remark that little evidence existed that social and academic opportunities were any different in Scotland than in England and Wales. While the 1975 statistics analysed are now over 30 years old, what is of interest is that they were being discussed at all.

Hassan and Gibb discuss Scotland's stories and highlight a belief in egalitarianism, understood as the 'democratic intellect' developed through a broad education and a collective society that cares for vulnerable individuals. They note that the stories of egalitarianism gain credence through each retelling, moving it beyond debate (2005: 13-14). The phrases 'Jock Tamson's bairns' and 'A man for all that' and 'Lad o' pairts' are often cited as proof that everyone in Scotland has the same chance to prosper (McCrone *et al.* 1982: 131-133). The lad o' pairts or 'lad of parts' story centres around a talented youth who, regardless of financial background, receives the parish teacher's support and assistance to attend the university of his choice (*ibid.*: 133).

The story of 'Lad o' pairts' is unparalleled in England and promotes the idea that hard work rather than circumstance leads to success (McCrone 2001: 79, see also Hassan and Gibb 2005: 13). The message of the story is that the average individual has more opportunities than he or she would have if born in England (*ibid.*: 132). The fact that parishes would have been almost exclusively Protestant in the past lends itself nicely to the common argument that Protestantism is more democratic than Catholicism, a distinguishing feature at present between Scotland and England's statistically dominant Christian sects (McCrone *et al.* 1982:133). Hearn argues that this story survives based not on the current religious influence in Scotland but due to the role religion and education played in creating the modern institutions (2000: 141-2; see also Anderson 1985).

Davie employed the phrase 'democratic intellect' to refer to the higher educational system developed in Scotland which included a wide range of subjects, a

philosophical base and lecture structures encouraging pupils to engage the professor in conversation (1961: 3, 13-15). A crucial aspect of this education in the early 1700s was that pupils of different religions learned together, unlike in Kirk-based schools (*ibid.*: 4). In the mid-1800s universities in Scotland were relatively affordable, leading to educational classes with a 'wider and lower social strata' than at universities in England which catered to a more privileged group of students (Anderson 1985: 87).

McCrone argued that the political discrepancies between the countries and the belief in Scotland that there is a different class structure from England result from cultural differences (1996: 105-106). Civil society in Scotland promotes the ideas on class and opportunities inherent in this egalitarianism and 'historical memory' compounds the effect (*ibid.*: 115). This may be partially explained by the fact that those in Scotland describe themselves more often as working class and left wing than those in England and Wales. Hearn also addresses voting data which does not show a large distance between Scotland and England and Wales, writing that the difference is that the support for public institutions and income distribution are tied to national identity (2000: 3).

Theories on myths will appear in Chapter Four but one important aspect is that they are generally rooted in the past in order to orient the present. For McCrone, the egalitarian myth in Scotland reiterates what things had been like in the past rather than setting forth a target to be met by society (1996: 134-135). The myth may be oriented toward the past but employs an understanding of egalitarianism to work for the future, as evidenced by the various documents referencing the theme in regards to equality. Hearn found that those involved in the nationalist movement did not base egalitarianism in the traditional Scottish kailyard literature as proposed by McCrone (1992) but in the history (and current context) of socialism (2000: 150).

One Scotland

A national educational campaign embodying an egalitarian approach to Scotland is

the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government's *One Scotland*. My first encounter with the *One Scotland* campaign materials in 2002 catalysed my interest in race in Scotland, growing from my M.Res. work on images of the white highlander used in Scottish tourism. The advertisement comprised an image containing four interlocking hands with various skin tones giving the illusion of a saltire. The caption read 'One Scotland: Many Cultures'. While my interest had been piqued I had no other contact with the campaigns and did not return to pondering the message until a few years later when wondering about other forms of representation of Scotland, this time represented *for* Scotland rather than external tourists. The interlocking hands directly symbolise the national narrative promoted in *One Scotland*. This is of a country ideologically united not necessarily based on a common ethnicity, race or culture but in the inclusive belonging and approach toward those forms of identity: a type of egalitarianism.

Before fieldwork at CERES this campaign was on the radio, television and billboards, bringing the concept of racism to a broader audience than the CERES materials. The Centre's work, while aiming to be more critical of discrimination, fell into this frame. The campaign began in 2002 to raise awareness of racism in Scotland and to promote understanding of the contributions that other cultures have made to the country throughout history and in the present (Scottish Executive 2005c: 1). In 2002, the advertisement campaign included signs on public transportation, billboards and on television. The commercial spots appeared on Channel 4, Channel 5, Scottish Television and Borders and Grampian stations (*ibid.*: 2). The campaign is part of a group of equality initiatives from the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government since 2000. CERES network members place the campaign as a conscious action taken in the aftermath of the 1999 *Macpherson Report*. The campaign originally declared *One Scotland: Many Cultures*. This multicultural celebration continues to be echoed in the campaign's newer incarnation of *One Scotland: No Place for Racism*. Due to budgetary constraints, the most recent broadcast campaign in 2005 referred to as Wave 5, only included advertisements on Channels 4 and 5, in the cinemas and on billboards (*ibid.*). The 2005 campaign

aimed to expand definitions of Scotland and Scottishness.

The campaign materials emit two distinct moods; a gentle reminder that discrimination exists in Scotland and a celebration of Scotland's diversity. In collaboration with the website, the television advertisements deal with direct discrimination. One advertisement depicts an office worker typing and forwarding an offensive joke which then 'infects' the computers and incapacitates the user's communications during the workday. The offender receives an e-mail in response stating 'Racism is a Virus. Don't spread it'. If racism is a virus it is reasonable to think that racism can metaphorically infect an individual or social body. How this campaign relates to the social body is presented in Chapter Four.

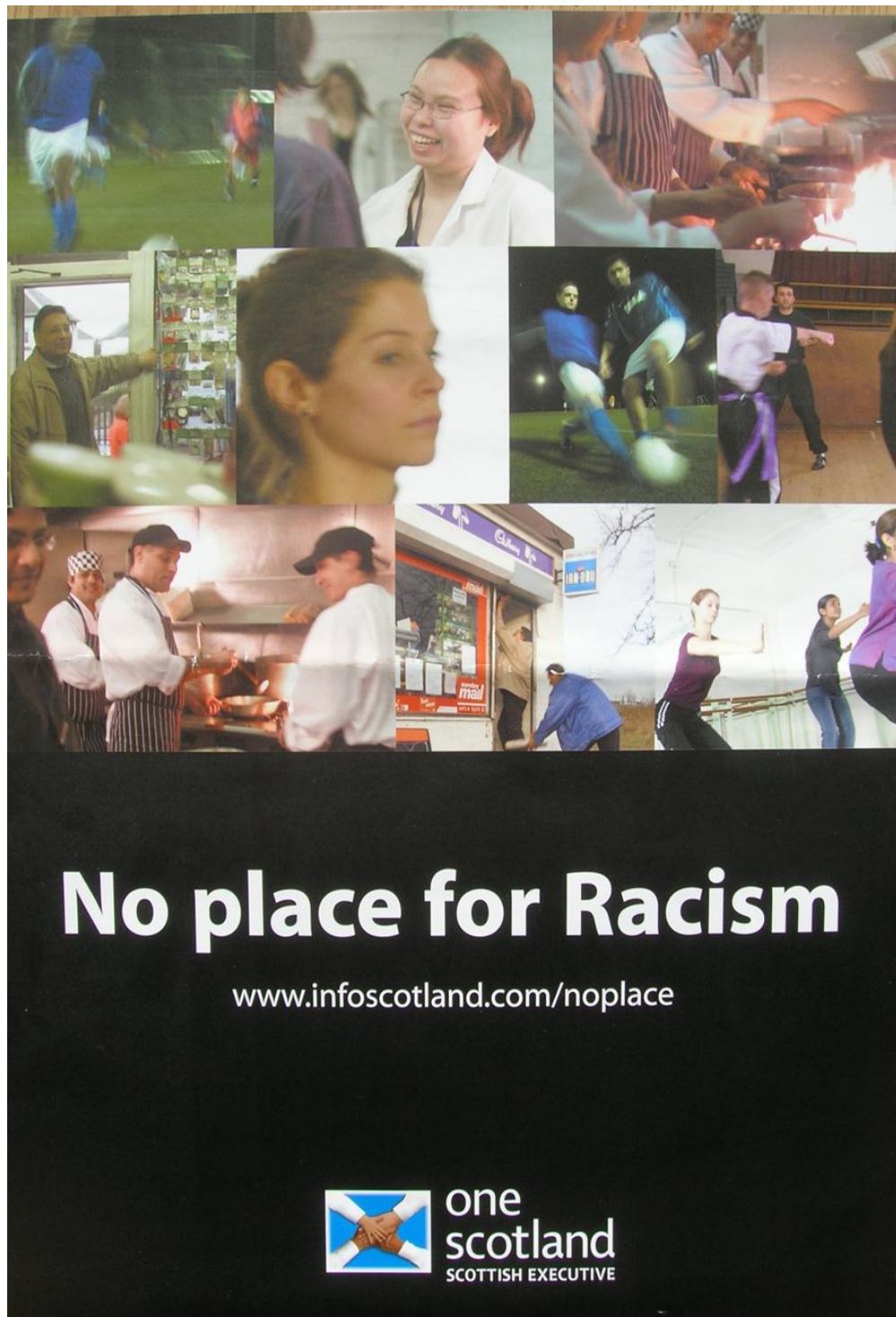
The second television spot for the *One Scotland* campaign depicts a man and a child walking through town, while a Scottish voice with a hint of another accent narrates. With this cue, the intention is that the audience will interpret the visually ambiguous ethnicity of the man as 'foreign' since his narrative is an immigration story.

When we arrived in this country, we weren't sure what to expect.
We wanted to play our part, learn about the culture but to still retain
our own. People were unsure at first. But before long, we settled in,
and we've never looked back.

A poignant moment is when the viewer discovers that the actor had read the words of a Scot who emigrated to Canada. An evaluation report cites this advertisement as the most effective for those interviewed (One Scotland 2005a: 2). This advertisement is more thought provoking than the other messages put forth by *One Scotland* yet visibility is lower than a successful campaign necessitates.

The print media equivalent of television's 'infomercials' fill columns in newspapers such as *Daily Record*, *Metro* and *Stirling Observer*. In these 'articles' Scotland's multicultural history and present society support the argument against discrimination or highlight the campaign's progress. For St. Andrew's day 2005, the Scottish Executive held a concert and ceilidh in Edinburgh. In the run-up to the celebrations *One Scotland* purchased advertising space in newspapers describing the national day

as 'an opportunity to celebrate Scotland's many cultures' and promised that the ceilidh would 'draw on Scotland's strong inspiring national identity and í reflect the country's increasing cultural diversity' (Scottish Executive 2005b: 7). To advertise the event a photograph of a smiling, heaving, mass of revellers under a blue sky shows how the touted cultural diversity represents a happy country.



Campaign Poster

This image epitomises the *One Scotland* campaign found in print: the representation

of Scotland as diverse and prosperous. The column distilled the benign aspects of the campaign website, discussing Scotland's history of migration and diversity and mentioning new families from Poland as well as 'third and fourth generation families' from India, Pakistan, Ireland, Italy and China (*ibid.*). The choice of nations mentioned is interesting. It includes countries of 'origin' which based on visible difference, cause families to be presumed non-British for generations, as well as those where one would not know the individual is from another country if passing on the street even if he or she arrived that day. However subtly, the message tries to excise skin tone and ethnic origin from assumptions of belonging by posing all the presented races and ethnicities as part of Scottishness. The reader learns that this diversity enriches 'our' food, clothing, economy, health service, education system, architecture and arts. The Scottish Executive, it notes, is working with public bodies and the voluntary sector to 'enable all of Scotland's people to contribute to a prosperous country and rid the country of racism' (Celebrating Scotland's Many Races 2008: 26).

Is it ever possible to 'rid the country of racism'? While a noble goal, the boundaries of race and identity continually change and so do prejudices. There will always be something to challenge one's understanding and acceptance, making work against racism an *ongoing* activity. Besides mentioning the 'diversity' and how this makes Scotland 'distinctive', the column focuses on immigration and does not mention other forms of discrimination faced by non-immigrants yet relevant to race and ethnicity. Non-immigrants are placed along with immigrants in the discussion of 'third and fourth generation' Scots. Based on the emphasis on birthplace uncovered in sociological research, this may be a conscious decision to show that those who 'look' like immigrants (i.e. *other*) may actually be citizens by birth. Without directly addressing the tendency to equate visible difference with non-British or non-Scottish, however, the campaign only reinforces it: an analysis supported by Penrose and Howard (2008: 100). In contrast to advertisements, Scottish laws, initiatives and programmes are not generally paired with depictions of people so there is neither a reinforcement nor negation of particular images of 'the Scot'.

The only new installation of *One Scotland* since the change of the government in May 2007 was again for St. Andrew's Day. A full page spread in 2008, like the previous advertisements, focused solely on positive messages of Scotland. The caption declared that 'St. Andrew's Day is a chance to embrace your Scots nationality' employing a word usually avoided in favour of culture (*Stirling Observer* 2008: 54, emphasis added). Culture, background and race are used almost interchangeably in sentences that reiterate the idea throughout. Scotland is again distinct, this time with a 'unique flavour: provided by the many cultures'. The phrases include 'a day for all Scotland from all cultures and backgrounds', 'increasing cultural diversity' and 'celebrate all the different cultures'. The opening paragraph speaks as though there is a contradiction between celebrating a national day and all the groups forming the nation:

*Although it's Scotland's national day, it has become widely recognised as the day to celebrate Scotland's diversity and all the cultures that contribute to One Scotland (emphasis added, *ibid.*).*

The presumed tension between celebrating diversity on a national day is strange considering the major messages of unity through sharing ideals. A photograph's caption and many other sentences speak as though all in Scotland hold the same opinion in 'this proud nation'. If nation here is used as the collective, then it follows that all denizens of Scotland are proud.

The photographs include a woman posed as if dancing while wearing a red floral silk dress and holding a paper fan, another woman belly dancing (according to the text) and a pipe band. With the band photographed at night it is difficult to see details although three elements essential to the message come across. Three men walk abreast playing the drum or bagpipes and wearing kilts. The two pipers, middle aged white men, wear blue tartan. The drummer, Sikh as indicated by his turban, marches in red. The details are vague but the tartan and bagpipes are associated with Scotland and the literal musical harmony presumed implies a cultural harmony between religions or ethnicities and races. Audaciously, one could say that they all march to

the same drummer and the Sikh drummer somehow -showsøhow Scotland is meant to be.

This St. Andrewø Day article is similar to the previous one with an additional implication that the individuals featured are flexible, have creatively implemented various cultural influences into their craft, vocation or life, and have prospered as a result. From the hip-hop troupe blending 'American dance style' bagpipes with 'a Scottish Asian piper' to 'Charan Gillí [who] understands that part of his success is due to having two cultural heritages which Scotland embraces,' the benefit shifts from the vague masses as in previous messages to the individual who works cross-culturally (emphasis added, *ibid*).

Samina is one woman who is not afraid to experience many different cultures. Using methods from all over the world, Samina teaches dance (*ibid*).

The *One Scotland* campaign as explored, does proffer a range of faces and ages although some examples have the effect of tokenism such as the singular 'Scottish Asian' piper.

One campaign poster is laden with a mosaic of images of physical activity (football, martial arts, dance) and occupations or services (shop owner, chef, doctor). These stills are images from the advertisement entitled -Different'. In the television advertisement a guitarist strums a few chords consistently throughout under atmospheric sounds such as a football game, laughter or a dance class. The advertisement seems like a journey through Scotland, beginning at dawn. The viewer -standsøinside a shop to observe a man roll up the blinds and open the door. As he enters, the frame freezes and subtitles declare 'Mr. Gurbans Bhopal, SCOTTISH ENTREPRENEUR.' The final scene opens to a busy restaurant kitchen with food orders called across the room. As two colourful plates of food come into view, the caption states 'Chicken Tikka Masala, A GREAT SCOTTISH TRADITION.' The guitar stops and the '*One Scotland: Many Cultures*' logo fills the frame. Perhaps the campaign developers intended the audience to read the

advertisement as a reminder that that you cannot discriminate against someone purely based on labels. By showing Scottish cuisine, Indian dance and Chinese martial arts, the complexity of each could show the absurdity of forming an opinion on one individual based on a label or stereotype. Ultimately, however, the advertisement fails to challenge and is more likely interpreted as a display of foreign traditions adopted by Scotland.

In 2004, the Scottish Executive (including their *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign), CERES, LTS and Edinburgh City Council jointly published the *Race Equality Audit for Schools* (Mitchell and Arshad 2004). The cover depicts a high school aged group of handsome faced individuals smiling and group-hugging as though they are part of a *Gap* clothing advertisement. This is a more glamorous alternative to the *One Scotland* poster that is unfortunately not directly representative of the population. The Scottish government aims to promote this Scotland yet the depth required for meaningful discussion requires more than a short advertisement or billboard. In such a time frame it is difficult to represent Scotland to Scotland demographically without appearing tokenistic or exclusive and this varies across the nation. It is only programs and materials such as the anti-sectarian campaigns which set Scotland apart in any meaningful way, since they deal with the less hypothetical towns, football teams and groups in Scotland living with sectarianism. Chapter Four deals with religious discrimination and sectarianism.

How Strong a Claim on Scottishness?

Aside from frequent references to Scotland or Scottish, the verbal and textual aspects of the campaigns do not irrefutably set the campaign as only applicable to Scotland. This leads to the question if the *One Scotland* advertisements could easily become English or Welsh by changing a few words or, due to the reference to situations only dealt with at Westminster, British.

Modified

[Britain] is rightly proud of its distinct heritage and embraces many cultures, religions and backgrounds. But the recent Race Equality Review identified that some people still experience prejudice, discrimination and racism and face barriers to getting jobs and having equal opportunities. Such discrimination wastes talent and holds us all back. Prejudice can have a devastating impact where we work, where our children go to school, in our communities. Together [Westminster], public bodies and the voluntary sector are working to ensure action is taken to challenge this and enable all of [Britain's] people to contribute to a prosperous country and rid the country of racism (Celebrating Scotland's Many Races 2008: 26).

Original

Scotland is rightly proud of its distinct heritage and embraces many cultures, religions and backgrounds. But the recent Race Equality Review identified that some people still experience prejudice, discrimination and racism and face barriers to getting jobs and having equal opportunities. Such discrimination wastes talent and holds us all back. Prejudice can have a devastating impact where we work, where our children go to school, in our communities. Together the Scottish Executive, public bodies and the voluntary sector are working to ensure action is taken to challenge this and enable all of Scotland's people to contribute to a prosperous country and rid the country of racism (Celebrating Scotland's Many Races 2008: 2).

The verbal cues do not necessarily lay claim to Scotland. Immigration is a reserved power so any references to immigration history, for instance, cannot be solely Scottish. Changing the Scotland-specific wording to a UK level does not conflict with the message, had the Race Equality Review been undertaken across the UK.

The 'Canada' message is superimposed on a British landscape. Like the rest of the campaign, these advertisements are not coherently 'Scottish' without the combination of elements. The visuals for the posters and newspaper columns reinforce the smattering of 'Scotland', 'Scottish' and 'Scotland's' as truly referencing Scotland. Using the images to build upon the messages and draw upon what is already known strengthens and locates the campaign materials. According to Levi-Strauss, mythic language comprises units that may function on their own but only create the myth when presented together (1963: 211). The saltire, IRN-BRU logos, kilts and pipe bands are the visual and physical representations to show that the bodies belong to Scotland. The former two are visible throughout the day in any town or city across Scotland and the latter two, visible at the very least, at celebrations. The celebratory nature is apt in 'celebrating' the 'diversity' as the print campaigns

request.

The lowest common denominator for these campaigns would be to allay social ills in creating a society where physical harm or discrimination does not interrupt the physical body or body politic or interfere with public services. This is in contrast to the goal of mainstreaming equality. Changing 'hearts and minds' was stated occasionally as important at network meetings and was also mentioned at the Scottish Executive's Anti-Sectarian conference. A search for the phrase on the Scottish government's website returns over 2,000 results. Penrose and Howard have analysed the *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign materials and critically reflect that the images attempt 'to tread softly between these conflicting visions of what Scotland was', leading to an ambiguous statement on the possible multicultural future desired (2008: 101, 106). Amongst the messages they found three themes: that everyday language carries racism and the need to change not only behaviour but also attitudes (*ibid.*: 102-104).

This shows the fine line between intent and actions, which vary across racist sentiment. It also leaves one to wonder whether the racism is understood as physical harm to another. Countless times throughout fieldwork in public places such as shops and even interactions with maintenance workers I heard comments begin with the statement 'I'm not racist, but...', with the speaker continuing by saying something which could be classified as derogatory. Challenging statements such as this may prompt thought resulting in a change of actions or possibly only in a closer monitoring of actions around others known to disagree. If the speakers use the basic definition of racism as a disadvantage or belief in superiority, it may explain their comments about not being racist. Conversely, the very fact that they feel the need for the disclaimer indicates that they know they are on questionable ground. The statement then acts as a plea of non-judgement by the listener to only define racism as direct harm. Perhaps a stereotyped comment does not directly influence (i.e. disadvantage) the target if he or she is not present but it remains racial discrimination replete with a degree of negativity. Any action, however unintended, may still cause

harm as in the definition for indirect discrimination. Governmental anti-racism campaigns do not always make clear the definition of racism and all it entails.

The 'Racism is a Virus' advertisement had the most direct reference to harm or intent, but viewers are urged to stop *spreading* racism rather than to change how they think. This places racism as an external disease attacking the body politic, a position that will be explored in Chapter Four. Beyond general advertising the *One Scotland* campaign includes extensive resources for website visitors. Detailing the history of immigration in Scotland, cultural contributions that have shaped the country, definitions of racism and personal stories of racist incidents, the website is a valuable resource for exploring Scottish history or society (One Scotland 2005). The decreased availability of the campaign advertisements and billboards and replaced by newspaper displays of smiling citizens, presents a distorted view of race relations in Scotland. On the billboards, newspaper clips, radio and television advertisements there are no mentions of institutional racism. That discussion is only accessible on the *One Scotland* website. Penrose and Howard contend that it was thought that the *RR(A)A 2000* would change individual attitudes simply through changing institutional practices (2008: 99). This may explain the absence of institutional racism in campaigns aimed at 'individuals' as they arose after public attitudes surveys post-*RR(A)A 2000*.

Perhaps these campaigns do serve to educate the public, yet a critical reading could argue that the depth of engagement with the larger issues complicating racism does not reach the level that it should. A majority reading of the campaign message, far from engaging the public in civic issues, actually reinforces ideas of multicultural, egalitarian Scotland. Since the messages in the *One Scotland* campaigns work from the premise that racism is understood the direct focus becomes 'accepting' indirectly promoting the type of citizen necessary for such behaviour. The fact that institutional racism is skimmed over and the masses are framed as culpable of irrational interactions is eerily reminiscent of writing practices and bureaucratic logic as laid out by Das (2004).

In the two advertisements racism is merely an effect of hostile and uninformed interpersonal relations, effectively 'people being mean'. The smiling group implies that if individuals would just be nice to one another, the 'true Scotland' could flourish. While the anti-racism and race equality materials may show an idealised Scotland or one which only occurs in youth centres, it reinforces the message that diversity adds to Scotland and proves its equality when people can get along with one another. How closely does the theorised egalitarianism align with actual practice? What are the ideas influencing policy makers? How do they understand ethnicity and race in Scotland today? In asserting *One Scotland: Many Cultures* the original campaign perhaps displayed the truth but how well did this concept bind together the ideas of race equality and Scotland? Were individuals able to conceptualise the 'many cultures' present as also Scottish or did it merely highlight their difference and supposed outsider status?

Gilroy's analysis of an anti-racist campaign promoted by Greater London Council in 1984 shows many similarities with the *One Scotland* campaigns (1992: 181-182). These posters avoided direct explanation of racism as though it 'required no elaboration, but would be recognized immediately as a negative and unwholesome political trait' (*ibid.*: 182). The initial messages also avoided acknowledgement of institutional racism and presented racism as something that was easily 'kicked out of town', as though an external force (*ibid.*). Only in the second phase of Greater London Council's campaigns did they mention institutional racism yet this did not serve to show the passer-by how they had any power to enact change. It failed to do so, Gilroy explains, by requesting support for the council's work rather than questioning racism itself (*ibid.*: 183, 185). Just as the *One Scotland* materials only define racism on the website, GLC's campaign provided this information on pamphlets and other documents separate from the billboards (*ibid.*: 186).

It is worth noting that the newer *One Scotland* posters display the graffitied words 'Racism' or 'Discrimination' against a blue brick wall. White spray-paint crosses over

the graffiti creating a St. Andrew's cross to elicit the saltire and a discrimination-free Scotland. The government website carrying this poster now marks the images as the work of a 'previous' administration. Logically, programmes become part of the current administration's repertoire if agreed upon and renewed. The note as to the ownership of the prior government implies an ideological distance. As stated, the majority of campaign messages refer to culture in Scotland unlike the nationality promoted in the 2008 St. Andrew's Day advertisement. While this one example is insufficient for predicting a trend the use of nationality may signify the intentions of the Scottish National Party (SNP) majority government that came into office in May 2007. The SNP ultimately favour Scottish independence and the promotion of an attainable and inclusive Scottish nationality may support that goal more readily than an emphasis on Scottish belonging and culture.

In their analysis of the *One Scotland* campaigns published at the close of my fieldwork, Penrose and Howard offer a thorough analysis of the campaign and why it fails to challenge. While I agree with their points on engagement and effectiveness, noting that there has been no clear understanding or guidance on how to 'advance an anti-racist agenda' and what Scotland should look like, I disagree with their definitions of multicultural and anti-racism (2008: 108). They define multiculturalism as one that questions power and inequality and therefore criticise the campaign for moving from multiculturalism to anti-racism. Based on the Centre's definition of the two terms, keeping in mind that CERES was conducting its projects under the auspices of the Scottish Executive, I argue that it was exactly the move *from* multiculturalism that enabled the campaigns to be more critical. Multiculturalism, for those in the CERES network, merely implied celebration and the status quo. The Scottish Executive's campaign work was not embedded in multiculturalism or anti-racism but race equality, in alignment with the government's mainstreaming equality work. As noted, Penrose and Howard's analysis was published in 2008 and notes that the campaign changed titles from 'One Scotland: Many Cultures' to 'One Scotland' and do not note the 'One Scotland: No Place for Racism' which supports my argument that the move away from multiculturalism was

a direct step toward clearly addressing racism (*ibid.* 109).

CERES became one of the passageways for dissemination of the Scottish government's anti-racism message. The Centre's understanding of the implications and effectiveness based on daily interactions with educators is very different from the conclusions the government draws. While the *RR(A)A 2000* and its Specific Duty and General Duties influenced how policies were carried out after 2000 in Scotland, it is the various equality moves in Scotland's Acts and campaigns which now frame how identity and race are interpreted by CERES and network members. CERES members speak about the *RR(A)A 2000* as essential in the framework for race equality initiatives. It does provide the legal boundaries with which to scrutinise efforts across the nation. The *National Priorities for Scotland, A Curriculum for Excellence* and to some degree, *One Scotland* campaigns, are the true frames through which teachers and other equalities practitioners understand their responsibilities to make the materials accessible. The *One Scotland* campaign's ideas of equality and communalism go unquestioned and easily build an argument in support of the images of a distinct Scotland. This is the context in which the fieldwork was conducted, influencing the methods explained in the following chapter. Chapter Four revisits the campaign as a myth central to nation-building in relation to the social body and Chapter Eight deals with the ways several Scottish myths influence race equality discourse.

3. Methods: Insider and Outsider

As explored in Chapter Two, the main ethnographic field is framed within policy development in the early years of post-devolution Scotland. During this time, a nation within a nation-state worked to comply with larger mandates and set apart something on the national level as distinct. Through policies, national campaigns and the resultant materials (as developed by CERES) it is possible to gain a glimpse of the desired Scotland in a single organisation as part of a large network that disseminates guidance on policy changes and good educational practice. Since policy represents the ideal situation as conceptualised by the policy makers, the intentions behind policies such as how the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government envision the nation and promote equalities, show the nation-building under-way. Daily organisational practices make a difference to this framing because implementing a policy does not guarantee that it is enforced or even supported by individuals.

This chapter considers the methods employed during fieldwork as a result of movement through organisations, networks and policies and how this informed the final written product. Policy is the driving force behind the objects and campaigns created and thus influenced theoretical orientation for both organisation and researcher. This thesis offers some understanding to the anthropology of policy but its main contribution is to the anthropology of organisations. In the anthropology of organisations and networks, ethnographies have generally focused on the very large or small-scale settings: following interactions across regional or national information networks or in studying the daily tasks in a small office. My ethnography sought to pay attention to the point at which they connect by examining daily practices of an organisation and its internal and external communications as well as its parallel initiatives on a governmental, national level. The ethnographer is always faced with methodological choices when beginning a new project and assessing the techniques

used by other anthropologists in similar circumstances. Questions on the extent to which previous approaches to organisational ethnography could adequately guide my interactions, followed me into the field. Both the pre-planned and improvised choices along the way became guidelines for my time at the Centre and for future research.

When I began my research I intended to look at how multicultural campaigns used images of the Scot or Scotland in order to broach the subject of discrimination and how these issues were discussed and taught in schools. To prepare for this I visited a Stirling Council high school several times on preliminary fieldwork during the Ph.D. foundation year, having gained access to Religious and Moral Education (RME) and English classes for a few lessons. After leaving the school one day, I emailed one of the teachers to ask how other subjects spoke to or reinforced what she taught. She said that the question did not have an answer for that was the purpose of mainstreaming and it was not yet in place. I thought that the situation would be, without knowing the term, more mainstreamed: integrating equality considerations into all aspects of education.

In addition to education, I was interested in the frequent media discussion of Scotland's declining population and the celebratory aspect of the *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign, which avoided uncomfortable nuances for governments that may arise when dealing with racism and inequality. The original research plan was to undertake a multi-sited ethnography spending a few months at a multicultural organisation or programme and then proceed to the Scottish Executive where they conducted the *One Scotland* campaign. This would have modelled the research in several organisational ethnographies (see Fox 1998; Riles 2001; Moeran 2005). I was interested in how images were chosen and negotiated in the campaign materials and the strength of this interest led to subsequent changes in research plan. Since the campaign named culture, I believed that to be the main focus and contacted various centres asking about how culture and cultural differences were discussed or taught. It made sense for considerations of cultural influences in Scotland to also cross over

with language, ethnicity, religious and race-related concerns or needs, but I did not understand why I was continually referred to organisations that dealt solely with race. During those phone conversations I got the impression of 'integration' and 'tolerance' councils and organisations, leading me to imagine community interest centres quite different from those questioning inequality and discrimination as I sought.

The importance placed upon the various markers initially confounded my understanding of race, ethnicity and national identity in Scotland, thus influencing my research design and methodology. Accustomed to hearing about the multicultural US, I expected projects and campaigns which reference culture to teach about cultural heritage. I figured it would perhaps include that particular group's traceable history in the country. Working through the concepts at the beginning of fieldwork, I noted this confusion:

It has taken me a while to negotiate the terms of race here. For the US, 'race' is only used when dealing with negative things like racial violence or unrest and 'multicultural' or cultural diversity is used [as a euphemism] for more positive (and all encompassing since cultures can be very different and not be evidenced in skin tone) approach to discuss things. This is why I kept trying to contact and failing and I have been funnelled into groups that deal with race over culture. But I don't know how they can [include] white (and therefore seemingly not different at first glance) asylum seekers, etcetera unless I still don't understand how race is used here (field notes 7 March 2006).

I knew that ethnic origin and religion, like race, were amongst the characteristics protected from discrimination in the *RR(A)A 2000* and was highly interested in how culture was dealt with in regards to the three terms. It took me longer to figure out that in a country where racialised identities are presumed to be cultural others, culture was a masked term for race (field notes 27 March 2006).

Online searches for multicultural education led to documents displaying the CERES name and logo so I eventually followed that lead. Contacting CERES, I noted my interest in 'multicultural and anti-racism education initiatives' and inquired about applying for an internship or volunteer position (personal email 21 February 2006). I

approached the Centre intending to use that location as one fieldwork site before moving on to work within the government, depending upon access.

The CERES director Caroline replied to the email asking about my intended time-scales and I responded that I would be available for one or two days a week for at least three months and would consider longer or shorter lengths of stay, if that suited them better. I wrote that I was 'open to involvement in any capacity, whether it be learning policies and helping in the office, or presenting workshops and discussions to groups' and would be able to increase my attendance in June, once the semester had ended (personal email 26 February 2006). Her email several days later listed options for potential involvement: helping to maintain the website and information board every three weeks; shadowing a part-time Development Officer working to mainstream equality issues in a few schools; helping with and attending the Race Relations (Amendment) Act Officer Network in June; and helping to plan a seminar for the end of May for schools piloting CERES materials (personal email 3 March 2006). She finished the email asking what I hoped to get out of my involvement and we set up a meeting.

As I arrived for our meeting the following week, I noticed the office appeared empty with the exception of Caroline. The desk 10 paces or so into the room was visible, as well as a small knee-height wicker table and chairs to the right of the door. She showed me to one of those chairs and we sat across from one another. Caroline faced the office she directed and the unknown room behind me: its poster-covered walls reminding me in their unfamiliarity, that I had not yet been accepted to the Centre. Early into our greetings she said we would have to figure out how long and often they could manage having me around. She engaged me in conversation on the topic of race and ethnicity in general, testing how I handled the terms. Conversation toured through race relations and discrimination in the UK and US, with emphasis on how I conceptualised them. Rather than being interviewed, I felt as though I had merely found someone with whom I could discuss race critically, attesting to the director's conversational skill.

As we moved from race to education, I spoke of my experience learning and teaching in an American classroom, my brief observations in a Scottish high school and the fact that my partner at the time had just begun a teacher-training course at Moray House. My unwillingness to work in a potentially homophobic environment led me to be up-front about my sexual orientation. I was already working in a shop with latent homophobia and did not want a similar environment during fieldwork. I decided to test the director by referring to my partner with female pronouns. In the seconds before I came out, I felt my access to the Centre teeter in and out of balance; I knew I was being considered and fought between being glad about the forthcoming words and fretting about making a poor choice in case I would then have to either continue fieldwork or decline an offer to join the Centre. Her natural reaction was positive and I quickly relaxed. She then handed me several education documents on race equality for my partner at the time to use in her classroom.

After further discussion of education in Scotland I followed Caroline to the other side of the office, past the bookshelves and a second desk. Engaged in easy conversation I did not realise the interview had ended until we were leaning against a cupboard in the furthest sheltered corner of the room, where guests rarely have the need to go. CERES stores mugs, coffee, teas, a kettle and in the days following meetings, packets of biscuits in these cupboards. She showed me where the mugs and tea are kept and, in my excitement and disbelief that the decision had already been made, I did not appreciate the symbolic welcoming of entering the tea preparation area. In permitting me to open the cupboard and view the supplies the director effectively opened the door on my contribution to nourishing the Centre's race equality work. CERES greets and attends to closely acquainted colleagues at the table by the door, bringing refreshments as desired and this further half of the room remains visible yet reserved for those who work in the office.

Caroline began an overview of the state of CERES and detailed the multiple active projects and declining funding situation, information that still surprised me when

shared as I had not yet processed my acceptance at the Centre. She emphasised the fact that there were now not enough paid hours to complete the work desired. 'So I came at the right time then' I offered and Caroline quickly and relaxedly replied 'Yes, yes you did and that's why I didn't turn you away when I read your email' (field notes 10 March 2006). After watching the staff discuss unknown applicants during fieldwork, I know that an interview or meeting is an evaluation of the speaker's subject knowledge. During my interview, the director Caroline allowed me to speak first on subjects and did not offer any critical responses until I had professed a similar level of criticism. This test serves to verify the ethics of a candidate and the director held the power to admit or decline based on the answers given. Caroline succinctly discusses this technique in the following section on equality work. This CERES experience fits Czarniawska-Jorges's assertion about organisations marking out the personality requirements and parameters of suitable staff (1997: 33). Working collaboratively for change in a small centre with limited funding, hiring members who support the Centre's values and mission is not only valuable but essential.

Conducting Fieldwork

Once exposed to the mainstreaming equality materials, the CERES network and project development, I found the position of CERES as a centre situated between the Scottish government and the schools too intriguing to leave. I realised that the negotiation of materials laid out in the research plan would be best observed at the Centre since this was where they were being decided for lesson plans and other educational materials. For 18 months from March 2006 to October 2007, I conducted fieldwork at CERES. After my intended length of fieldwork ended I worked at CERES as a part time Research Assistant for a further six months, resulting in two years of continual contact. When I joined CERES, the Centre was open for four days a week and later dropped to two. For several months after the schedule changed, internal CERES activity continued as normal with only external actions curtailed on those two 'lost' days. Based at a university, the Centre does not have utility overheads to restrict attendance and it was not uncommon for staff to go to the office on days it was closed, even after the transition. The main change was that staff did

not answer the phone and caught up on emails during the extra days, as their attention was otherwise spent on projects or research on official days open.

While CERES was in need of free assistance at that time, I believe in retrospect that it was my history of raising issues of inequality and discrimination with various youth groups that gained me Caroline's trust as she assessed my experience and character. Transparency is valued at the Centre and my disclosure may have added to the deal, aligning me with the expected character traits of a CERES member by sharing honestly. Clearly those working *against* race equality are also honest and it was not merely the honesty marking me as a potential member but the way in which I confronted inequalities similarly to how those at the Centre expect. In their research and in daily conversations, CERES members attempt to interrogate labels and forms of assumptions on identity and belonging. With critical engagement, members expect a certain level of commitment to the role. Aligning it more with a vocation than simply a job, the Centre demands both professional and personal development. This first critical discussion on race was also my introduction to the way morality informs the Centre's drive for politics, explored in several conversations in Chapter Five.

The CERES staff invested a lot of emotion and time into my acclimatisation; answering my initially relentless questions, offering many reports and papers to read, assuring that I understood the jargon and discussing larger structures and themes during work time, lunches and coffee breaks. This initiated me into the ways and works of CERES and in being a staff member. At first I felt as though I was continually interrupting them to ask for clarification or explanations and making my presence unhelpful and burdensome, but they must have realised that the quicker and more thoroughly I was taught, the more I could contribute in the long-run.

This thesis is not an ethnography of the ways everyday racism and anti-discrimination are manifested in Scottish life, which would have required data heavy on quotes of personal definitions of racism in various settings. The final product is a

rich description of practices animated by policy and a commitment to equalities in Scotland: an ethnography of CERES. I did not aim to influence policy, for that would have required data from school visits, Local Authorities and other areas where teachers work toward equalities, drawing the coverage wider and not necessarily deeper. The focus would have shifted from depicting the current situation for those involved to evidencing an interpretation of what did or did not work and what more was needed. These foci would have included less words and concerns from the CERES Network. Researching for an ethnography of an organisation, I instead focused on CERES and the manner in which it articulated the policies into working practices under the gaze of the government. As CERES is the centre between the everyday racism (where seemingly public concerns are articulated through private understandings) and policies (private discussions articulated *for* the public), I included policy voices as best as possible through published official statements from the UK and Scottish governments on various aspects of the research. This includes wording on equalities documents, the 5-14 national curriculum and *A Curriculum for Excellence*, to name a few.

As explored in Chapter Two, policy provides much of the context for my research. It influenced methodology as I followed policy movement through the creation process of the equality concept. Shore and Wright argue that an anthropological examination of policy must ask how the policy works as an instrument and if it fails to function as intended what has caused the failure (1997: 3). In following the development of these projects⁶ with many still underway⁷ I aimed to see what efforts, ideas and assumptions go into working toward that success. While not all projects are successful, it is the process of working for success that is interesting as it highlights expectations for projects and objects. Conducting fieldwork in and on policies, organisations and networks, methods overlapped between the areas and highlighted the theme of 'equality work(s)'. It was only by following the theme of equality through policies and other political documents that this creation process became visible.

The work at CERES circulated widely in the equalities and education fields, often through visible and named networks. Networks, or the vehicle through which ideas are disseminated, negotiated and recreated, led to an examination of the 'equality work(s)' in regards to that which creates a specific understanding of equality. This is the system through which the materials become refined, as does water in a city's 'water works'. The same processes shaped my research. These include access to project bids and government funding requirements, early preliminary research undertaken by the Centre and meetings during which project materials were debated and modified. Through these interactions, I often met with *RR(A)A 2000* Officers Network members after quarterly meetings to hear about programmes in their schools or Education Authority. Most were not involved in the Scottish Executive-funded pilot but were invested in creating a mainstreamed learning environment, an attribute expressed and reinforced by their network involvement. The attendants knew of my role at the Centre and my academic interests and were willing to talk about successful programmes. Their readiness to explain programmes of which they were proud made it possible to expand the conversation and ask about implementation, support and project development.

It was this attention to race equality practitioners that created an understanding of the appropriate actions in the role of committing oneself to 'equality work(s)'. Chapter Eight presents the salient themes for practitioners in the equalities field. Working at CERES, I subscribed to many of the same actions and arguments proposed by those in the network, a commitment that placed my conduct of fieldwork as engaged or activist anthropology. In my positions at the centre from volunteer to assistant research and temporary administrator, I created and also acted as a visible face of the Centre across the race equality network in which CERES circulates. Not only did this lead to many valuable observations, it influenced the theories employed and analysis.

Considering the style of work for each, it was much easier to contact council workers than teachers during the workday. Although I arranged school visits to watch the

mainstreaming materials in use, they ultimately fell through. I had a current Disclosure Scotland form and had worked as a supply teacher in the US, which reassured the teachers I spoke to. One promising potential visit would have taken place in the classroom of one of the contributing developers. Still, tight staff schedules and the lack of identifiable benefit for the school administration delayed visits for several months. The pilot phase of the project then drew to a close and it no longer made sense to continue negotiating access to classrooms.

Participant Observation

As a volunteer I was relatively powerless to choose my activities and conducted necessary tasks as identified by CERES staff. I answered email and phones at a basic level, sifting through the anti-sectarian email address to delete the high volume of spam and proofread edited changes in reports, not yet given reports to edit or write in the early stages of my involvement at CERES. At this stage, anthropological activity included attending meetings, reading documents, engaging in informal conversations and interviews with Centre staff and other forms of interactions to learn how CERES articulated race equality to a newcomer.

Beyond attention to how network members spoke of their programmes, I focused on the connections displayed across the networks, noting verbal and written communications between members. Czarniawska-Joerges contributes to a body of newer writings on organisations that deal with network interactions, perhaps beyond visible interactions (1997). Rather than describing what an organisation comprises or itemizing essential aspects, they focus on the action within (and between) organisations.

As a researcher *for* the Centre I dealt with survey results and feedback, analysed language and documents available on Education Authority websites, updated the CERES website, presented research findings to partner organisations, attended project advisory meetings and meetings with civil servants and edited and proofread documents for publication. It would be dishonest to claim that working as a team

member in a small centre, I did not shape interactions. Since I edited these documents, my involvement undoubtedly left a trace on the content. The intention in editing was to clarify wording or assess flow rather than alter the meaning and the director retained the rights for final approval. Mutual influence is a consequence of all anthropology and social interactions in general. Additionally, based on the welcoming of my research experience, the impact was likely a neutral one at the worst. These forms of activity, however, all created the content of the Centre's external image.

As I proofread or edited reports, I noticed the frequency with which the Scottish government would return reports that had deviated from the desired format. The main culprits were reports that included opinions or personal accounts. This excision of experience diverged from academic work in anthropology. Interested in the almost clinical report structure I began to look at the whole tendering process. Through directly awarding project funding and endorsing certain materials, the Scottish Government shapes the Centre's work. The final step of fieldwork involvement centres around the communicative life of CERES, when I undertook the administrative duties for 6 weeks while the regular administrator was on a transitional leave. As an administrator, I responded to inquiries about the centre and its library, booked venues, scheduled meetings, ordered supplies and maintained the boundaries of the image created through the other roles within the organisation. It is these communications that lend credence to CERES as an authority; in the personal form of speakers, visitors, meetings and interviews but also through the materials produced.

Document Analysis

Interrogating the framework of equality overall, the methods were shaped around asking whether 'equality works'. Documents, like policies, present official and desired interpretations of a particular subject and can show how organisations, administrations or governments view themselves and the topics at hand. This is not only relevant for policies and campaigns lending insight into a nation's self-image

but in an organisation as well. One of the most difficult sources of information to access at an organisation is the tacit knowledge around specific documents. The documents so deeply influence the way workers approach race equality that the titles are no longer mentioned when listing important documents to a newcomer. One of the keystone documents in the race equality field that goes unmentioned is the *Macpherson Report*, perhaps because it is expensive to purchase and not widely distributed. By the time I joined CERES, the oldest artefact openly referenced was the *RR(A)A 2000* and not the *Macpherson Report*. Several weeks into my fieldwork I was asked whether I had heard of Stephen Lawrence, yet it was several months before I realised that the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry resulted in the report and eventually the *RR(A)A 2000*. Prior to that understanding, I had thought that race equality workers mentioned his case as a reason for the need to undertake their work rather than the incident to hold public bodies accountable.

Learning that each generation of new publications shifts the referent forward, leaving the original document obscured in history, I pursued document analysis. Following the connections backwards through each policy or document, I uncovered references to ideological pedigrees and compared them with the discourse circulated throughout the CERES networks, the relationships between contemporaneous documents, levels of engagement (if not agreement), human relationships and funding priorities. The major relevant documents include the *RR(A)A 2000*, Scottish Executive's *One Scotland: No Place for Racism* campaign, the *Race Equality Toolkit* and *Race Equality Audit*, which brought the duties of the *RR(A)A 2000* to the HMIe school inspection framework in Scotland. In addition to the written trail created by the *RR(A)A 2000*, documents analysed include school lesson plans, conference reports, meeting notes, research and websites.

Archival Materials

In order to understand how CERES had presented itself to the world over the past one and a half decades, I read the few previous pamphlets and mission statements in the CERES library. Searching for pamphlets or mission statements post-dating 1994,

I was told that any remaining trace not in the library would be on disk, but the disks did not contain usable files. The member responsible for maintaining the library and cataloguing was part time and CERES had cleared through old paper work, to keep only a few copies in the non-lending library that acted as an archive. CERES had not produced pamphlets for many years due to printing costs and funding supplied only for specific projects. The website featured as a major form of communication and organisational presence. Several reports were available online, yet mundane descriptions of the centre had not been made available electronically and were now lost to history. There is no consistent analysis of the Centre's evolution in its own words at the time. Archival research and document analysis allowed for piecing together a rough picture of the Centre's changes through the succession of documents it created with and for others and focused on the remaining pamphlets and conference reports. Group interviews drew out retrospective descriptions of the Centre's functions. While only fragments of their catalogue had survived and the group interview may have been influenced by hindsight, they both contributed a historical moment and commented on equality and perception of the organisation to the overall mosaic. The aforementioned methods structured knowledge through access to information: interactions and individuals that in turn exposed me to particular framings of (and appropriate reactions to) situations.

Power, Engagement and the Researcher

Before fieldwork I hoped to write something that would take an active voice and contribute to the 'good of society'. From the beginning of fieldwork, the researcher's political positioning was established through empathy with furthering the work undertaken at CERES. I accepted these terms knowingly and aided in the production of CERES. A major focus of the engaged anthropology literature emphasises speaking for the dis-empowered (Scheper-Hughes 1995: 414). Although this is a valid aim, CERES staff members are in no way dis-empowered and have spoken for themselves countless times. The literature's emphasis on speaking up for the subject initially led me to believe that my research was not an engaged project. Without my input, its level of activism would have remained constant; the critical scholarship

Brantlinger advocates is already a product of CERES (1999). It became clear that it was unlikely that anthropology could highlight something new about government campaigns *for* government since those who create the materials and programs supporting the policies, themselves social researchers, already knew more about anthropology than I did about their field. As a result, the hope for this thesis is that it may highlight the workings within this type of centre in the early decades after devolution and act as a stepping-stone for future research that may contribute more broadly.

Several other points in the methodological literature warrant further reflection, particularly that of an anthropologist's involvement in politics or activism. Working with CERES to promote the race equality materials and ideas and carrying out further research have placed me firmly as an insider. Mosse speaks of conflicting responsibilities as an anthropologist and someone involved in policy work (2005: xii). He explains that the researcher is both inside and outside the work at once, yet there is no single position that does not mark the anthropologist as a community member since policy and process are circuitous (*ibid.*: 11). Narayan wrote about the multiple identities researchers carry and the importance of enacting that 'hybridity' in an engaged scholarship (2001: 305). Brantlinger considers acting as a community member and working for social justice to be a necessary aspect of critical scholarship (1999: 415). With research in the school system and how power residing in social-class structures influences school decisions, Brantlinger found that '[l]oyalties get fuzzy as ties form with outsiders and those with insiders break down' as she found herself angered over opinions voiced by some acquaintances (*ibid.*: 414). I found myself in similar positions in response to comments at the Network meetings when I felt that CERES work could be undermined by unsupportive opinions.

This leads to one of the most important aspects of engaged anthropology: not only questioning external power structures but also one's own position of power. For Warren, in order to produce a critical and sympathetic account without 'idealizing,' 'demonizing' or 'essentialising' in the analysis, the importance lies in examining the

political context in which the research is carried out and a mindfulness when writing (2006: 213, 220). It was often necessary to consider the background of the workers and their own constraints or influences for participation in the CERES network. The challenge was remembering to treat each actor as a contextualised individual rather than a neutral speaker.

Angel-Ajani writes that awareness of power dynamics and listening mindfully and critically may lead to an ethical engagement with the case (2006: 87). Brantlinger also advocates questioning one's position in order to carry out research that can be influential in eliminating oppression (1999: 421-22). This approach signals a personal choice and necessitates a specific personality in order to choose activism each time. Perhaps this is her research trajectory and although I cannot foresee myself avoiding activism unless faced with a compelling reason for direct activism may not always be possible or appropriate. These arguments go beyond questioning power to self-interrogation in the move toward advocacy. I had not considered the possibility of activism when entering CERES, yet fieldwork at the Centre led to a form of activism. The main message from these engaged anthropology texts, the choice to *take* sides on an issue, speaks strongly to my research.

Home is Where the Heart is...Or is it?

Throughout my diurnal activities I feel as though I am 'at home': during the walk to the train station or commute to the capital city that when I am not paying attention, I categorise as 'unremarkable.' Only occasionally, when talking with my parents who ask about petrol prices and or when my nieces and nephews think it is 'so cool' that I spent the morning visiting a castle does it occur to me that, for them, I am far from home. The problem comes with the definitions of home. For the most part, I consider the town in which I live, row, play and work as home. The fact that it is thousands of miles from my birthplace is unimportant. Or so I thought. It is exactly this collision between my ideas of home with the general society around me that leads me to realise and examine my different interpretation of the word.

I am American in how I approach belonging; I was taught that if someone moves to the US and thinks of it as home regardless of birthplace, then he or she gets to be American even if this is not the legal procedure. Their birthplace, language, or religion has no bearing on the decision; it is up to them. This is not the legal definition of residency, as made obvious through continuing debates over illegal immigrants but it is how those around me and I were taught to conceive of others. This may arise from the myth of the melting pot that all American students learn along with the history of their nation. According to the myth, the blending of all immigrants through time creates everyone as Americans. Far from being an endorsement of diversity, the experienced melting pot created an expectation of cultural erasure and the disavowal of previous practices in order to achieve American-ness. The gradual realisation that race and nationality are inseparable in contemporary British discourse led me to challenge my discomfort when race and ethnicity are used in place of one another, particularly when they are presented as synonymous (Gilroy 1992: 60-62). In the US, race is divided into polar categories of skin colour, generally black and white. Any further races in the US are continents or regions which is similar to the British link with nationality as label, yet I initially found the UK system difficult to accept given the emphasis placed on birthplace and belonging.

Although I live, work and play in Scotland I am not considered to be at home by casual acquaintances or strangers. In Rosie and Bond's work on Scottish identities I fall into the category of an un-resourced non-Scot (2006: 151). A resourced individual has either a birthplace or parental claim in the country. As a 30 year-old white female, I easily blend in on the streets with the visible majority. It is not until engaging in conversation that my marker of difference becomes apparent for it is my accent. Since my otherness is invisible I have the privilege of hiding my outsider status while visible minorities do not. Lacking the resources to assert my belonging, however, I am often faced with my outsider status. Once an individual hears my accent, he or she is likely to ask particularly in the town where I live where I am from. When serving customers in a shop, for instance, I often hear the following

question uttered in a knowing tone: 'And where are *you* from'? I generally respond that I was originally from Philadelphia but now stay in Stirling, asking in turn where the questioner is from. If the conversation continues and the customer learns that I am a student, my credibility is called into question once more with the assumption that I will return to the US after completing my studies. The fact that I live here and my partner is Scottish does lend me a marker of belonging, although Kiely *et al.*'s research show that this claim is a weak one and easily stripped from me if birthplace is considered (2001; 2005).

It could be argued that since I live here, involve myself in the community, am surrounded by close and competent 'cultural translators' and regularly converse in my first language in a country that shares some political traditions, historical links and media exchange with my birth country, that I have conducted anthropology 'at home'. Expanding upon Messerschmidt's 1981 volume *Anthropologists at Home in North America* which included essays questioning the concept of an authentic insider, Narayan writes about the assumed distinction between native and non-native anthropologists. Narayan warns against using the dichotomy and proposes that attention is paid to the 'shifting identifications' across communities, situations and power relations (Narayan 2001: 304). Since various aspects of one's identity will be apparent and relevant in different situations and knowledge is based on location, Narayan states that it is more productive to examine positionality in relation to those studied (*ibid.*: 308, 314, 313). The points through which I became an insider highlight considerable overlap of anthropologist and CERES member positionality. I soon recognised similarities in research styles and considerations between anthropology and the work carried out by those at CERES, echoing Riles' discussion on conducting anthropological research with those who use similar tools (2001). As a result of these situations, my self-identification as an insider and outsider shifted through every stage of the research and writing process and I found that I was more an insider than initially thought.

Beginning fieldwork, I interpreted the thoughts CERES shared with me as opinions

formulated in response to agreement with external authors. Many of the background texts presented in this thesis are ones on which the CERES staff have based research. I later encountered journal articles written by CERES staff as well as works in which CERES or collaborators had been cited. The viewpoints shared were not simply critical interpretations of what they had read but current understandings of what they had written as individuals actively engaged in a national discussion.

My location regarding CERES is one of both familiarity and distance. Having worked in formal and informal teaching positions in the US, I understood the general realm of education. Familiarity with the specifics of the Scottish education system came from discussing the structure with my former partner, other teachers and a brief set of school visits in a Stirling area high school. In reference to the area of equality I again brought previous experiences to the field, having trained summer camp staff members and Girl Scout troops in general 'diversity awareness' and through acting as the education co-ordinator for the LGBT group as an undergraduate. These activities provided a bridging background.

Several aspects of fieldwork, however, made me feel like an outsider. These include working in an office setting, carrying out government driven research and the different approaches to (re)presenting race and other equalities issues in Scotland.

The office environment provided the perfect setting for taking field notes since all staff members had a personal desk or area. It was common for staff to make notes throughout the day, even crossing the room or interrupting their lunch breaks to do so. This regular use of note taking extended to network meetings and all office-based interactions at CERES across its networks. In the early days, when I jotted notes of specific facts during lunchtime conversations, I fulfilled my role as initiate and eager student of the Centre. I had not expected the equalities issues to be different to those in the rest of the UK, particularly England, and listened with interest as practitioners described how the issues diverged.

During my first three months at CERES, I joined a research team looking for examples of good practice in accommodating pupils with extra religious needs. Initially unsure of what was meant by good practice, I realised that it is similar to best practice in the US. In Scotland, good practice signifies interesting examples of positive work, while best practice in the US has a mild connotation that it is what one should do. My status as outsider for Scottish and insider for American education increased my contribution and benefited the project overall, as I was able to negotiate websites and communications with North America competently in using the expected terms and forms of inquiry. Mutual influences between the researcher and the Centre were apparent throughout the research. Stylistically, my early experiences on a research project taught me the expected report style and forms for research data. I wrote a short report in the style of a social science paper in preparation for sharing my findings with the other two researchers on the religious accommodation project. Upon sharing my interim findings and receiving a report from a member with a law background, the style differences between the reports struck me. I was quite embarrassed at the time to learn that terse bullet points trumped prose, interpreting this stylistic ignorance as a sign of personal failure. As an insider working alongside two other researchers, my disciplinary difference nonetheless made me feel like an outsider.

Narayan notes that even if an anthropologist is able to easily enter a social world, the very fact that his or her research focuses on 'what to others is taken-for-granted reality creates an uneasy distance' (2001: 319). In addition to the 'anthropology at home' debate, there is the question of positioning research inside a research organisation. Riles deals with this in reference to field practice and analysis and although those aspects of this research were similarly influenced, the theme arose strongly when writing up the analysis (2001). One of the drawbacks of research in an office setting is that I found it easy to slip into a 9 to 5 mentality. An early example of this occurred at a Network meeting and the actions I did *not* take.

I really liked the people in the room I talked to. If it had been a weekend conference I definitely would've gotten contact info for them, but I felt relaxed and open and so I didn't. As I left, I wondered if being at ease with

the world led me to a poor anthropological choice? It was a good place to network (field notes 28 March 2006).

Treating it as my job, I failed to write field notes for the day on several occasions. This tendency to consider the fieldwork to be my job carried through during the day when I focused on negotiating and building office relationships and keeping up to date with the current situation in order to carry out my CERES work.

Anthropological thoughts arose and I would write them down, but often I did not think about the day's interactions and subtexts objectively until I left the office for the night. Stating that the anthropological aspect was reserved for outside of the office, however, reduces doing anthropology to writing questions or ideas too undeveloped to discuss. Anthropological fieldwork instead encompasses every aspect of living and often cluttered my thoughts for the evening. The practice and site remained in my mind prompting thoughts on race equality, but the physical fieldwork was enacted, carried out, and performed, while at a desk; in the office, at meetings and sometimes from home. Before fieldwork, I had intended to write quarterly field reports. After researching, proofreading or editing CERES reports all day at the office and during busy times when these activities followed me into the evenings or weekends, anthropological reports felt superfluous. The personal (anthropological) and the professional (the volunteer and paid employment) aspects were not in direct conflict with one another but shaped how each day developed.

This question of thought and action is relevant to methodology. Scott's writing on state initiated social engineering highlights a form of deep knowledge that I propose is useful for guiding ethnographic research. Examining bureaucratic planning (which may be read here as policy), he argues against using a hegemonic approach that ignores the benefit of local knowledge. Such designs, Scott notes, 'diminish the skills, agility, initiative, and morale of their intended beneficiaries' (1998: 349). In order to avoid disastrous social planning, the designers should allow for small steps to be taken, reversibility, surprises and the potential for 'human inventiveness' to shape the project (*ibid.*). Awareness to changes and human intervention certainly ground anthropological fieldwork, yet it is the next step in Scott's process that may

benefit methodological practices. If these considerations are incorporated, he argues, the overall shape will be improved by the introduction of *métis*.

Métis is a form of knowledge acquired over time and from specialised experience of the particular task or situation. It comprises embodied knowledge that is difficult to describe in words unless one has experienced the action, activity or concept (*ibid.*: 313). *Métis* is not standardised knowledge of a particular plant but knowing when to sow the seed based on close observation of that location and indicator species. Scott describes the 'essence of *métis*' as 'knowing how and when to apply the rules of thumb in a concrete situation (*ibid.*: 316). This contextualised knowledge is something similar to what anthropologists strive to learn throughout fieldwork and leads me to wonder to what degree anthropologists can achieve this *métis*. Spending time in the small office with other members on a daily basis enabled me to get an idea of how CERES positions fit together and how members carried out their basic duties, yet it was not until I performed several of the roles – most notably administrator – that I became aware of the complexity of each and the further connections the positions hold with others along the wider network. While I do not claim to have achieved a level of *métis* during my time at CERES, there were certain tasks and aspects which I could not fathom until I had experienced them. The idea of *métis* has thus influenced writing, description and analysis. If *métis* is achievable, how should anthropologists deal with the responsibility and practicality of conveying the experience in academic writing? The difficult task of conveying the knowledge inherent in *métis* is resoundingly clear in writing about fieldwork.

Based on her statement that organisations are viewed as individuals, Czarniawska-Joerges argues that autobiographical narration is an appropriate writing style (1997: 48-49). The founders and leaders act as the authors creating their own identity, while narrators or the public relations officers tell the same story as the author. The narrator knows more than the characters but less than the author (*ibid.*: 50-51). While this approach to narrating the organisation is a reminder of the power and knowledge that goes with each role, it is not applicable to CERES without re-writing

the examples. The narrator, who knows less than the leader but more than characters does not work in the CERES context where each character knows a great deal about his or her own area and less about the jobs of the others. It is difficult to see the benefit of this approach for writing since a careful balance is necessary in order to avoid trivialising or exoticising the players. The technique, however, does raise methodological questions about the position of the researcher.

In Czarniawska-Joerges model, the anthropologist is absent. What role then, do anthropologists play? If they are meant to be the readers or publishers of this genre narrating the organisation, it erases the impact that an anthropologist has on the (story of the) organisation throughout fieldwork and writing. Perhaps the anthropologist is more of a guest blogger and follows the literary and stylistic conventions while adding one's own writing style, erratic punctuation or inflection. This style may jar, be overlooked or appropriated by the other bloggers. At the same time, the anthropologist-blogger is susceptible to the same effects. This stylistic question does not contribute to clarification of networks or centres, although it does lead further into a discussion on methodologies. Citing anthropological approaches to organisations leads to the question of the distance between balanced critique and unsubstantiated narcissism in authoritatively deciding whether or not the writings reflect a situation I have only experienced for 23 months.

Ethical Issues, Writing the Politics of Representation

Toward the end of fieldwork, I began to worry about how to maintain anonymity while describing a very public place. I have chosen to directly represent the real organisation and location, for changing contextual elements would render the situation and analysis unintelligible. It is impossible to discuss CERES without dealing with race equality and an attempt to disguise the location would belie the centrality of the government in the projects. The main staff members gave permission to use their names, aware that they have such a public profile that it would not be possible to offer full anonymity. In the end, I lightly anonymised the

actors by providing pseudonyms without scrambling facts and anyone familiar with CERES during this period will be able to distinguish between the speakers. In some instances, individuals have received two names in order to retain a level of anonymity for their comments as a balance for the direct naming of their position, such as the director Caroline and Administrator Nicola. Creating pseudonyms for individual actors does not lessen or deny the impact of CERES and its work. Where staff members have published, their real names are credited without drawing connections between the characters. For this reason I feel that the best way to protect the individuals it to omit a rich physical description or biography of actors.

Writing *about* writing is a prod to look more deeply at positionality and acknowledge the multiple overlaps and distances between anthropologist and those studied. Once more, the insider-outsider spectrum has relevant implications for positionality. It is surreal to have immersed oneself in a social world during fieldwork and then attempt to depict that world during months of solitary writing. It is one of the ironies of anthropology that we proffer mere words to elicit an understanding of complex relationships and beings. As Narayan (2001) and Scott (1998) both discuss ongoing processes of (situated) knowledge, I learned most of the Scotland-specific race information from CERES staff. My knowledge development and to some degree use, is embedded in my experience as a member of the office, showing how writing is complicated by allegiances.

Beyond my interest in protecting their identities, my writing strives to protect their convictions: to represent the various points of view and examine or comment on them, without debasing their importance. Staff at CERES believe that race equality work is honest, right, and the moral thing to do. I did not immediately question how issues were framed in moral undertones as I am an ideological insider intent on working against discrimination. The difficulty for writing came in drawing attention to this moral tendency without devaluing it. Therefore, while I depict network member concerns of whether or not mainstreaming equality functions well, I do not extensively critique the efforts undertaken, agreeing with the need for equality work,

nor do I judge whether or not the projects were successes or failures but focus instead on their creation process.

The principles of questioning power relations and writing accessibly guide this research. On a simple level, my access to power varied depending upon positioning. I allowed the Centre to structure my days and influence the content; I had relinquished power in order to remain. The latter is important in building rapport and the former is often a result of prolonged contact but the desire to balance is not confined to fieldwork. Simonelli, amongst others, reminds us that (at least for closed communities) the anthropologist is powerless unless accepted into the neighbourhood or organisation and when gaining approval of draft writings (2007: 156). In my role as anthropologist, my power lies in how I analyse the research: a duty of which I am aware and hope to discharge sensitively. Activist and engaged anthropology is concerned with power at various levels. Some of these approaches include developing methods that balance the power differences between researcher and researchee. De Laine cites building friendships with those involved and being sensitive to subtleties when listening (2000: 134). The manner in which I have attempted to redress a potential power imbalance is by including their voices and letting these voices guide my interpretation. For the most part, I have tried to only include statements that are no more critical than their public works and remain true to the conversations and feelings shared with me on the presented subjects. Adding contextual information, yet avoiding an 'expert' reinterpretation of their ideas, I present their concerns and statements in conjunction to my observations of actions.

Anthropologists are also responsible for creating accessible works, a vital attribute for informing activism by allowing those beyond the discipline and non-academics to read anthropology. The journey toward accessible writing has been influenced by the new ethnography for it foregrounds the clarity of writing as a route to theory, rather than the reverse. In *Style Matters*, Sharman argues for an experience-central presentation of anthropology. Conducting fieldwork, he explains,

We must be willing at all times to stretch ourselves, to be uncomfortable. If

we wrote our analyses the way we pursue our fieldwork, we would produce richly textured evocations of experience with the same intimacy, vulnerability, warmth, and honesty (2007: 119).

Centring writing on *an* experience can allow the nuances and essential theories to take form (*ibid.*: 120). The chapters on a Roundtable meeting and an Identity Wheel, as well as other sections throughout the thesis, aim to do this. Sharman believes that ethnographic moments shape understanding and action, making them a rich source for drawing out anthropological analysis (*ibid.*). Narayan uses categories from fiction writing to aide the ethnographer in setting up a situation, story, persona and summary for readers (2007). Narayan's *story* aligns with Sharman's *experience*. Interpersonal connections and individual understandings allow the unique ethnographic story to emerge for an anthropologist, for merely lending attention to the location and context would draw out the same facts regardless of researcher (Narayan 2007: 132). This approach enables the reader to engage with the content and the writer to present a rounded depiction and analysis. In reading only the completed works of other anthropologists, it is difficult to know what they have omitted. Extracting a line of thought, group of theories or single experience from the entire fieldwork process seems like a violent act and I hope that my choices have resulted in a human account gently inter-woven with theory.

Drawing nearer to the first draft, I revisited field notes and recordings of the CERES staff to ensure that I had not left out anything important. Spending a few hours listening to their voices raised questions of representation and the goal and practices of anthropology. I wondered how to begin to describe the laughter, respect, caring and intellectual stimulation that these co-workers, colleagues and friends had shared with me. I felt uncomfortable attempting to reduce complex relationships and interactions to words with an uncaring academic gaze and mulled over the ways to make anthropology relevant when the analysed moment had passed. I called the CERES office in December 2008 to speak with everyone. As the phone was passed between members in the office, I realised that events I described throughout the thesis transpired two years ago and I was out of touch with the daily occurrences and

minute updates. Some changes are in no way minuscule and have the potential to heavily affect the Centre.

In striving to describe the past, how can we deliver a true depiction of the present for that site and make it relevant beyond anthropology? This leads to an anxiety in representing the experience; that the humanity will only be an aside in cold, academic writing. Perhaps this is what anthropologists talk about by integrating the personal and the professional, although I do not yet know if I have even hinted at the wonderful complexity encountered. This writing is an attempt to honour the work they have done for the Centre, their friendship and the fact that as researchers they shared information for the sake of my research.

Reflections on Writing

The part-time research I undertook after fieldwork was a paid position. I was honoured that they considered me worthy of the task and following their lead, I had grown passionate about the project so I did not question the decision. It was comforting to return to the office once a week and I enjoyed contributing after all the kindness, honesty and accommodation they had shown me over 18 months. This face-to-face contact also enabled clarification of points and issues that had been less than clear when looking over field notes. As the research peaked, however, my academic writing waned. I had not yet separated myself from the field and was thinking more like an advocate. While this served me well while participating, observing and *being* a good CERES member, it hindered my thoughts on what it *meant to be* a CERES member. Perhaps this is a piece of received wisdom that is not understood until experienced. Too far an emotional distance would not allow me to empathise with CERES and too close on a weekly basis impedes analysis.

Another blurring of insider and outsider is the extent to which individuals at CERES became informants or colleagues. These categories bring an interesting relationship to light, one that has implications for the type of data I have collected. I fulfilled many functions as intern, assistant and fellow researcher. Reviewing my

field notes, it is apparent that my data is quite different from what it would have been if I had taken a more passive position at the Centre. I would have more mundane conversations and descriptions of interactions had I been more of an observer or passive participant. My role at meetings was often to act as the scribe for conversations, as I interspersed the official lines with my personal notes. When typing up the official notes I removed my own observations, yet the fusion of the two has *become* my field notes. They are *all* my notes by the virtue of the fact that I noticed and recorded each item, but the need to share the notes with the director acted to frame my perception of particular actions or tendencies.

As a result, I am not sure where the analysis begins or ends or to what extent to include writings by CERES individuals. I question whether exploring the viewpoints of the authors will falsely add to the chorus on a certain opinion or whether it is appropriate to omit relevant opinions. An inclusion of such opinions raises the question as to whether I should identify the authors as CERES staff. This led me to question how to present a balanced exploration of the relevant writings and avoid skewing the image if including two voices (spoken during fieldwork and published) from the same actor. This also uncovers researcher insecurity of how to ensure that my understanding and analysis are not too shallow when compared with some of those at the organisation who have been thinking and writing critically on the issue for much longer than I have.

The fact that my analysis ended up where theirs had is perhaps not surprising considering my background working in anti-discrimination and throughout my time at the Centre, yet it led to a closer examination of an anthropologist's position. This positioning was a journey. The office setting seemed so different that although I ended up working with and for them, I expected to remain in the realm between insider and outsider. I knew that my experiential background contained some similarities and that I was capable of carrying out research for the Centre but I did not expect my own intellectual travels through the issues to deposit me in the same position as CERES members. We had read, analysed and discussed the same

academic theories on race, identity and Scotland. They had become more than friends and I had grown into a colleague. While writing this thesis I could think of no better candidates for discussions than those from whom I should be distancing myself in order to gain clarity.

It was with these colleagues that I desired contact and theoretical discussions while adjusting to post-fieldwork changes and developing an understanding of what I had experienced. At many lunch breaks or morning greetings during fieldwork, the staff at CERES and I had conversations about the act of research, its implications or the current state of the world, bringing interactions to a higher and more anthropological level than I could have created alone. I did not achieve these thoughts: I co-created them with the staff. If I had been less of a participant, a true outsider, this final product would have been very different. This question was solved in the end, for I did not analyse what they already have analysed, so the line separating anthropology – what is specifically anthropological about my approach and arguments – remained when working with other researchers. Ultimately, I believe that this final product is very different from one that a CERES member would produce. Conducting fieldwork at CERES did not set apart my actions or thoughts as anthropological: they were made distinct through writing and analysing the experience. It was in framing issues in the context of other ethnographic situations and looking outward for theoretical resonances that have created this anthropological piece distinct from the content of a CERES report.

Despite the theoretical implications I do not know that I will extract myself fully or quickly from fieldwork in the future. The slow adjustment was important to maintaining my contact with the Centre, showing my commitment to its work and easing into a different task. It also acted as a reminder of the human aspect of anthropology while sitting at a desk pondering theories. Negotiating post-fieldwork distance from the subject and location is something that each anthropologist must learn to gauge for his or her self, deciding the necessary or feasible distance. The ambiguity over inside-outside, distance and the termination of fieldwork reflects

similar writing anxieties when organisations are involved. Since organisations lack distinct borders many anthropologists and writers have wondered how to define the end of the field or at which level and distance to stop analysing (Czarniawska-Joerges 1997: 67; Moeran 2005: 194). Researching organisations which function on a national or international scale, Fox wonders how the extent of the field can be known (1998: 217). I proffer a small response to these questions with Riles (2001) and Moeran's (2005) conceptualisations of networks and the resultant communications. The span of the field is a useful analytical question to focus fieldwork or work through methods. The field must be delineated based on the researcher's time, finances and interests paying attention to only those zones which in some way communicate with the centre of the network analysed. In regards to CERES, the networks reach far beyond the office and are the conceptual field and the area around Moray House has largely marked the physical 'field' for this research.

This leads to another balance question involving presentation style and sufficient or appropriate analysis. To under-analyse risks avoiding the complexities dealt with by those in the fieldwork context. Over-analysis could lead off the course of the subject entirely. Since academic writing comprises a personal interpretation and product, one must question how to harness the process and keep it true to both anthropology and those with whom one has 'conducted' fieldwork.

Post-fieldwork Practice

Before mentioning that I planned to bring a copy of my draft to the Centre (although I expressed intent to do so during fieldwork) Alison asked if I wanted to meet up and discuss a few chapters. Suddenly, the prospect of 'returning' with my interpretation became real. While I had planned to ask their opinions on the representation and many anthropologists have done the same, the idea of sharing my writing raised unexpected insecurities. It was a result of an anthropologist's other roles, as friend and fellow researcher that caused these emotions. Beyond wondering about the accuracy of my depictions and interpretation, I nervously awaited her reception of

my writings. I worried whether my ideas and execution of the analysis met their standards. Ultimately, it was not a fear of rejection driving this thought but a fear of letting them down after they took time and care to ensure that I understood the CERES world.

After I sent the initial chapters to Alison, we met for a coffee. We had a very interesting and engaging discussion, just as we had done during fieldwork. She suggested additional readings and we mused on the differences between our approaches to the same issues. Alison said she thought I had represented them generously, although I did not ask for specific examples. If the representation appears 'sugar coated' that is a result of my attempts at being democratic in presenting various points of view and the fact that the fieldwork experience was a positive one overall. Still, since '[P]ublic opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion' Alison's comment points to her knowledge of downfalls or inadequacies to which I may not have been privy (Thoreau 1997: 9). Therefore, I believe this presents as true a representation as any one account may achieve. In the end, it was an affirmative experience yet one that led me to question my position in relation to the materials and formed the basis for this methods chapter.

The final question arising from the realisation of the extent to which I unquestioningly used words employed by CERES such as 'stakeholders' and 'arena' is in relation to what comprises research; the implications of semantics, knowledge and choices on daily actions, analysis and writing. While I thought I had negotiated my position well enough to remain impartial I found that my ultimate analysis on a potential chapter included not only the members' spoken words but their published words as well. The use of their words partially re-shifts the power to the shared field as I contextualise and explain key words. The writing includes my analysis of the context but not my 'expert' voice. Abu-Lughod aims to acknowledge the researcher's influence on data without imposing one's analysis as the authoritative 'expert' of what the speakers had intended (1993: xvii-xviii). Influenced by Abu-Lughod's work and the centrality of the ethnographic actors in the story told, I draw

the words of CERES out to show how its understandings influence the work rather than as examples of strange habits of the 'Other'. In these conversations during fieldwork, I prided myself on how well I understood the realm of race equality work and the major issues. In reality, it was the Scottish or British specific coding that I had learned and my earlier experience translated me into a virtual insider.

Instead of grappling with the *concepts* CERES used, I grappled with the location of the terms used for the concepts. After initially learning the Centre's positioning and assumptions concerning equality issues as I experienced them, my 'insider' status enabled me to engage in critical discussions with the staff members. This would have occurred much later if I had not had 'equality' experience from earlier work. Drawing from activist anthropology, I decided that it was more fruitful to be aware of my position than attempt to define it. The uncomfortable experience of questioning my positioning after the fieldwork encouraged a more critical gaze and analysis of my material and the anthropological process, which I believe enriches the writing.

While each ethnographer must find his or her own access and involvement techniques, I argue that remaining receptive to the changes in the field and following opportunities as they arise will result in organically conducted field research. Although the combination of techniques may not be directly applicable to other anthropologists, the learning is. Many steps – such as focusing solely on CERES and accepting a paid position after fieldwork – were unplanned and only analysed once they had begun.

If conducting fieldwork with disciplinary insiders, I argue that it is advantageous to the analysis to employ methods that place the ethnographer at as many points as possible within the situation studied.

Filling several positions at the Centre led to the advantage of experiencing wider actions and communications within the organisation. I advocate for continuing some form of contact for several months following fieldwork through a graduated process

of distancing oneself. As I officially left the field, the early assessment of the unique aspects of race equality in Scotland benefited from discussion with colleagues. In maintaining that contact, I broke the traditionally received wisdom of complete extraction from the field but it was invaluable for this research. As expected, the next stage of analytical distance in order to understand the particularities of the Centre benefited from the lack of contact. The choices may or may not work best for me in the future for similar organisational situations, but the process has resulted in the learning that it is more important to follow the flow of the field than proscribed knowledge of previous anthropologists. Only in doing so can one conduct a truly engaged ethnography and privilege the situation at hand.

4. Theories

The politics of 'race' in this country [UK] is fired by conceptions of national belonging and homogeneity which not only blur the distinction between 'race' and nation, but rely on that very ambiguity for their very effect (Gilroy 1992: 44).

As laid out in Chapter Two, the legal context for race equality work in Scotland was the *RR(A)A 2000* while understandings of belonging and the complementary anti-racism campaigns provided the broader cultural and social context. In its definition of racism the Act protects both cultural and biological traits. Biology also features in ideas of belonging. Chapter Three addressed the changes in organisational practice on race, racism and belonging within that context. The three large theoretical areas of equality, identity and myth created the context of the research and influenced the central organisation's actions. This chapter presents equality theories to find the appropriate model for the form functioning within Scotland and considers equality of opportunity and mainstreaming, amongst others. The notion of 'identity' structures equality, race equality and national belonging, the types recognised and negotiated between CERES and government, as well as my positioning through fieldwork and research analysis. For these reasons, 'identity' is the second overall theoretical area. While self-identification is important for community and personal choices, it is the categorisation of others that is central to racism. The third theoretical area builds upon the previous two and includes myth and nation-formation. The general and anthropological theories on equality support an argument that concepts of belonging and the body have been used by the Scottish government to formulate a nation in which racism is understood as an illness.

The concept of equality is broad, at times vague, highly contested and used in international human rights and law discourses. From these categories, the government protects citizens or marks out which identities are considered legitimate for citizens or belonging to the national body. Nation formation excludes that which is thought detrimental or conflicting with the national ideal. In the case of Scotland,

the equality campaigns aim to exclude *racism* for it jeopardises the nation's present and future. Myths shape national identity and have been used in Scotland to promote an identity that foregrounds equality. In order to support the equality work (written documents, policies in action, social perceptions or campaigns), national myths are drawn upon to show that the efforts for change align with that it means to be Scottish. Egalitarianism and 'new' Scotland support this claim and are revisited through theories on myths. This chapter will explore the ways in which equality and myth interact to provide a theoretical background for the ethnography to follow.

Equality: from Theory to Practice

Theoretical equality writings are dominated by philosophical discussions on equality of access, of resources, or other divisible aspect of life. As shown in Chapter Two, the Scottish Parliament and Scottish government set out a strong commitment to what they term 'equality of opportunity'. Searching the literature for theories that addressed a form of equality similar to the one promoted within Scotland beginning as 'equality of opportunity' and evolving to include 'mainstreaming' there were evaluations of the success of specific programmes yet no discernible critiques of the theory behind the initiatives. The majority of theories focused on UK or English anti-racism movements. Equality work in the sector did not question how 'equality' was being *used* in Scotland at the time I began fieldwork. Pairing these critiques, I attempted to formulate a theory on equality in Scotland.

Baker *et al.* propose equality as a relationship between individuals or groups 'regarding some aspect of those people's lives' (2004: 21). They conceptualise two forms of equality: basic and liberal egalitarian. Basic equality prohibits degradation and blatant violence, and strives to satisfy the basic needs of an individual (*ibid.*: 23). This begs the question as to how equality might be dissected into basic equality or another form. Surely living a life free from hostility or discrimination, whether overt *or* covert should also be included with needs, rather than simply blatant violence. Provision for basic needs is similar to one of two types of equalities also critiqued by Armstrong. This type, he notes, focuses on which equal shares are necessary or which equal opportunities must be secured in order to reach the desired outcome, placing an individual's responsibility and choice as too central (Armstrong

2006: 3). In its pure form, the focus on equal access to opportunities does not view as legitimate inequality arising from situations beyond choice, such as one's race or gender (Armstrong 2006: 5). The 'equality of what' discourse influences public policy decisions, placing it as the opportunity to compete in a 'market economy' rather than including considerations of materials, abilities, or happiness (*ibid.*: 88). This narrow focus conflicts with the attempts the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government have made to mainstream equality.

The Equality Bill was under consultation during fieldwork and now functions as the *Equality Act 2010*, encompassing all previous equality legislation. The equality of opportunity mindset is informed by the desire to treat everyone equally and it often seems logical to create over-arching equality frameworks when revising policies and procedures. The 'egalitarian formula' works from the premise that all similar cases should receive similar treatment unless there is 'sufficient reason' to do otherwise (Berlin 1978: 82, 83). While I believe equal opportunity is a broader approach to opportunities, it is insufficient for full equality. Education strongly impacts upon chances in the job market so, following Armstrong's lead, this discussion presents equality of opportunity to imply education and access or opportunity in all forms.

Another approach to equality, 'luck equality', aims to remove luck from the equation and make the distribution of goods or happiness a result of individual effort or ambition, which seems positive upon first glance (Armstrong 2006: 2). A common response to socio-economic inequality is the assumption that the disadvantaged individual must lack ambition or ability. To decide that individuals simply lack the opportunity is to overlook the institutionalised racism or other systemic discrimination, which precludes individuals from securing work in the first place. It ignores the impact that discrimination has on education and resources, school experiences, leaving qualifications, access to recruitment resources, and social capital. It is important to note that biological racism blamed race, rather than social structures, for an individual's failure to flourish or succeed, something luck equality evokes for the researcher. Neither equal opportunity nor luck equality imply lived equality. What must be taken into account is the specific or extra needs each group

has in relation to the hegemonic citizen and societal structures. The *RR(A)A 2000* holds institutions and systems accountable for discrimination, showing that luck equality is also not the predominant approach in the UK or Scotland. Returning to egalitarian approaches to equality, Baker *et al.* describe liberal egalitarianism as one which works to manage the inequalities that will always exist by increasing the minimum entitlement for individuals, to regulate advantage (2004: 25). While they acknowledged the power of oppressive structures to create inequality, this approach remains an equality of opportunity because initial access is the only stage at which equality seems to be considered.

Ultimately, the definitions of equality aim for the absence of inequality, proffering no formula for recognising when equality is present or functioning. One central problem that arose during fieldwork (further explored in Chapter Seven) is the fact that equality is not quantifiable. Only in its absence are statistics or degrees of inequality apparent. While the difficulty of defining equality arose within the CERES office, the researcher did not ask questions regarding how the staff came to terms with the distance between the abstract definition and arguing its simplicity in order to encourage others to put it into practice. Reaching equality could only occur in theory due to the ongoing and continuously evolving forms of discrimination within each social and cultural context. In the CERES office, the core staff and I discussed this several times during fieldwork. Staff speak as though Scotland is at the very beginning of considering equality issues and as such, are comfortable speaking and writing in concrete and simplified terms in materials. This may have been different had staff assessed Scotland at a higher level of understanding equalities issues. CERES staff are skilled at both complicated theorising on equality within the organisation and at simplifying the issue for their published materials and public interactions. What is missing from this analysis is how they may reconcile the internal knowledge that complete equality is not achievable in practice with the need to define and promote equality as achievable and worth working toward. Another remaining question is the extent to which CERES is fully conscious of the tension or if it would admit this in any official capacity. The level of conscious thought that race equality practitioners in the wider

CERES network applied to the problem is unclear, particularly in light of the support many gave to the active monitoring of equalities as a way to reach the goal.

One of the research projects I worked on with CERES was *Race and Faith* for Project 5. This work dealt with situations where equal access or provisions for all pupils led to an inequality of outcome. Rules that create equal treatment for one group can easily lead to inequality for others and one rule for equality may contradict another (Berlin 1978: 85, 87). For pupils with religious accommodation needs in schools (i.e. needs that are not already provided in a secularised, historically Christian society), a school uniform policy or lunch menu with one option can deny them an equal experience of schooling that does not impinge upon religious practice. Some laws and rights ultimately preclude groups from protection, such as a school uniform policy disallowing the use of turbans which would force Sikhs to put aside a religious duty (Parekh 1997: 152; Pilkington 2003: 47). *One Scotland* defines a 'provision or practice that everyone has to conform to, but which some groups cannot meet so easily' as indirect discrimination (Scottish Executive: August 2005). Direct discrimination, when one group receives less favourable treatment than others in the same situation, is more easily recognised than indirect discrimination (Scottish Executive: August 2005).

Most attempts at describing equality lead to qualifying it in one way or another and one type of 'equality' may conflict with another. Religious or political differences, for example, have the potential to seriously challenge equality. This may lead to the practical need for equality campaigns to deal so closely with identity categories. If, as Rees states, only alterable facts or situations are viewed as unequal, then perhaps difference serves a purpose for equality programming by creating a template from which to work (1971: 12, 91). From differential treatment to hierarchy, the attitudes toward difference are as varied as the theories on equality (see Dumont 1972, Berlin 1978). This influenced how subjects were approached by the organisation when attempting to develop both meaningful and accessible materials. The members in the CERES network told experiences of teachers across Scotland who approached equality as difference which led them to either celebrate that difference in a

tokenistic way as shown in multicultural programmes, aim for sameness in access or opportunity as an approach to equality or worry about raising issues of difference for fear of sparking prejudice in students.

Parekh's approach advocates equality of effect (which may occur at any stage in the process), distinguished from outcome (which is the final result), rather than equality of formalised rights. Such consideration resonates with the mainstreaming equality efforts in schools, which takes into account a lesson's impact on students of differing races, cultures, abilities, languages, or religions, amongst others. Notes written on the back of my research summary presented to the group researching the *Race and Faith* work indicate that while there was no shortage of examples of practices and policies for specific situations, we had not uncovered much material lending insight into school *attitudes* toward religious accommodation (field notes 18 July 2006). These attitudes would appear in considerations of effect and outcome. Rees presents Rashdall's 'equality of consideration' which holds that all humans should receive equal consideration in the 'distribution of ultimate good' (1971: 106). Both Rashdall's consideration and Parekh's (1997) equality of effect, with equality of outcome, is what I would deem a *new* equality of consideration. Different identities impact upon inequality and discrimination in different ways and the equality of consideration describes equal access, support and outcome at each stage. This consideration throughout is how CERES staff conceptualise mainstreaming equality. Equality theories generally work in the theoretical universe by applying the abstract concept to an ideal model, with the purpose of stimulating thought rather than action. I argue that the CERES staff draw upon these simplified theoretical models of equality and one can see the academic influence in the Centre's criticisms of equality of opportunity and multiculturalism to facilitate persuading others to take action.

Mainstreaming in Theory

In an article on gender mainstreaming in the UK, Beveridge *et al.* aimed to create a universally applicable set of attributes to judge mainstreaming initiatives (2000: 388). The four points that must be satisfied for successful mainstreaming are that the program must reduce or eliminate 'barriers to inclusion and participation', represent

all variances in opinions from individuals of the represented identity, gather information on the general group, and address practical requirements for 'effective implementation' (*ibid.*: 389-390). In conversations and office meetings CERES network members spoke as though the fourth point is the most important element to a successful programme, although it is not clear whether this is a result of either the members' focus as educationalists or as material developers.

Some believe that mainstreaming all equalities together is a more effective approach than integrating each issue separately, an opinion presumably backed when the mainstreaming initiative was launched by the Scottish Executive (Beveridge *et al.* 2000: 392). Others argue that structures leading to inequality are different between groups and no single approach can ensure equality for all, harking back to the concerns raised about schemes where equality is only considered in the beginning stages (*ibid.*). While most of their article on gender mainstreaming transfers in theory to mainstreaming equality, based on my fieldwork, their point on accountability does not sufficiently offer guidance in the Scottish context. In order to create accountability with the process some form of monitoring needs to take place (*ibid.*: 2000: 391). This is relevant to, and desired by individuals in, the Scottish equalities field. They assert, however, that this monitoring should comprise 'targets being set, data being generated and analysed, and periodic reviews of policy being carried out' (*ibid.*). These points do align with the duties to monitor, in the *RR(A)A 2000* at a UK level, in which the Scottish mainstreaming equality efforts are embedded. The problem with measuring the mainstreaming of equality is that measurement is only capable of capturing an idea of the remaining *inequality* rather than equality, for only difference creates a measurable unit. The need to measure mainstreaming effectively turns it (and thus the promotion of equality) into reactive work, *anti-discrimination*.

Assessing the impact of policies is a valid approach and can continue to uncover areas for improvement, yet can never yield fully satisfying results as it cannot measure all contributors to inequality or show equality in action. Pro-active work is more difficult to measure or identify. Equality is more than immediate numbers,

individuals or even structural policies as they appear when written down. It is in the thoughts and actions of those who interact with the policies, structures and one another. A policy can appear inclusive and as though it will avoid all forms of structural discrimination, but if workers do not support it or unforeseen circumstances create a challenge to the policy, the measured 'equality' will be a false level. Emphasising measurable progress, while intended to raise awareness of inequality for those who may deny its existence or to increase accountability, may also stunt truly mainstreamed work by focusing on the quantifiable rather than other parts of the system which experience or create discrimination. The proactive approach to race equality as laid out by Westminster and taken forward in Scotland, may then be a contradiction in practice. Mainstreaming equality aims to place equality of opportunity at the centre of services and interactions. Difference does not pose as large a concern to opportunity as it does to equality of outcome. Even if race equality were achieved, other forms of identities may be unequal or in conflict. What sets mainstreaming apart from a basic equality policy is that equality here is not viewed as a tack-on-system but *the* system.

Personal Belonging

Racism and equality initiatives are two constructs used to influence understandings of belonging and how that may not align with the legal definition. Group belonging is formed in relation to self- and other-identifications, or 'identity'. There are ongoing debates in the literature on identity over how it is formed, to whom it applies and how it influences social interactions. For some, identity requires sameness, implying stability for the self or between several people comprising a group (Jacobson-Widding 1983: 13; Douglas 1983: 35). Stability is privileged not just in showing commitment to carrying out 'actions' but in regards to deciding whether or not something *is* an 'identity' and for creating the outward projection of an identity (Luckman 1983: 69). Somewhat counter intuitively, identity also requires a difference in order to distinguish a person or collective as a unit discreet from the surroundings (Jacobson-Widding 1983: 13; Petersoo 2007:118).

Some propose that identity is entirely shaped by culture (Fortes 1983: 395; Luckman 1983: 67-68). Earlier theories marked the individual as an inactive object onto which

culture was inscribed. Recent anthropological writings on personal identity distinguish their approach by highlighting the role of agency in choosing aspects of identity in response to social pressure or influence (Hall 1992: 276, 277; Douglas 1983: 45; Cohen 1994). The role of agency is highlighted to discuss how identity choices are active as people chose to hide or emphasise characteristics based on each situation or encounter, continuously creating their identities (Cohen 1994: 2; Pratt 2003: 10; Hall 1992: 287). For Fortes, identity must be continually *performed* to show one's commitment in a visible way (1983: 394, 395).

Many theories on identity require a definable difference from others, investing small qualities or traits with importance (Jacobson-Widding 1983; Petersoo 2007; and Harrison 2003: 349). Harrison presents three ways in which this similarity is felt between groups; difference as superiority, inferiority or equality (2003: 346). Harrison draws on Taussig to term the third type 'mimetic appropriation' and explains that it is the least recognised and 'intrinsic' to ethnicity and nationality (*ibid.*: 352, 351). This form of identification is not imitation nor differentiation from the other but rather an attempt to appropriate identity-myths to make them 'completely, and genuinely, one's own' (*ibid.*). Oppositional categories are particularly important for groups in times of crisis or formation (Petersoo 2007: 118; Pratt 2003: 10). Identities posed as different actually rely upon a large degree of similarity in order to make claims about nationality and ethnicity (Harrison 2003: 344). While difference can cause conflicts in attempts at equality for various identities, it is theorised to be important for the existence of identity. For Petersoo, the Other can be either positive or negative and both internal and external. With positive others, the difference is downplayed while the similarity is negated with negative others (2005: 20, 17). Knowing, or at least a perception of knowing, allows for a differentiation of self.

Brubaker and Cooper distinguish between experienced identity and identity as an analytical category in their critique of the multiplicity of ways that identity has been used, raising issue with the latter (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 2). The term identity is ambiguous in meaning and is used in such divergent ways with often conflicting aims, that any analysis containing the term is consequently affected (*ibid.*). Identity

is used to refer to how people make sense of themselves, what they do and how they are (dis)similar to those around them (*ibid.*: 4). Critical treatment of identity as a practice does not require use of the analytical category identity (*ibid.*: 5). To support this statement, they compare identity to discussions on nationalist politics or 'race-talk' and assert that such conversations do not necessarily include a discussion on the existence of races, nations, or, identity (*ibid.*). This point is the crux of the argument and convincing for race work as they clearly explain that it is not necessary to reify race as a category in order to acknowledge and analyse the power it has on social relationships (*ibid.*: 5).

Where this thesis does not meet Brubaker and Cooper's demands is that it does not aim to describe how the words and phrases are formulated into reality, an argument also put forth by Lewis in relation to race (2004). Beyond the complications posed by the term 'identity', group categories or identifications are used to designate protected status under equality laws. Those central to this thesis, are race and ethnicity. Due to the necessity of using the concept of race in working against racism, the international anti-racist movement faces challenges with working against racism without reinforcing the category (Banton 2002: 3).

Race, Ethnicity, Religion

Race and ethnicity are two often visible aspects of self and group identifications and comprised a central theme during fieldwork. While race has been closely dealt with in anthropology, racism has found a less central place of analysis. Due to the proliferation of sociological writings on racism, this literature gap in anthropology was not immediately apparent during research.

European and North American English language scientific writings during the early 17th century first employed race to name and explain human phenotypic differences (Miles 2000: 125). This led to a popular acceptance of the hypothesis that humans were from different races, effectively species (*ibid.*). Linnaeus classified *homo sapiens* into six diurnal species (the orangutan being the one nocturnal species), including *europaeus*, *americanus* and *asiaticus* (Banton 1998: 20). This argument

lost support when Buffon, a contemporary of Linneaus, refuted the argument by remarking that different species cannot inter-breed while human "races" are cross-fertile (*ibid.*: 21).

The definitions position a common genetic base as intrinsic to race. How people categorise others into race misguidedly attempts to use this genetic indicator. The categories used to separate "races" are not transferable from one society to another. A prime example of racial categories created in a social and historical situation very different from present day Britain is colonial Mexico. In Britain and the US, skin colour often determines "race" although categories differ between the two states. During the Spanish conquest of the Americas beginning at the end of the 15th century, the racial classification system in Mexico was based on parentage and the percentage of the type of blood "carried". The major levels in the hierarchical structure were designated by "white" European, "black" African or "Indian" Mexican individuals, with various "mixes" or mestizos. Social privilege was differentially granted to individuals based on blood percentages, separating individuals that might have appeared very similar (Aguirre Beltran 1945: 212).

Beyond distinguishing between individuals based on percentages of blood, visual characteristics such as skin tone ("hue"), facial features, hair texture and stature placed those of equal percentages higher or lower in the stratified system (Aguirre Beltran 1945). Essentially, full-blooded siblings could be classified into different social categories based on visible markers. The contemporary structure of race and ethnicity does not pay such close attention to "blood" percentages yet expressed biological traits, or phenotypes, sometimes serve to place siblings into different categories in Britain and the US (see also Lewis 2004: 125-134). A person's genotype is the full combination of genes he or she possesses and the phenotype is the biological expression of those genes, or the visible physical traits.

Relying upon phenotypic expression for reading of another's conjectured race frequently leads to placement in a category with which he or she may not identify. A situation when an individual has parents from two different supposed races and

identifies more with one than the other reflects such mismatching. If the group markers with which the child identifies are not expressed visibly, he or she may be assumed to belong to a different racial background. The reliance upon biology was also used in the U.S. in order to segregate based on the 'one drop' rule. Any individual with black African ancestry was considered black, often in conflict with expressed phenotypes. These examples illustrate how interpretations of race (and ethnicity) are always culturally and historically contingent and may change over time within the same context (Knowles 2003: 29; Pilkington 2003: 14, 15).

The desire to categorise self and others was discussed in Chapter Two. Bolaffi *et al.* expand upon racial categorisation by noting that the perception of these differences fulfils not only a psychological need for identifying difference and sameness but that the reactions stem from emotion rather than logic (Bolaffi *et al.* 2003: 239). The judgement attached to these reactions is a socialised form of knowledge, which is why the interpretation of visible clues is a social construct. The need to know someone's race is a central part of social interactions and the knowledge acts as social capital in how we conduct ourselves in the presence of others (Lewis 2004: 4). Fields writes that race meets an ideological need by explaining things about a group of people and was used, for example, to justify slavery to others during that historical period (Winant 2000: 182). The *AAA Statement on 'Race'* argues that the 'racial' worldview was an invention aimed to keep certain groups perpetually in low status or with privileged access to power and wealth. 'Present-day inequalities between so-called 'racial' groups', it explains, 'are not consequences of their biological inheritance but products of historical and contemporary social, economic, educational and political circumstances' (AAA 1998). Lewis argues that it is important to not focus on the existence of the colour division but how the line is drawn, where it lies and which values are attributed higher capital, echoing Brubaker and Cooper's approach to categories (2004: 6).

Leroi (2003) writes that with the mapping of the human genome, race has re-entered public debate. Geneticists and biologists state that they can easily identify certain 'ancestry informative markers' indicative of varying inheritance lines which align

with popular understandings of race (Banton 2005: 3). While reinforcing categorisation based on race only strengthens static categories, identifying groups of individuals sharing ancestral markers may be useful if engaging the scientific community in dialogue or determining genetic predispositions for certain conditions and diseases. Acknowledging biologically based human variation is not the problem. Social science does not refute the existence of genetic differences between populations but rejects any claim that the meanings attached to each 'difference' are standard. Banton advocates sustained attention to develop new ways of dealing with the increased biological foregrounding of 'race' (Banton 2005: 2). Mullings argues this point specifically for anthropology, stating that the discipline's theoretical and methodological tools make it particularly suited for 'unmasking the hidden transcripts' in the process of transforming difference into inequality (2005: 685).

Closely linked with race, ethnicity is also used to designate a culturally-contingent hierarchy of difference. While Benedict's assessment of race as physical and language as cultural is useful, the separation between race and culture in regards to ethnicity is not (1982: 53). It is commonly accepted that race is defined as the physical markers that set apart a group of people and ethnicity is the set of cultural markers. The interplay of race and ethnicity and the importance lent to each in varying contexts bears heavily upon society. The two ideas are closely intertwined, with ethnicity also impregnated with culturally contingent notions of power and value (Pilkington 2003: 11, 15). De la Pogue is cited as noting that a single ethnicity can span various 'races' (Bolaffi *et al.* 2003: 94). The broad category of Latino is a relevant illustration for it is often defined as an ethnic category and encompasses many races. Bolaffi *et al.* set forth three themes useful in defining ethnicity. The first is group membership designating 'us' from 'them' whether personally chosen or externally imposed criteria (*ibid.*). Second, is a common identity sought for group membership, and third is the presence of 'coherent stereotypes ascribed to the ethnic group in question' (*ibid.*).

Hall notes that British identity relies upon race and ethnicity to determine difference from others (2001: 29). In this situation, Britishness is the norm against which all

other ethnicities are measured (Hall 2000: 221). Modood adds that this 'ethnicity' is almost exclusively associated with whiteness (1992: 5). Hall suggests that this arises from an ignorance of the fact that everyone has an ethnicity regardless of whether or not they are the minority in that situation (2000: 221). In Britain, differing ethnicities are compounded into one label (Gaine 2005: 24, 77). The common term Asian, for instance, is used to include Indians, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, all of which may have various ethnic backgrounds per country (Gaine 2005: 77-78). Culture and ethnicity are in addition to being paired with certain races are conceptualised as tied to a national boundary. This is shown in the 2001 census 'ethnicity' categories which provided options to choose white British, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, or black Bangladeshi, Pakistani, etcetera. The absurdity of some categories becomes apparent when options for 'ethnic group' include 'Black or Black British' and the options under 'White' are British, Irish, Other. The options not only restrict race and ethnicity to certain pairings (unless, for instance, the individual writes in 'black other: Irish'), but raise national claims by asking respondents to choose an ethnicity which is categorised along national boundaries. In this form, nation and race are conflated and positioned as ethnicity. Asian signifies a region and functions as an 'ethnicity' while Irish and British are nationalities functioning as ethnicities.

This observation between race, ethnicity and nationalism is important, as there are ramifications for present day Britain. Each nation does not represent one singular culture and when the same word can signify cultural, ethnic or national groupings, complications easily arise for those creating clear race equality materials. 'Minority ethnic' is a phrase used in Scotland, denoting individuals who are in the minority based on either race or ethnicity. This better represents issues of racism that may include Scots of Pakistani heritage, newly arrived Poles, or Gypsy and Traveller families. Some groups and literature use the phrase 'black minority ethnic', privileging colour over other aspects. Modood notes that for some Asians², identification with blackness arises from being made aware of their 'Asian-ness' as a

² Modood does not specify what Asian comprises in this context, highlighting my prior comment of misaligned categories. 'Asian' in Britain commonly denotes individuals whose ancestry is traceable to Southeast Asian countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

minority (2001). In an earlier writing, Modood warns that identifying as black simply by being marginalised due to others viewing one as black is not a positive way to self-identify (1992: 19-20).

Hall remarks that while there is an understanding in Britain of its history in shaping colonial identities, it is rarely acknowledged that the colonies conversely influenced Britain (2001: 28). Negative attitudes toward immigrants are commonly justified by arguing that they are 'recent' in regards to UK history and, as Pilkington has found, their difference in skin colour may somehow 'emphasise' imperialism (2003: 41-42). These claims assume that only immigrants face discrimination and that all immigrants are non-white and have colonial connections. Discrimination also happens to those whose families have been in Britain for many generations. According to the 2001 Scottish census, the minority ethnic population in Scotland is just over two percent of the whole (Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance 2008: 1). Almost 50 percent of the minority ethnic population³ was born in the UK and 75 percent of them are citizens (Donnellan 1995: 1). Statistically, more people leave the UK than immigrate (*ibid.*: 3). Only ten percent of the entire UK population was born outside of the UK, with 60 percent of those migrants falling under the category of 'white' (Gaine 2005: 4, Donnellan 1995: 3).

Hesse poignantly ponders the significance of black Britishness being considered a form of intra-nationalism in which individuals, according to others, are not fully British regardless of generations spent in Britain (2000a: 113). Deciding that certain Britons must straddle the border between Britain and an un-visited land based on skin colour perpetuates a skewed understanding of belonging and does not allow the majority to appreciate the complex interactions between identity markers. Several markers, when socially devalued, result in racism. Discrimination on the grounds of religion often gets bound up with ethnicity and thus race.

Two forms of discrimination central to race equality work in Scotland arise from the

³ This research does not include white ethnicities in a minority ethnic and therefore the numbers of all minority ethnic individuals will be higher.

interplay of ethnicity and religion: sectarianism and Islamophobia. Both religion and the cultural practices associated with one's ethnicity are learned experiences. They may influence one another but are not necessarily linked. There is an interesting parallel between the social distancing of Irish Catholic immigrants to Scotland in the early 1900s and present day Muslims. While the Irish were undoubtedly newly arrived immigrants and the Muslims are Scottish, the similarity rests in the connection between presumed race or ethnicity and religion. Organised actions aiming to marginalise religion target the ethnicity or national identity supposedly connected with each. Religion is often used to underpin racism.

In 1922, powerful members of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland began a campaign to rid Scotland of the alien 'Irish race', using the moral differences of the Catholic religion to convince people although between twenty and thirty three percent of Irish immigrants were Protestant (Rosie 2004: 100, 14-15). Catholics were targeted by equating their religion with (Irish) ethnicity. Some Presbyterian clergy negatively discussed the effects of Irish immigration on an already declining Scottish population and attempted to change immigration laws (*ibid.*: 103). While the campaign failed to involve the wider community and legislature, the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish campaign undertaken by a large institution in Scotland greatly influenced the social and political climate in the following decades (*ibid.*: 103, 105).

The mainstreaming equality materials developed by CERES include sections on religion. In my first few Network meetings, council representatives and education officers asked whether I 'knew about' sectarianism, as did a government representative at the Scottish Executive's seminar on Twinning. The government representative focused solely on Protestant-Catholic relations and those from the Network included cross-religious conflicts. Those within the CERES Network who mentioned sectarianism at meetings made it clear that sectarianism was not simply a football phenomenon but a real problem in schools. Academic writings on sectarianism give the impression that it should no longer be a problem. While sectarian incidents have decreased statistically in Scotland (and globally) since the 1960s, survey respondents often state that Catholic-Protestant violence is still a large

problem even if they have not been direct victims of sectarianism (Rosie 2004: 28). Some social theorists argue that religion no longer plays an important role for the majority of the population and that Scotland is now secular (see Bruce *et al.* 2004: 157; Brown 1997: 1, 174).

Due to the historical influence of religion, particularly Christianity, on Scottish society and institutions, I argue that a decrease in church attendance when compared with how the population chooses to identify personal religion does not negate the current influence of Christianity (Brown 1997: 177). Sixty-seven percent of the Scottish population counted in the 2001 census reported having a religion. Of that group, sixty five percent identified themselves as Christian with Muslim the second most common response (Census Summary Report 2005: 7). Rosie proposes that questioning the components of Scottish identity since devolution has maintained sectarianism's prominence as an issue and that since the sociological definition implies systematic discrimination affecting an entire religious group, the situation in Scotland would be more aptly referred to as bigotry or prejudice (2004: 28, 144, 3). It is possible that the introspection required for growth as a devolved nation caused the issue to be disproportionately highlighted, but statistical occurrences of violence cannot graph neighbourhood tensions or citizen worry over the *potential* incidents.

Regardless of whether these occurrences function as the *‘true’* sectarianism formulated in the past, the term is used in the current social context to gain attention for religious discrimination in Scotland. Sectarianism is viewed as a threat to Scottish social cohesion. The Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) website has the most inclusive definition of sectarianism. The LTS website is an extensive resource for teachers sponsored by the Scottish government. With lessons, ideas, classroom resources and current information for Scotland's schools, the site's definition of religious sectarianism is likely to be commonly taught in education. The definition given is as follows:

A narrow-minded following of a particular belief by members of a denomination that leads to prejudice, bigotry, discrimination, malice and ill-will towards members, or presumed members, of another denomination. Sectarianism can occur in different ways, either at an individual, group, cultural or institutional level ('What is Sectarianism' 2009).

Since CERES maintains the anti-sectarian pages on this site, the above definition is also used in the Centre's communications. This is one equality issue in Britain that is unique to Scotland.

The Scottish Executive held anti-sectarian events across the country and as part of a larger initiative, commissioned CERES to develop anti-sectarian resources. A conference held in May 2006, focused on 'Twinning' efforts between denominational and non-denominational schools, with the buzzwords of the day including 'tackling', 'breaking down barriers' and 'building bridges'. The workshops displayed examples of anti-sectarian programming centring on exchanges between Catholic and non-denominational schools. Many of the presentations emphasised the need to work against Islamophobia and some noted that sectarianism was the largest social problem faced by the students and community.

Dealing with Islamophobia in Scottish equality initiatives is a delicate process and, due to UK government and media depictions of 'terrorists' also a political move. For CERES, Islamophobia includes discrimination based on religion, ethnicity and sometimes race, nationality or culture. Özyürek argues that when activists working against xenophobia and racism employ the broad definition of Islamophobia, the umbrella concept weakens and even confuses the effort (2005: 509). Özyürek mentions how historical Muslim influences in Europe are glossed over when majority Christian countries depict Islam as culturally external.

í Islamophobia also assumes a homogenous religion and culture. Furthermore, it conceals that real people, rather than an abstract category of religion or culture, are being discriminated against (*ibid.*: 511).

Özyürek challenges the use of Islamophobia and presents a strong argument for the difficulty arising from treating those who face various experiences of discrimination in the same manner. In the current political situation in Scotland, however, applying the term to all forms of discrimination against those perceived to be Muslim, regardless of ethnicity, nationality or religious observances, is more likely to result in protection. When Muslims are singled out, it is due to the assumption that they follow a stereotype of Islam that represents violence and hatred. While the Centre's

and my definitions of racism include Islamophobia, it is sometimes useful to separately discuss Islamophobia when educating on discrimination. Contrary to Özyürek, I argue that using the overarching term of Islamophobia enables activists to advocate for some protection rather than none when the publisher, authority or governing body expresses discomfort (whether verbally or through a succession of actions) with Islam (2005). For those who view Islam as a threat, stating that the majority of Muslims do not subscribe to militant ideas may not work. As Özyürek states, the driving factor in discrimination is often the assumption of cultural difference and a fear that Islam is connected to terrorism (*ibid.*:511). Emphasising the peacefulness of Islam while dealing with the issue of Islamophobia is more likely to be embraced than a program questioning the negative depictions of Muslims linked to terrorism, an unfortunately powerful association in Britain today.

Racism and Anti-Racism

Unsurprisingly, racism is just as complex as that of race. The term racism was first elaborated in Europe with the National Socialist movement in 1930s Germany as the impetus for coining the term. It has most precisely named the practices that have occurred in many countries in the modern era but is not merely a Euro-American occurrence (Miles 2000: 125; Bonnett 2000; 24). Dictionary definitions of racism centre on the belief that biological variance between races lead to differing abilities, much like the definitions of race promoted in 17th century science. Other definitions emphasise discrimination or hostility toward those of a certain race or other races. Most of Todorov's extensive explanation of racism mirrors the dictionary meanings. For Todorov, racism can be either malicious *behaviour* or an ideology about races, with one not dependent on the other (2000: 64). Todorov labels the ideology as *racialist* and details its components:

1. Belief that the physical characteristics shared by groups of people signify a genetic distance between other groups.
2. These physical differences lead to differences in moralities.
3. Behaviour depends on learnings from the individual's ethnic group.
4. There is a hierarchy of humans, where some races are superior to others. This leads to making universal judgements about others.
5. Knowledge-based politics (*ibid.*: 64-66).

Number two is a nebulous argument that confuses race and culture, much like the

aforementioned examples. It may have been the continuous blurring of the categories in everyday social interactions and official documents such as the census described above, that led the Race Relations Acts authors to protect both groups. Todorov's 'racialist' theory turns to racist action at the fifth point. The individual justifies practices that may subordinate or eliminate certain races by citing the aforementioned four points (*ibid.*: 67). Aside from point three, the above 'racialist' points are included in how those across the race equality network in Scotland define racism. Todorov's definitions allude to covert and overt racism, if only within one individual. This separation between thoughts and actions contributes to the difficulties in monitoring racist incidents as direct discrimination can occur without intent and racist intent does not always result in action.

The Scottish Executive's campaign *One Scotland: No Place for Racism* clearly defines racism as conduct or practices which disadvantage or advantage people due to 'colour, culture or ethnic origin' and may be unwitting, intentional, overt or covert (Scottish Executive: August 2005). There two main types of racial discrimination are variably labelled indirect or covert and direct or overt. Several theorists point out the tendency to equate racism as actions only against specific groups rather than acknowledging the broader definition that includes ethnicity, religion and national origin.

One example of such prejudice is that faced by economic migrants from the Accession 8 countries. The list of A8 countries comprises Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary, Lithuania and Latvia. When these eight statistically poorer countries joined the EU in 2004, many other European countries did not allow their migrant workers to enter (BBC 2005). European economic migrants, often white Poles⁴, discount theories in older research on British or Scottish as white and non-white as other. Exploring a hierarchy of desirability placed on migrant workers by (potential) employers, McDowell highlights the power of whiteness. Workers from Eastern European countries are viewed as hard-working and preferred over migrants from other regions of the world. What remains hidden

⁴ Sixty-two percent of the A8 migrants registered with the Home Office are from Poland (McDowell 2008: 58).

in this context is skin tone (*ibid.*: 59). There is also differential experience of employment for those across this white European group, with racialised stereotypes of nationality influencing employers. Bulgarians and Romanians, for instance, face conceptions that they are 'gangsters' and lawless respectively (*ibid.*). The aforementioned example of a desirability hierarchy is clearly racism. Colour racism is often privileged over other forms in writings and actions addressing racism (May 1999: 2). Although racism against white groups is not as overt, it arises from the same place as other forms of racism (Saeed *et al.* 1991: 824). Focusing solely on race leads to a denial of ethnicity's role in personal or group identity, social interactions, and discrimination (Pilkington 2003: 49).

The *AAA Statement on 'Race'* aimed to distinguish between biology or heredity and culture, clearly noting that:

Racial beliefs constitute myths about the diversity in the human species and about behavior of people homogenized into 'racial' categories. The myths fused behavior and physical features together in the public mind, impeding our comprehension of both biological variations and cultural behavior, implying that both are genetically determined (AAA 1998).

It is easy to visibly infer someone's race or ethnicity, regardless of accuracy. Race and ethnicity are difficult to conceal and are two of the most common targets of discrimination. Religion (observed or otherwise) also often marks individuals as 'different' placing it within the vulnerable realm. All these attributes are markers of difference. The researcher's definition of racism is broad to allow for the multiple and emerging types of discrimination present in Scotland today. This definition states that the discrimination, whether purposeful or unintentional, affects an individual based on his or her skin colour, cultural background, ethnic origin, heritage, country of birth, language or religion. These are generally the major types of discrimination covered under anti-racism policies and informed fieldwork and the following chapters. In using the term racism, this thesis henceforth includes the acknowledgement that ethnicity cannot be removed from or placed in secondary position to race. Neither in discussing anti-discrimination measures, nor in identifying discriminatory practices.

Amongst the plethora of governmental and independent or voluntary organisations working to alleviate or prevent racism, CERES is at the conversational centre. While the majority of organisations mainly refer to themselves as promoting racial equality or working against racism and xenophobia, they often employ the term anti-racism. In literal terms anti-racism is simply countering racism. The question remains as to which forms of racism it shall oppose and how best to proceed with the task? This illustrates how anti-racism acts as a type of buzzword, rather than a clearly defined goal. This is not to say that such organisations are ineffective or complacent but rather that this term is taken to be easily understood by all.

Many books devoted to issues surrounding anti-racism do not define the word. The closest to a definition, after explaining what anti-racism is *not*, comes from Bonnett. Bonnett explains that anti-racism is not simply the inverse of racism (although that may work in theory)(2000: 3). Anti-racism is:

those forms of thought and/or practice that seek to confront, eradicate and/or ameliorate racism. Anti-racism implies the ability to identify a phenomenon – racism – and to do something about it (*ibid.*: 4).

This leads to the complex question of differentiating multicultural from anti-racism campaigns, as the two terms are often confused with one another. Both terms are often applied to the same organisation or effort and these groups may not self-identify with either concept. In general usage in Scotland, anti-racism campaigns seek to rid the location of racist occurrences or perhaps even thoughts. Multicultural campaigns depend upon anti-racism to be successful in order to positively promote multiculturalism. From an academic position, Bonnett analysed anti-racism campaigns and listed the seven most common reasons they give to counter-racism.

Racism;

- A. Is 'socially disruptive'
- B. Is a foreign concept
- C. '[S]ustains the ruling class'
- D. Counters community progress
- E. Is an 'intellectual error'
- F. Erases or distorts identities
- G. Is 'anti-egalitarian and socially unjust' (2000: 4-7).

Although there may be some truth in each statement, it is important to not assume

that the native society is inherently pluralistic, thus othering racism (*ibid.*: 5). That racism is a 'foreign concept' is an odd declaration which attempts to position the discrimination as extrinsic to the group or location. While there may be some societies that maintain a plural, egalitarian or multicultural society, it is commonly rhetoric rather than practice. Interestingly, Banton argues that the majority of UN representatives that signed the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* in 1965 believed racism was 'characteristic of states other than their own' (1996: vii, 1-2). Egalitarian rhetoric and national boundaries appear in Scottish campaigns countering racism and are explored in the following section. The distance between multiculturalism and anti-racism and the ideological point at which they intersect lead to interesting questions of differences and implications for these organisations.

Banton places UNESCO's 1945 constitution as the beginning of the anti-racist movement in international politics (2002: 1). Assembling an international committee, UNESCO issued statements on race again in 1950, 1951, 1964 and the mid 1990s (*ibid.*: 28-31). The majority of the committees comprised mostly, or entirely, anthropologists. The evolution through each statement was the move from defining the difference between the scientific and popular understandings of race, to a declaration in 1964 that biological data is 'in open contradiction to the tenets of racism'. It continued by stating that 'racist theories can in no way pretend to have any scientific foundation' (Banton 2002: 30). The most recent statement was published in the form of booklets on various aspects of race. The book titled *Racial Myths* by Juan Comas defined race as a myth and a term for national, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups (*ibid.*: 31).

Despite the anthropological involvement in defining race in both the UNESCO and AAA statements and in the wider discipline to undermine racist conceptions of biology and culture, anthropologists have not engaged with racism to the same degree (Mullings 2005). Mullings argues that this may be due to the lack of agreement on how to use the categories of 'race' and 'racism'. Some (particularly physical anthropologists) defend race as a useful tool to understand human biological

variation and others support the theory that it is a social construct but fail to question the role it continues to play in discrimination (*ibid.*: 670). Early anti-racism in the discipline sought to educate people on race but did not seek to change social inequality (*ibid.*). Since only activist branches of the discipline generally aim for social change, this explains the relative silence. Written in a style that suggests engaged anthropology itself, the article argues for the wider dissemination of anthropological research on racism and entering public discourse (*ibid.*: 685).

Anthropological analysis and voice would be productive for anti-racism work. For example, Banton writes that Human Rights treaties are universal and that the concept circumvents the international limitations of anti-racism (2002: 170). Promoting a rights-based discourse, according to Banton, enables the creation of norms above a national level and provides a future-proof framework (by drawing upon terms that use 'existing principles' to resolve problems and protects from the negative consequences of group assignment while acknowledging the potential importance of group belonging (*ibid.*). Adding an anthropological voice to national anti-racism and race equality discussions would make it clear that the concept of human rights is never uncomplicated nor truly universal regardless of how beneficial the ideal may be. Further anthropological analyses, with their attention to categories and rational uses, could assess the most appropriate anti-racism models for each context. While this is not an easily applicable solution, it would be the most productive in the long run. Although this thesis does not seek to influence the social or political discourse on anti-racism in Scotland, its focus on the process may create the foundation for later engagement.

Myth

The *AAA* statement presented racism as a result of a 'myth'. The definitions of myth as a set of deeply held ideas beyond direct analysis easily apply to the social classification and their hierarchies of worth previously shown in definitions of racism (Schwandner-Sievers 2002: 3; Barthes 1981: 109-110). Myths are signifiers, carrying complete meanings rather than being open to meaning attribution (Barthes 1981: 117). Additionally, myths are constructed but not necessarily false and have the power to influence and structure thoughts due to their connective tendencies,

circulation and perpetuation (Schöpflin 2002: 28). In their completeness, myths distort or augment an event or example into something that seems natural and therefore unquestionable, as though it is not an explanation but a factual statement (Barthes 1981: 128, 143). For this reason, they 'provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction' (Levi-Strauss 1963: 229). This logic closely aligns with the ideological need to justify social structures that Fields cited for race (Winant 2000: 182). Myths lead individuals to include, exclude or legitimate ideas and even how they analyse a situation (Schöpflin 2002: 29). From this standpoint, myths are pervasive and undetected parts of socialisation in a community or nation. It is through continual socialisation that myths are believed and unquestioned, clearly demonstrated in local or culturally contingent definitions of race. It is the transformation from story to natural fact noted by Barthes, that enables group unity, as it is otherwise impossible for collectives to reach universal agreement (Schöpflin 2002: 28, 27).

Several local and national myths may circulate within the same group or nation and the process of nation-building draws heavily upon myth. National narratives vary across the country with different localities and groups interpreting the themes accordingly (de Rapper 2002: 191). These stories appear in schools, storybooks, newspapers, other media, and conversations or interactions with neighbours and strangers. Individuals accepting the community's myths may continue to identify with the message while being aware that the story is not entirely accurate (Schöpflin 2002: 28). It is through repetition that a myth's structure becomes apparent, delineating it as a distinct entity rather than a story told by chance (Levi-Strauss 1963: 229).

Stories create a strong identification for groups through an evocation of a shared past and future, building coherence and reinforcing ideologies about the collective (Schöpflin 2002: 28; Kamen 2008). Rooting the collectivity in a common history enables the group's continuity (Kamen 2008: 206; Schöpflin 2002: 27). This constructed continuity and the myth's span over time reflect why Schwander-Sievers refers to myths as narratives (2002: 4). The 'narrative' becomes tangible and seems

rational based on the realness with which individuals and groups treat the story. This supports Levi-Strauss's assertion of the importance of repetition (1963). Myths and narratives structure beliefs on national belonging and the categories used to identify individuals within that nation. They are consciously drawn upon by governments. It is for clarity that I will employ the phrase national narrative rather than national myth.

Presenting national narratives from Spain, Kamen draws attention to the preoccupation with the 16th century as the starting point for the modern nation. Politicians draw policy inspiration from 16th century governance with the belief that the nation prospered during this early modern period (2008: vi, xii). This national narrative first created in the early 1800s by writers and politicians gave an illusion of unity and included elements that referred to the previous failed monarchy and the Catholic nation. Like scholars and politicians, governments and national institutions perpetuate messages and myths that justify or reinforce their motives.

A similar starting point for modern Scotland is expressed as devolution, illustrated in CERES discussions of post-devolution equality work (see Chapter Two and Three, respectively). This can either occur through a direct continuation of previous myths or by re-articulating history in order to point the story in a new direction while maintaining coherence. For Schöpflin, the more mythic elements or plots available to draw upon, the easier it is to provide support for drastic changes by drawing upon or modifying a different story on the premise that the new ordering has been 'sanctioned by the past and legitimated by a mythic narrative' (2002: 26). The Scottish government has drawn upon the egalitarian and new Scotland myths to promote its race equality campaign and promote a specific reading of the nation.

Nation Formation

Researching myths and national narratives leads to writings on state formation and how nations have created their own sovereignty. This presumes that the state and the nation follow the same contours, which is not the case in Scotland. While Scotland is a nation, particularly its use of the term to self-reference, it holds a position within the larger British state. As a result, it cannot be defined as a nation-state (commonly

used to reference an independent state). Can the term state be applied to analyse national narratives and their role in state or nation formation? A state is conceptualised as a political or geographic entity and the nation is a cultural entity, while a nation-state is legitimated through holding territorial sovereignty over the sovereign nation. For Anderson, the nation is a political community imagined to be sovereign (1991: 6). The notion of a common territory reflects a sense of contribution to a civic nationalism. Drawing upon a group's commonality brings the potential to use the factors for discrimination, discussed in the forthcoming section on blood and body. One major project cited in state-formation literature is building one's sovereignty through delineating both physical and social boundaries (Alonso 2005: 36, 47). Controlling borders defines who belongs and who does not and enables clearer proscription of social boundaries (*ibid.*: 37).

Literature on state-formation provides a productive approach to understanding national messages disseminated. Through presenting essential symbols to crystallise the accepted social boundaries, the state self-consciously produces representations of the collectivity, its individuals and ideals (Foster 2002: 26; Herzfeld 1992: 22). Such symbols aid narratives that attempt to write a heterogeneous population under one story (Herzfeld 1992: 107). The challenge for nationalist messages is in drawing upon common themes that individuals will experience as relevant to them (Cohen 1996: 809-812). Scotland is not sovereign due to the reserved powers held by the UK government. The reserved power of immigration legally defines who does and does not belong in the larger state. It influences images of insiders or outsiders in Scotland but does not entirely cement the message. Scotland, in its process of nation-formation also attempts to extra-legally define what insiders look like. The national government in Scotland cannot define the legal citizen but it can influence national understanding of belonging to the nation. These concepts are enforced largely through race equality campaigns by drawing upon older national narratives or articulating new ones. The body is important in creating typified citizens and in controlling, authorising and legitimating particular practices.

The body plays a part in stories about who should be included or excluded in society

and racism is one such story. Most explicitly, based on a physical marker or the way in which it is used, the body is the main location for experiencing discrimination since bodies are 'imbued with ideas of difference and sameness' (Nagel and Staeheli 2008: 86). Nagel and Staeheli discuss the visually discernible clues such as hair and skin colour that are promoted and catalogued in racial profiling as part of government surveillance techniques (*ibid.*). The signifiers inscribed in the body are attributed to cultural categories and used to designate race in ways that disallow the hiding of presumed markers. There are other bodily markers visible to onlookers, such as religion. Myths on national belonging also refer to the body. Foucault cites blood, along with the body as a location over which power and policing are wielded in order to control populations. Everyday notions of belonging draw heavily upon location or physical and corporeal markers, as birthplace and accent featured heavily in research on belonging in Scotland. Similarly, myths that Scotland is a racially homogenous nation or 'all white' relies upon physical bodies for validation. These physical bodies are presented as signifiers of the entire nation, the national body.

Beginning in the 17th century, the social, religious and medical approach to the body sought to suppress sexual expression at a time when discourses on the subject increased (Foucault 1978: 17-18). In the following century, the concepts of wealth, labour capacity, and the population as a discrete unit, had crystallised (*ibid.*: 18). The focus on the population's production extended to the body insofar as conceiving of an individual's sexual acts as either a threat or a benefit to society (*ibid.*: 25; 26). In order to keep the population clean and from violating the legal or moral order, sexuality in the 19th century became medicalised and defective individuals were said to taint the whole society (*ibid.*: 44, 54). Herzfeld describes the use of 'symbolism' to organise people around moral ideas and create a link between morality and identity, ultimately implicating certain typified identities as (im)moral (1992). The actions of the individual reflected upon the health of the social body and the maintenance of the correct form reflected upon the state. This process delineated behavioural expectations and responsibilities for citizens but most importantly, the types of bodies that qualified as citizens (*ibid.*: 44, 19). Blood and sex as Foucault uses them are myths through their shaping of thoughts and actions. Das and Poole

argue that sovereign power originated in biopolitically producing the body (2004: 10). This use and control of the body as a means to control and define society is directly applicable to racism and belonging in Scotland as well as the promotion of a civic nationalism over an ethnic form.

Writing practices that render actions either legible or illegible create the modern state (Das and Poole 2004: 10). Writing practices such as gathering statistics, requiring personal identification papers or implementing checkpoints, are intended to maintain control over the population and territory (*ibid.*). Writing practices secure the idea that the bureaucracy is logical and the population is not, legitimating why the bureaucracy must manage the citizens (Das 2004: 245). By projecting the 'corporeal attributes' of the collective body onto the individual the body comes to signify the health of the state (Hawley 2002: 59). According to Glick Schiller, *all* forms of nationalism draw upon biological ideologies (emphasis added, 2005: 303).

One strong representational narrative in nation formation is the notion of 'blood' which is central to European concepts of culture and used to support both biological and cultural claims (Herzfeld 1992: 22). This idea of blood runs through the ways in which nations conceptualise ethnicities as biological and identify biology with entire cultures so that 'the fulfilment of an ethnic identity is to become a state-making nation' (Baumann 1999: 52). Although each use signifies a distinct political aim, blood discourse is used to define citizens, extend the state to wherever a citizen resides and maintain connections with a homeland (Glick Schiller 2005: 297, 301, 299, 300). Governments may use these definitions to remind emigrants of their connections or to avoid certain types of immigrants (*ibid.*: 301). This is, of course, an ethnic nationalism.

For Herzfeld, 'blood' is malleable to support any ideological claim and once chosen, serves to exclude all others (1992: 26-27). Combined with the proclivity of official narratives to assume stasis, a stereotype of a 'national character' emerges (Glick Schiller 2005: 73).

Stereotypes represent long-established prejudices and exclusions, and, like nationalist ideology itself, they use the terms of social life to exclude others

on cultural groups. They render intimate, and sometimes menacing the abstraction of otherness (*ibid.*: 72-73).

Herzfeld explores how such essentialising can inadvertently condone both indifference and violence. This indifference does not spontaneously arise but is cultivated through symbolic functions (1992: 50). While Herzfeld refers to state projects that negatively mark groups as cultural outsiders to solidify discourses of national belonging, I argue that the idea is applicable to governments drawing upon popular notions for inclusive means (*ibid.*: 50, 65).

The Cultivation of Concern

With these political claims on blood in mind, the promotion of a civic Scotland^o supported and promoted by a Nationalist government^o is an interesting departure. Since devolution, there has been an effort in Scotland to cultivate *concern* rather than indifference. As more areas of governance were devolved to the Scottish government, several actions showed a desire to set the country apart from the larger UK state. This was particularly visible in the increase of equality initiatives quickly passed in Scotland after devolution. The Scottish Executive announced a series of nine bills for 2000-2001, including the *Human Rights Bill* 'to make Scots Law compatible with the European Convention of Human Rights' (Bort 2001: 11). The UK legislation at that time protected individuals from discrimination based on sex, marital status, race or disability. A Scottish Act added sexual orientation, language, 'social origin', religion and political beliefs (Alexander and Davies 2001: 101).

The foreword to the Equality Strategy consultation document began with the following statement.

The Scottish Executive is determined that Scotland in the 21st century will be more tolerant, just and inclusive. That means we have to tackle the inequalities in our society and the underlying attitudes which sustain them. The Executive believes that its work on equality of opportunity is therefore central to all its activities (Baillie 2000).

The document goes on to detail the establishment of the Equality Unit, the drive for equality of opportunity and the principles that the Scottish Executive will use in order to carry out its work. Somatic elements appear several times in the document: working for equality in the heart^o of the Scottish Executive and in tackling^o

discrimination. The final sentence attempts to magnify the effect of the phrases by stating: 'This is modern government in practice. Modern government working together for equality improving the lives of the people of Scotland' (Baillie 2000). One possibility is that those driving the messages felt that Scotland had been held back (as in the *One Scotland* advertisement) in certain areas of equalities legislation and sought to bring practice in line with their projected image and national narratives. This concept of the 'modern government' is an alternative phrasing of the new Scotland and links to the egalitarian myth.

The *One Scotland* programs are a form of social development and almost directly state the government's expectations for citizens. The Scottish government drew upon pre-existing narratives to refocus the official discourse on race after research highlighted a high trend of racist incidents. It is worth remembering that as writing practices themselves, policies are written to persuade (Apthorpe 1997). Discourses must be spread in order to be maintained, enabling myths to influence thought. Official narratives generally draw upon popular attitudes to support opinions and studying the practices within development projects reveals the state's ideal (Hertzfeld 1992: 49; Nustad 2005: 80). The main myth of a white Scotland would have been available to support racist intent. Instead, the two other myths support the government's refocus to refute the racism. In this campaign, official discourse diverged from popular opinions in an attempt to change those opinions. The myths of a new and egalitarian Scotland easily gave currency to the campaign.

Foster writes that messages contained in advertisements and how they 'materialise' the nation create nation-ness through consumption. In advertisements from private companies and government agencies in Papua New Guinea the consumption of a traditional culture or history is populated by a modern community. The consumptive desire is prompted by a 'particular definition of personhood [placed] into an alien social context', creating an encounter between tradition and modernity (Foster 2002: 27). The product is firmly placed within cultural patterns, desires and the past, while oriented toward the future to create familiarity between consumer and product (*ibid.*).

In Scotland's mainstreaming equality programmes, teachers attended trainings, schools reviewed procedures and students at the pilot schools learned about discrimination and how it has no place in the nation. With these practices, it is apparent how state building campaigns aim to stimulate an understanding of the correct social behaviour (Foster 2002: 25, 29). Foster found a similar focus on education in 'National Law Week' (*ibid.*: 25). Just as *One Scotland* addressed research results of a high percentage of 'racist' thoughts, the National Law Week campaign in Papua New Guinea taught the public ways to enact caring in response to the idea that the nation's crime was a direct result of 'uncaring attitudes' (*ibid.*: 29, 30). Both Herzfeld's institutional promotion of indifference and Foster's desired collective caring are a state's emotional mobilisation of the nation toward a specific goal. Promoting a national narrative of egalitarianism, the Scottish government has worked to promote 'caring for one another'. In the *One Scotland* campaign materials the ideal citizen is caring, welcoming and celebrates how the 'diversity' improves the nation. If one accepts the variety of races and cultures in Scotland, then he or she is contributing to the nation's prosperity.

Certain types of bodies that do not fit within the majority can be viewed as out of place or disruptive to the normative order (Nagel and Staeheli 2008: 85). Bhattacharyya *et al.* discuss such a 'disruption' during the late 19th and 20th centuries when interracial sex was a taboo in order to maintain the boundaries of 'in-group purity', much as Foucault cited the regulation of sex. Eugenics used euphemisms of infection when discussing the other, in relation to race, class, gender, sexuality, or mental ability (Bhattacharyya *et al.* 2002: 19). If these forms of bodies are disruptive to the social body and offer threats to its cohesion or functioning (and are hence monitored through policies and systems), then it can be said that the Scottish Executive sought to pose not race but racism as a threat to the social. In re-educating the public on good citizenship the government can shape the ideal citizen *and* its own political body; the boundaries of the country.

Sovereignty includes all members of the body politic and so the individual is not

only important to the body politic but to sovereignty in return (Hawley 2002: 63). Drawing from Hawley's discussion of the individual body reflecting the state, it may have made sense to those designing the *One Scotland* campaigns to view racism as a virus and discrimination as a direct threat to society's health. Despite immigration's reserved status, *One Scotland* campaigns aim to define the social boundaries. At issue is not who enters Scotland but how those living in Scotland may be convinced to support the image of a 'diverse' society and accept the contributions made by all 'cultures'. Referring to the forms of power over the body as a means to control the population and the role of blood in group myths, it is plausible that the *One Scotland* 'Racism is a Virus. Don't spread it' advertisement speaks to an attempt at allaying a social illness: racism.

Stories, mission statements and advertisements all carry narratives interpreted by the listener or viewer and, depending upon context, evoke feelings of belonging. Everyone is assumed to 'belong' to a racial category just as they are for nationality. Racial categories are created based on the past and reinterpreted for the present and nationality is positioned the same way. Myths are one narrative drawn upon by organising bodies to reinforce physical or ideological boundaries. The energies expended in state formation comprise a multitude of actions, always including myths to some degree.

After devolution, the Scottish Executive passed a series of Acts and launched campaigns, once more reinforcing the assertion that the nation was an equal place. In a process with parallels to state-formation, the materials of these acts and their negotiations of Scottish myths sought to create the appropriate image of Scotland. Races and ethnicities are created and delineated for the present through state-building processes, which is why overt national campaigns to redefine the boundaries of the social nation are interesting. The *RR(A)A2000* at a UK level and *One Scotland* campaigns with more tangible images, are two such processes. Examining the messages supported in such unifying campaigns and the mythical elements therein, this thesis questions the extent to which (in)equalities are acknowledged in posters and advertisements that display celebratory messages of Scotland. By the final

chapter, it will be apparent how the Scottish government is using myths and equality organisations to create a particular understanding of the nation.

5. History of CERES

In the middle of January 2007, I sat in the CERES office with three long-term staff members at the small table by the door and listened to them recount the history of the Centre. With the four of us facing one another it looked like any busy lunchtime with the air of luxury. This luxury was not a mealtime treat but the knowledge that we had set the time aside to gather after planning it for several weeks and talking about it for longer. The other clue was the large tape recorder placed atop the filing cabinet next to the door sitting just behind the director's head. I had come prepared with questions that fit on two sides of paper and was nervous about the formality of recording the session, having relied upon informal and impromptu conversations for the 10 months I had already spent with them. This group interview was also a novelty for the staff members who had not gathered to reflect collectively upon the beginning of CERES and their time there: a thought that quickly turned my nerves to excitement.

If I had not requested their presence, the conversation probably would not have occurred. Consequently, answers are to some degree influenced by the formality of recording the responses. I asked questions on the history of the Centre, funding situations, ideological changes and past and future work, with the conversation telling much more about CERES. Each workday at CERES is structured around or in response to some aspect of the current race legislation and education mandates. Only through learning what the staff felt were pertinent sections of policies and how various parts of the Scottish Executive were involved, could I begin to understand what CERES was doing on a daily basis. The caring interactions between the staff showed their long professional and personal histories. Discussion of their changing funding situations displayed a deep commitment to race equality and education and how the Centre's approach evolved, reflected larger academic discourses. The conversation is part initiation-speech in sharing the details and part reminiscence through collective history writing. They sat for several hours that day celebrating the accomplishments of the Centre and everyone associated with it while raising critical reflections of the present situation. Watching something that I had not witnessed

before and the rich descriptions and conversations that flowed, I was hesitant for us to break for lunch. Fortunately, these reflections continued as we walked up the road, enjoyed a hot pub lunch and later returned to the recording.

This group interview forms the backbone of the chapter. Supplemented by archival research and field notes, it begins at the founding of the Centre while introducing the prominent issues of each era. CERES members clearly present their individual and group stances on equalities issues throughout the Centre's history and there is a distinctly activist undertone to the discussion. Their analyses and frustrations are important for interpreting later chapters on project development and role commitment not solely to clarify the drive for their actions but also to show why the governmental campaigns and Centre's projects do not harmonise. CERES network members expect and demand more than general race equality programmes are able to deliver.

I began the interview by asking questions on the foundations of CERES, information I had already partially gleaned from the informational material in the Centre's bookshelves. The answers in the interview were more detailed due to the retrospective position of the speakers. This hindsight could be argued to have tainted the information, yet has enhanced it. Their years of learning lie within the delivery of each explanation. There is a strong argument in organisational anthropology literature for the inclusion of mission statements and foundational documents. Fox's ethnography of four NGOs drew attention to mission statements, along with brochures and other promotional materials, as important artefacts through which an organisation displays itself (1998: 51, 104). The presentation of words and phrases found in a mission statement, Fox argues, reflect the origins of the organisation (*ibid.*: 104). The wording of the original CERES document suggests an industrial orientation with mentions of developing, producing, delivering and advising. Interestingly, when anthropologists began studying organisations in the 1930s material production held prime ethnographic position (Hamada 1998: 1).

Fox's work in organisations is notable because it is one of the few 'institutional

ethnographies' to present research on small settings. The small working quarters, numbers of staff and budgets in daily experiences at CERES resonated with Fox's encounter. Many are surprised to learn that despite the large presence of CERES in the education and anti-discrimination sectors, the Centre functions from within a one-room office. Upon arrival at my initial 'internship' interview, this struck me as well, particularly since only the director was present. During an average day there may only be two CERES staff in the office with two others arriving in the afternoon or only on scheduled days. The director holds another education related job and is staffed at CERES for 2 days a week, the administrator is part time, as are the librarian, associate officers, curriculum officer and the research assistants. One staff member told me 'in terms of CERES, it's only about two people really and it's like an inverted pyramid. Its offer to others is beyond expectation in terms of what it actually does, compared to how it's resourced' (field notes 8 January 2007). The pyramid metaphor explains that while there are only a few full-time members, the work is coordinated toward common goals. Organisations work to project an image of an individual through a commitment to, and continuity with, its experience and expression (Czarniawska-Joerges 1997: 48). Fox refers to this as a unified face supporting the agreed upon aspects of the organisation (1998: 75). With this coherence and individuality, organisations become accountable citizens and are expected to engage in consumption and production (Czarniawska-Joerges 1997: 46).

CERES Documents

One valuable resource for projecting the Centre's commitment to its image and missions has been through its website. The website has enabled it to consume academic and media discussions on education and equality while producing information on the same subjects and linking them to the Scottish context.

According to Caroline, the organisation's website receives one of the highest number of hits in the Education Department at which it is based. A large number of web visitors come from universities in England where the site's quizzes and information sections feature on syllabi and as far away as North America, Iraq and China. The geographic breadth covered by CERES information again evokes the 'inverted pyramid'.

Through collaboration, personal comments, a well-resourced website and partnerships, CERES has built a strong reputation in anti-discrimination and equality education, yet is often unknown in the wider business world and was at times confused with the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE⁵). The former CRE, with both UK (in England and Wales) and Scotland offices, monitored a range of race-related issues, conducted research and acted with authority in issues of legal compliance. One CERES member said that the confusion with the CRE was at times used to an advantage at CERES in order to spread awareness of race equality issues in other fields (field notes 25 April 06). This was not in the form of overt deception but more in permitting implicit assumptions about the Centre. The lack of wide recognition for CERES largely comes from the fact that the Centre has never publicised itself since it has not had the funding necessary to answer the potential response, another factor in the limited historical documents and founding materials.

Founding documents preserve an organisation's original intent and provide background knowledge and discussion points to fill in the gaps where memories have torn at the edges. While I subscribe to the proposal that actions resulting from ideas should be given our ethnographic attention, it is extremely difficult to analyse ideas retroactively (Riles 2001). If the researcher was not present at the moment the knowledge was produced, it becomes difficult to determine intent for the social significance cannot be fully reconstructed based entirely on the document presented (Peterson 2005: 61, 119). This is a consequence of the wider referencing system in which texts act. Texts respond to others and their contemporary social setting, following a social logic and relying upon knowledge of this logic in order to deliver the message's impact (*ibid.*: 67, 76, 62).

Understanding an organisation through its mission statement parallels the way a policy reflects history and culture in the generating society (Shore and Wright 1997: 7). This requires research beyond the documents. Founding documents, policies, yearly budget proposals and news items, will therefore serve to partially illuminate

⁵ Defunct as of October 2007 and partially absorbed into the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), along with the Disability Rights Commission and the Equal Opportunities Commission.

the founding and subsequent climates from which ideas and resultant actions emerged. Riles's notion of artefacts builds upon the interactions of objects and expands to include concepts, activities and other intangibles, as a way to understand the priorities and aesthetic norms of the network itself (2001). These norms inform document creation at each stage and the process of creating Project 4 materials becomes apparent in the next chapter. This chapter shows how historical documents and oral accounts complement one another to provide a fuller ethnographic understanding than either would have alone.

According to the mission statement, the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED) (now known as the Scottish Government Education Directorate) founded CERES in 1991. At that time, John Landon led the Centre in its aims to promote anti-racism and race equality within education. SOED commissioned the small staff of four at the national Centre to:

1. Liaise with education authorities with particular emphasis on support of those authorities with small black/minority ethnic populations.
2. Collate and produce resources for in-service training for the different sectors of education.
3. Deliver and contribute to in-service training tailored to the 'development' stage of policy implementation.
4. Advise national bodies on multicultural/anti-racist education in course/curriculum design and development, and consult with them on the elimination of racial discrimination in provision.
5. Undertake visits to educational establishments to observe, advise on, and produce reports on good practice.
6. Advise on the development of ESL⁶ provision.
7. Develop a Centre at Moray House for the development and publication of resources (CERES 1991).

The first priority listed in the mission statement was 'liaise with education authorities' (*ibid.*: 4). Liaising and networking have since been central functions of CERES and are two of the last remaining actions with sufficient external financial support. Working with Education Authorities (EAs), CERES has run training workshops on how to implement new education duties, provided guidance on changes made within an authority and carried out school visits in order to assess good practice. Work with EAs also forms the basis for idea exchanges, social interaction and mutual

⁶ Formerly English as a Second Language, now known as English as an Additional Language.

reinforcement, as discussed later with the Network meetings in the following chapter. Liaising did not reappear in the policy and strategy statement three years later. The strategy stated the Centre's purpose as:

Consultancy; building up resources and materials; supporting groups of professionals and parents; publishing and disseminating information, engaging in research activities which provide more empirical and qualitative data; conferences and networking internationally, particularly within Europe (CERES 1994a: 12).

The informational pamphlet from the same year presented the majority of CERES activities more generally than the above document. It listed the activities as influencing national and regional policy and practice, providing staff training seminars, undertaking consultations, research and maintaining a lending library (CERES 1994b: 4). Education was central to both documents created in 1994. Consulting to provide information and assess what was further needed, supporting educators as they develop their understanding of racism, creating new resources through research and then making them publicly available through publication and the library, and using this knowledge in seminars – disseminating research, CERES strove to educate. Unlike the external pamphlet, the internal document does not explicitly state – policy influencing. It is seemingly implicit in the more detailed description of activities that educational engagement of all forms – especially research – are the tools for such influencing. Policy influencing at this time was important for although the government founded CERES, it was not involved in the Centre's work.

From 1991 until 1995, the Centre placed a majority of its efforts in consultations with minority ethnic groups and undertaking research. In terms of research, the Centre worked largely with individual clients such as Education Authorities and the aforementioned minority groups. During this time, it was difficult to gain the attention of those outside the anti-racism or race equality fields, including the government. Race was not deemed wholly relevant by schools and was tacked onto certain lessons or activities once or twice, if at all. When CERES engaged with community interest groups in the early years, it functioned like a non-profit organisation (different from a voluntary group due to staff salaries). Just as the

Centre's size, funding and partnerships have changed over the years, so too has its focus.

Evolution of Equality Terms

Changes in academic and political approaches to race and ethnicity have strongly influenced CERES aims throughout its history. The Centre was founded in a pre-devolution Scotland and has since seen multiple laws and acts at both Scottish and UK levels aiming to ensure race equality and membership in the European Union with economic migrants seeking employment. Many of the key terms used at the time of founding, including 'multicultural', 'black minority ethnic' and to some degree 'anti-racist' are now contested or obsolete due to ideological shifts by staff members and in public discourse. Comparing the stated aims with the daily actions of each historical period lends insight into the vision of the organisation, supporting Fox's statement that terms omitted from use uncover the Centre's intent (Fox 1998: 109). Below is a *verbatim* transcription of the discussion illustrating the changes. It begins with the context in which the staff began their advocacy, prior to the foundation of CERES.

BD: Before lunch we were talking about a time line...I know that there was a remit for multiculturalism and now it's obviously mainstreaming equality. What happened in-between? What were the buzzwords that were important for research? [Alison's mobile rings and she tells us to continue as she answers.]

Michael: Well, as I recall it, there's quite a lot of different strands here. In Lothian, for instance, there was a multicultural education policy in 1983 and it was very limited. Glasgow probably [had a policy] too. By the mid [19]80s, there was some work but it had become multicultural from [the first director's] ESL/EAL⁷ work here, in Stirling and elsewhere.

Caroline: But I think also the political element of that time was very conservative and you would never entertain the term anti-racism [in the late 1980s to mid 1990s]...The ministers at that time took advice from that group of people who took anti-racism, I suppose, seriously so they took that line. By that time of course in contrast in England, anti-racism was no longer being used as a term but we were using it up here.

The term multicultural/inter-cultural had more currency particularly in Europe. So [there were] people working across in Europe using the term inter-cultural

⁷ English as a second language, English as an additional language.

education. And then it became diversity.

Michael: I think it's quite extraordinary these days to hear people talking about 'multicultural Britain', which for us ideologically, as we developed slowly, had gone by the mid-[19]80s. Also, there's the fact that the regional authorities came in (in 1984) and [The] Labour [Party] took over in Edinburgh and Lothian in 1986 and that made considerable open doors. But I think what was happening, I don't know about you [speaking to Alison], there was a small group of ideological purists if you like, or people who saw the link between racism and multiculturalism and understood that. And that was just very thin icing on a cake which we call multiculturalism. Actually there wasn't much of it anyway.

Alison: No

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, supporters used multiculturalism to explain why ethnic or racial conflicts and tensions should cease (May 1999:1). Proponents either argued that society benefits from everyone's input or that the society in question has been multicultural since its foundation (Trotman 2002: ix). May notes an initial aim of multiculturalism was increased cultural interaction, interchange and harmony to improve minority student achievement (1999: 1). With this approach, multiculturalism was largely carried out to benefit minorities. From its inception, multicultural education must have been dazzling, as 'the non-hierarchical celebration of cultural diversity' or the acknowledgement of different cultural aspects in society's wider context (Husband 2002: 17; Audrey 2000: xiii).

Michael continued:

In the late [19]80s, there was a multicultural education centre set up in Edinburgh which Caroline came to be the director of for her work previously. There was also a group of educationalists particularly from Glasgow, but also elsewhere, who were very keen that the anti-racist element be incorporated with the multicultural. So it became...multicultural anti-racist. Although when Caroline joined the Centre, for instance, [it] was called the multicultural anti-racist centre. So there was considerable openness in a very small group. The court person was from Stirling and the central region. The development of multiculturalism in this part of the world I think was relatively quickly latched onto, particularly with the anti-racist bit. Caroline and her colleagues developed that from their perspectives in Lothian and other people were doing that elsewhere. And I'll stop there for the moment because you were directly involved [speaking to Caroline] weren't you, from the late [19]80s.

Caroline: Yeah. I think fundamentally it was multiculturalism over the anti-racist. The anti-racism was really—I think when multiculturalism came in—it was probably the more acceptable term for most people but the anti-racist was very quickly taken on by the I suppose more equitable academics [such as one mentioned from]

Strathclyde. There was a movement in Scotland from the anti-racist teachers. [The office phone begins to ring.]...That Scottish Anti-racist Teachers' Education Network that started. That kind of the anti-racist theme took its line into the mid [19]90s...

Caroline and Michael discussed the ideological shifts influencing the Centre's work and wider engagement across Scotland. Their dialogue evokes images of a 'small group of ideological purists' with 'considerable openness in a very small group' including the 'more equitable academics' working in hope toward a vision. These individuals recognised what Michael identified as a drawback to multiculturalism. In the passage above, Michael is referring to the tendency to draw from singular representations of ethnicity or religion which, while attempting to show 'diversity' provided a narrow depiction of groups. This led to an increase in stereotypes and racism, the exoticisation to which Jacobs and Hai warn about when multiculturalism is handled incorrectly through one dimensional celebration of festivals, music and stories from minority groups (2002: 169- 170). Merely reflecting society at its present moment, remarked Councillor Bakshi, leads to a failure to question inequality (CERES 1992: 10). Many writings on multiculturalism cite the failed opportunity to engage with inequality and the resultant marked difference of individuals or groups that were 'tolerated' and celebrated (May 1999: 2; Jacobs and Hai 2002: 170). Tolerance does not imply acceptance. Baumann identifies the three main ways which multiculturalism reduces individual expressions: by remaining uncritical of the nation-state that allows static groups with static cultures to 'co-exist' and reducing culture either to one's religion or ethnic identity proscribed at birth (1999: 103).

Pertinent examples for Britain and Scotland in particular, can be found on the *One Scotland* website and in a 1995 anti-racism publication used in schools. A British publication for schools notes from an English perspective that 'Britain, for most of its history has been a multicultural society, with a host of people from minority ethnic groups making important contributions to every area of national life' (Donnellan (ed.) 1995: 1). The history of immigration section on *One Scotland's* website writes a similar story for Scotland.

Yuval-Davis points out that multicultural approaches accepted and presented as

authentic were based on what a few often traditional or fundamentalist religious and community leaders proposed (2002: 54). With singular points of view presented as representative of groups, the diversity of a religion or ethnicity was overlooked. For Anthias and Lloyd, an important detriment of this approach was that it rarely acknowledged 'the gender-specific and indeed at times sexist elements of ethnic culture (2002: 7). When developing materials at CERES, the staff pay careful attention to the way identities are presented to ensure that they do not align with stereotypes without critical commentary and to avoid singularised representation of characteristics that may obscure great variety.

Elaborating on Walzer, Tamir (1994) differentiates between thin and thick multiculturalism to propose thick multiculturalism as the only acceptable way forward. Thick multiculturalism includes non-liberal cultures such as those perceived of as sexist by Anthias and Lloyd (Yuval-Davis 2002: 53). Anthias and Lloyd propose that reflexive multiculturalism or multiculturality can challenge barriers to identity and 'different ways of being' by moving beyond singular representations (2002: 13). Hall astutely states that multicultural means plural and societies are multicultural in different ways (2000: 210). Both thick and reflexive multiculturalism include considering the multiplicity of identities in working against discrimination. Balancing this thick multiculturalism raises the issue of accommodation when dealing with difference.

Based on their experience with how multiculturalism had been implemented the term still carries an un-reflexive tone for the CERES staff, as evident in Michael's discussion. The historic shift in multicultural education has informed present anti-racism and equality developments. As Michael stated, the continuing inequality led to the Centre broadening its focus to anti-racism. Jacobs and Hai note that the promises (such as harmony) in multiculturalism overlooked the inequality at play (2002: 169). Many organisations use anti-racist to imply that they are working against racist incidences rather than individuals. Anti-racism is an element in the over-all race equality effort.

Michael mentioned the anti-racist approach being only a small layer in a largely

multicultural environment. He had likened it to a small amount of icing added to decorate the multicultural 'cake'. I asked them if they had worked for a more palatable ratio.

BD: *Did you do anything to promote 'the icing' or make people aware of the ingredients?*

Caroline: *Michael mentioned the multicultural education centre, which you will remember [speaking to Iona]. Shortly after I came into [the Centre] we revamped the leaflet and we still have some left. And very clearly put our strap-line as educating for anti-racist education and so the strap-line was discordant with the Centre. And the strap-line was put in to reflect that ideological situation because we couldn't change the name of the Centre, or rather; it wasn't worth the fight to change the name of the Centre.*

Michael: *And some of the Glaswegian people that were there and such like would not tolerate the use of multiculturalism as a true description of what should happen. And therefore there was an internal struggle.*

Caroline: *(agrees)*

Michael: *Many people in Glasgow in the teaching area found that they couldn't operate very well with the ideological purists. And quite right in one sense in that environment because they were in fact operating within multiculturalism.*

Anti-racism raised the issue of structural racism and brought awareness that multiculturalism must include *majority* ethnic students and a focus beyond colour racism (May 1999: 2). Around this time some organisations began speaking of anti-racist programs, which eventually evolved to anti-racism. Although this term is commonly accepted in Scotland, I find the phrase to be too open to misinterpretation. Those who work for an anti-racist organisation could be considered *anti-racists*: as in anti-individuals who happen to engage in racist thoughts or actions. This is intrinsically difficult to define or decide. I am not *against* them but rather seek to abate the occurrences of racism. Just because someone is *racist* does not mean that they act in a *racist* manner and simply because a racist incident has occurred does not mean the action was carried out with racist intent.

As Alison and Michael explained, the major approach to race and ethnicity before anti-racism was multiculturalism. Multiculturalism proactively attempted to raise

awareness and appreciation for this form of human diversity. Ideally, difference should have been acknowledged and allowed to co-exist. Too often these attempts ended up in tokenism of the chosen representatives. In addition to glossing over or magnifying other aspects of identity, multiculturalism could not deal with competing claims on fairness. With a goal to reduce racist incidents or structures the move toward anti-racism was once more reactive. In relation to difference and equality, anti-racism had a seemingly simple goal to combat racism. Granted, this is a large task and one that is not so easily carried out but there did not seem to be any ideological or practical contradictions aside from the conflicting group's ideals as presented in the previous chapter's treatment of equality.

This apparent simplicity soon drew criticism. The goal to reduce racism requires deeper engagement with thoughts and systems, as Gilroy critiques of anti-racism campaigns (1999: 243). For meaningful change these campaigns must engage politically with the process of inequality rather than simply the outcome (*ibid.*). This resonates with anthropological literature on development and planning and balancing strategic versus practical gender needs. Moser discusses the necessity of considering gender when designing development plans. Strategic gender needs are those identified by planners as relevant to the lives of a group based on that group's position in society (1993: 39). On the other hand, practical needs are those that an individual identifies based on his or her social roles (*ibid.*: 40). Practical needs represent immediate concerns and must be satisfied before strategic needs are addressed.

One example elaborated upon by Moser deals with healthcare facilities. Single working parents face a dilemma when a child becomes ill. If medical office hours are only available during the standard working day the parent must either take time off work or fail to seek medical attention for the child. The parent's practical needs involve easier access to medical attention or perhaps a more flexible work schedule. While those changes would undoubtedly be welcome, the parent's strategic needs would not yet be resolved. Changing the system and making it easier for single mothers or fathers to fulfil both roles meets strategic needs (*ibid.*: 48). Essentially,

changing access or schedules may meet practical needs while changing the way in which those individuals live serves to meet strategic needs. This example highlights the importance of changing actions but also attitudes and systems, which is a central point in the anti-racism debate. The critique of planning systems shows how criticisms multiculturalism and anti-racism have given rise to the current equalities approach.

I think basically what's happened in Scotland is up 'til 1999, [the discourse in] Scotland suppressed any discussions about inequality. Whether poverty, social class or sectarianism, by and large, it just wasn't discussed at public policy level because we had ... a left of centre government or Labour government previously. They were so immature they were what I called a 'clunk brigade'. It took a 'We are all comrades' line and they didn't differentiate between people and I suppose class was an issue then. Then there was an era of Conservatism that took over for quite a long time and that just killed discussion of equality, diversity or anti-discrimination because it's just not part of the right wing ideology.

Between 1994 and 1996, the jobs of many allies within the government were lost and support networks broken up. Scotland's eight Local Councils, in which the Education Authorities are based, reorganised into thirty-two. This greatly dispersed the power, resources and staff and it was a while before the internal structure solidified, leaving lower priorities such as equality to the wayside. Developing guidance to include bilingualism and community languages comprised the work of CERES in 1997 and 1998. During this time, the Centre functioned more like a campaigning organisation and is described as a 'strange period' by Alison. The year 1997 was also the referendum on devolution for Scotland, with the Scottish Parliament created at the end of the decade.

Alison recounted the changes by explaining '*then in 1999 we had this big change in Scotland and many decades of history suddenly had to start happening.*'

During Conservative party rule between 1979 and 1997, civil servants and politicians

in Scotland could not act with sensitivity to changes in 'the cultural landscape of Scotland' due to their duties to Westminster (Kelly 2003: 49). When the Labour party came into office in 1997, the aftermath of the Stephen Lawrence murder still reverberated through the police force and government and an event in Scotland the following year brought pressure on Scottish politicians to take responsibility (*ibid.*: 50). It was the combination of devolution, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and Macpherson's report in 1999 that (re)turned the Scottish government's focus to race and equalities in building the 'new Scotland'

Before the referendum those opposed to devolution believed that it would weaken the union. Bromley *et al.* cite Bradbury and Mitchell (2001) as noting that many dissenters thought that party politics or lobby groups would ultimately influence the functioning of the Scottish Parliament in the same way as Westminster was thought to be affected (2006: 2). Advocates of devolution said that it would make the government more accountable for its actions. They argued that these changes would enable Scotland to truly recognise a sense of nationhood (*ibid.*: 1). Curtice and Jowell (1997) and Dewar (1998) stated that due to the geographical proximity of ministers to their constituents the public would feel closer to Scotland's political decisions and re-engage with politics (Bromley *et al.* 2006: 1-2).

For many years, CERES had tried to gain the attention of the chief inspector. Finally, with the increased political legitimacy of race the government began using CERES 'excessively'⁸ and funding increased in 1999 to £100,000, more than triple the amount given through 1996. Compared to the stagnant environment when CERES staff members fought endlessly for the government to pay attention to race, the frenetic activity in laws and initiatives brought about soon after devolution moved quickly.

I think...1997 and 1999 were milestones in Scotland politically because Labour [party] coming in for the UK and also devolution. And I think by that time... think there was a desire for a new kind of Scotland. Part of that newness I suppose was

⁸ Alison (interview 18 January 2007).

engaging the civic Scotland. We [CERES] were caught up in that process as part of universities [and] voluntary organisations we were seen as civic Scotland (interview 18 January 2007).

The Scottish Executive included CERES in consultations on education, human resources, the Crown Office (justice), social work, the equality unit and in the university sector, spreading the Centre's name in the government and in the larger business world. This comfortable core funding available from the Scottish Executive Education Department meant that the organisation had the freedom to develop resources and research at will and build a strong base knowledge before undertaking larger research projects. Alison told me that CERES worked within a 'scoping' system in which it received a small amount of funding to conduct preliminary research and then applied to various funders for grants before undertaking wide-scale research (field notes 10 March 2006). Throughout the time now thought of as the 'equality boom' from 1999-2001 when the Scottish Executive gave few directives, it would be closer to a governmental department due to project freedom and an emphasis on creating a 'new Scotland'. This 'new Scotland' both real and hypothetical, and the actions it inspired were largely related to equality work.

When the round of funding arrived in 2001 it brought with it strict action plans and was very corporate in function and tone, what one would expect from a governmental organisation. CERES remains in that era of tight control. When the Act came into force in 2002, CERES provided guidance to Education Authorities on implementing the *RR(A)A 2000* and how to comply with its duties. The guidance was largely shared through seminars for school management teams and other EA representatives. The Race Relations Act Officer Network began the following year. In this period, CERES matured into its current form and provided consultation, guidance and research. In order to assess what good practice across Scotland looked like after the *RR(A)A 2000*, CERES staff visited 10 schools in 2003 (CERES 2009a). The schools were measured against Quality Indicators used in HMIe's inspection process which had for the first time included 'equality and fairness' in its evaluation framework (*ibid.*). It is possible to achieve anti-racism work without race equality

but it is thought that race equality is not possible without anti-racism and positive promotion, which is why the promotion of good race relations is central to the *RR(A)A 2000*. This promotion is central to activity considered 'good practice'.

Alison felt that the open tendering system stunted the development of CERES as well as the race equality field as money is designated for specific projects and no new needs can be identified or addressed (field notes 10 March 2006). She believes that the government eventually realised that CERES was effectively controlling the majority of their race equality initiatives through the heavy reliance on its guidance as explained above and sought to distance the Centre from the government. She also believes there were complaints about consultancy coming from the East of Scotland. In 2001, the Scottish Government (then known as the Scottish Executive) tendered proscribed research topics in a centralist approach with specified fund allowances.

In response to the *Additional Support for Learning Act 2004*, CERES worked with the Scottish English as an Additional Language Co-ordinating Group (SEALCG) to produce a toolkit for supporting pupils with English as an additional language, entitled *Learning in 2(+) Languages*. Published by LTS, it includes phrases reminiscent of the four capacities of *A Curriculum for Excellence* and cites the programme for 'Ambitious, Excellent Schools'. Importantly, the document is begun on the premise that 'inclusion, race equality, cultural diversity, bilingualism and effective additional language provision must be considered by all educational establishments regardless of their current ethnic composition' (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2005: 2). These documents consider race equality from the standpoint of mainstreaming.

The official governmental definition of mainstreaming is 'the systematic integration of an equality perspective' [which] tackles structures, behaviours and attitudes that contribute to or sustain inequality and discrimination' (Scottish Executive Equality Strategy, cited in Project 4 materials, unpublished). The Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) website will eventually provide access to electronic copies of Project 4. This website defines mainstreaming as the following:

Taking action to ensure that all forms of equality and human rights are routinely part of normal practice. For example, when developing policy or practice. (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2008)

The LTS definition also notes that mainstreaming in education is understood as accommodating pupils with additional support for learning needs rather than the accommodation of all pupils as the government intends. The word inclusion is similarly relegated solely to the additional support realm though the government also uses it in a broader sense.

Alison spoke of mainstreaming equality during the January interview.

I think where we're at right now, you're right, it is with mainstreaming. But that term is highly—most people don't like the term, don't understand what it means. Those who do, claim they do, but in Scottish education the term is so confused with special educational needs. I speak of the ideological cake of the [19]80s and [19]90s in regards to mainstreaming. The subtext is that permeation is the route to nowhere. It doesn't really work. To assume that you can do it and everything you do, to put equalities issues in...it just simply doesn't get valued unless somebody's monitoring it. Because there's no real solid examples of good mainstreaming in education or for that matter, in other services. But I think that it takes time and it's fairly new.

The Scottish Executive created a programme for 'mainstreaming equality' that included seven projects to integrate equality into the public sector, first piloted in housing and education. By 2005, the funding for the Centre was almost entirely provided for three projects.

- Project 3: *Equality, Inclusion and Anti-discrimination: Induction for staff in schools.*
- Project 4: *Mainstreaming Equality into the Curriculum.*
- Project 5: *Quality Improvement (QI) and the Promotion of Race Equality in Scottish Schools.*

With the narrowly focused funding and strict guidelines on how the money was allowed to be spent, the other activities that had filled the Centre's calendar since 2001 dwindled. By February that year CERES was no longer able to maintain the lending library and items were then only available upon request. The CERES website describes the library closure as a 'major loss' to the Centre and those who

used it, which included staff and students in the education department at Moray House (CERES 15 July 2005). The library had been open on a drop-in basis throughout the week. Reflecting on this time period, the website notes that CERES 'endeavoured to remain accessible to requests for speaking engagements, in-services and enquiries from teachers, pupils, parents and other education related personnel...reduced to a minimum unless directly related to current project objectives' (CERES 2010).

Competition for funding is acutely felt by CERES when writing grant proposals for limited allocation of funds to carry out equality or anti-discrimination work. Since funding concerns were raised almost daily at CERES, my experience reflects Fox's ethnography in which two of the organisations at which she conducted fieldwork were 'vying for funds from the same pool of supporters' (1998: 106).

In the open-tendering system currently in place at the Scottish Government, organisations write proposals in response to project details in order to receive project responsibility and funding. In this process, the government allocates a fixed sum of money and names the desired outcome of each project. Organisations then shape the project to their areas, while demonstrating the relevance for the government. CERES has been involved in the orchestration of some identity messages through monitoring progress and providing implementation guidance for the UK government's equality messages and more specifically, the Scottish Government's message that equalities are an essential element in Scotland's success. As explored in Chapter Six, this tendering system often creates competition or alliances between organisations with similar foci. CERES describes the open tendering by saying that the government wants proscribed answers after quick research in short time frames for exploring 'good practice' and surface-level assessments of the current situation.

I worked with a staff member who assessed how well Local Authorities and Education Authorities had implemented the duties of the *RR(A)A 2000* by sending out questionnaires, searching websites and analysing the content of their Race Equality Schemes and Race Equality Plans. The Scottish Executive intended to know which LAs were not meeting their requirements and which ones provided

exemplars of 'good practice'. A few years before, CERES had done similar research and there was frustration that the funding did not permit an in-depth review of each case with interviews and school or EA visits. Those conducting the research knew of several examples that were either much better or worse in practice than displayed in the written documents and qualitative research would have uncovered this and enabled the Centre to assess the situation across the country. With such information CERES would have been able to find out the facilitators and barriers to implementation and provide recommendations to the government for further support. This had been a possibility under the former funding situation in which they received core funding to carry out the work as they designed, yet with the tender system in place CERES was only able to provide a 'snapshot' of a particular aspect of implementation.

This may have been particularly frustrating for CERES members due to their prior ability to engage in short-term research in order to receive funding for deeper engagement with the issue. This process of new answers to new problems and not developing previous work seems to be common to policy work. Apthorpe discusses policy and the power it derives from creating problems to be solved and then articulating the solutions through policy language (1997: 54). With the illusion that it is data driven, policy also drives the data in this way by filling a knowledge gap with neutral data (*ibid.*: 55). Several members discussed with me their experience of revising project or report drafts, which were critical or non-reflective of the situation in Scotland and returned by the government for changes.

What are called information 'gaps' are not only that. They also represent some making and taking, of social, cultural and political distance...They are not voids, but already crowded spaces of moral practices and biases, so to say 'full' already of pre-, con- and mis-conceptions without which of course life and policy would be unwritable (and unreadable)' (*ibid.*: 55).

Unofficially and practically, the Scottish government will not publish commissioned reports if they are not written in the accepted tone and political voice. Interested in the communication of official group ideas, Neumann researched the process of consultation, consensus and editing undertaken before a speech was accepted for delivery in the Norwegian State Ministry (2005). Successful speeches are the ones

that seem to contain no new information while reinforcing older assertions and accepted procedures (*ibid.*: 199, 205, 202). In these speeches, the right issues should be addressed even if the audience is familiar with the subject. Repeatedly mentioning policies does not weaken but reinforces their status and places them as a priority, hence sustaining the government or ruling group's narrative (*ibid.*: 205). The government's role in funding mainstreaming equality materials reinforces its image as promoting equality even if it does not contribute time and fund to further develop the previously highlighted gaps. A successful speech has passed through various levels of consultation, receiving input and building consensus, so that the final product is something that all members can stand for (*ibid.*: 2006, 209).

Advocating for progress yet standing for what CERES network members criticize as middle ground, the pragmatism guiding the government's endorsement raises frustrations for many race equality practitioners. This limits the freedom CERES has to include equality discussions that the Scottish government does not wish to recognise. Without the funding or staff time to travel to schools and offices to conduct comparative research between policies and practice, the staff commented to me several times that the research was merely repeating what had been done before without adding any new learning. The need to tone down work in order for the government to accept it is a strategy for survival and future funding at CERES. The desire to engage more deeply is not restricted to research but is a critique that those in the Centre raised many times about the country's politics in general. It is part of the reason they feel the need to continue race equality work.

And I feel that we are 7-8 years into devolution which is very young in the time scale of politics, very young indeed and we've had to do the 100-metre dash so quickly. I don't mean we [CERES], I mean as a country we've had to do that and what I think has happened... we haven't had maturation in each of these issues. But we've had to speed to the point where we had legal obligations and everything. I think that sometimes peoples' minds are spinning with all these issues they have to do. They know they have to do it but they have no depth of how to do it and I think that's the problem. We are moving away from race but we're into sexual orientation. We're

moving away now, we've got all the faith issues coming in and then we've got all war against terror issues. We've got this, we've got that. So the world is changing so fast while the country is so young in politics and I think as a result we are losing depth on anything we're doing. It's just the depth...So I think we're at a crisis situation in terms of ideologies and time lines and I think so much has happened in that 7 years that [it] actually needs [to be] analysed (interview 18 January 2007).

Remarking that the country is 'so young in politics' is an interesting thing to say. Whether popular or governmental, politics existed prior to devolution. This phrase likely refers to the country only recently being involved in race equality engagement in the way Alison would like, as does her remark on Scotland suppressing equalities discussions. Conversely, it could reflect an acceptance of the claim that there is a new Scotland, which is plausible since she works in a network with many contacts in the Scottish Government. It is useful to know how CERES staff measure the Centre in order to place their estimation of the government in perspective.

New Scotland

In a conversation with Michael toward the end of fieldwork he recapitulated what he saw as the three most influential concepts in dealing with race equality in Scotland. The themes are a 'new Scotland', 'egalitarian Scotland' and a Scotland in which there is 'no [race] problem here'. With the concept of a new Scotland, Michael said, comes the idea of egalitarianism. He did not explicate the domain of the concept, state who shares the idea or how it is circulated but rather presented it as a given. Whether it is believed to pre-date devolution or not, he explained that an unquestioning belief in the concept leads to an overlooking of inequality. People think that Scotland is welcoming and egalitarian, he continued, and that racism must not be a problem. This point is what Michael understands to contribute to what he remarks is the public's complacency. At other times, individuals may announce that there is 'no problem here'. As a result, Michael cautioned, there is a higher incidence of minority ethnic crime victims than in England (field notes 28 August 2007). Penrose and Howard cite research from the Commission for Race Equality that showed that while 2.1 percent of the UK's minority ethnic population lives in Scotland, 7.3 percent of the UK's racially motivated crimes have occurred here (2008: 96-97). There are

several reasons for interpreting these statistics with caution. First, recorded incidents may not reflect the actual numbers and it is possible that there are either higher rates of crime in the areas with higher minority populations or a more efficient reporting system in Scotland. Second, it is important to remember that racially motivated crimes can be perpetuated against the majority ethnic population as well as across minority groups. For organisations, government departments and researchers, however, the publication of such statistics by a respected source adds to a growing collection of research on Scotland's discrimination situation.

According to Mooney and Scott, the Scottish government was a major contributor to the idea of a new Scotland. The story of a 'smart, successful Scotland' with greater emphasis on wealth creation as opposed to wealth distribution' is clear in the *One Scotland* campaign discussions of successful businesses (2005: 6). It makes sense for the government to have created a discourse of newness as it began post-devolution operations. The stories serve to distance the new administration from the previous party and any disapproval it carried. Further, the perpetuation of historically positive myths reinforces the idea of the nation. While not all race equality practitioners may agree on the validity of these three concepts, the themes currently underlie race equality work.

The first of the Scottish myths is relevant to concepts of insider and outsider and the activity that has taken place on 'Scottishness'. 'New Scotland' was spoken about in news reports on devolution, social researchers studied the impact devolution had on identity in Scotland and the Scottish Executive created programmes and initiatives setting forth a new and inclusive Scotland. Organisations and councils were then required to act upon these initiatives.

In the first post-devolution decade, those with whom I had contact during fieldwork often used devolution as a reference point and gauge with which to measure. An invitation letter to a Roundtable discussion described Scotland as 'changing at a rate we have probably not seen in Scotland since the second half of the nineteenth century' (Roundtable invitation letter 26 March 2007: 1). What changes have

occurred since the referendum and successive devolution? What is new about this 'new Scotland'?

The most obvious change is perhaps the political nascence of Scotland's parliament. When asked about the history of the political environment in which CERES has worked, a long-term staff member referred to this new Scotland. This mention of engagement with civic issues supports the position of devolution advocates. Hassan and Gibb write of the 'collective enthusiasm' generated in Scotland by devolution's promise for political responsibility (2005:14). That excitement has not been matched or continued since devolution (*ibid.*). Although economic, political and social lifestyles have changed in Scotland in the past 20 years, the stories told and imagined remain of a romanticised Scotland (Hassan 2005: 29). According to Hassan, Scotland has 'experienced similar economic and social change to other Western societies, but at a faster pace' (*ibid.*: 33). Perhaps this Scotland *needed* to be new to inspire confidence in the devolution process and a trust that the administration would meet its promises.

For the CERES staff this new Scotland has not yet delivered on its promises. In their discussion of the history of equality concepts, multiculturalism attempted to positively promote acceptance and equality but was not implemented holistically and became tokenistic. From there, anti-racism addressed the inequalities from a prohibitive standpoint. The Scottish Executive's most recent programme of mainstreaming focuses on the root of the problem by not only patching up a poor situation but in aiming to attain the positive goal of equality, which far exceeds the negative approach of reducing racism. This is the point of contention for CERES staff members as it has turned out to be far easier in race-related equalities and education in Scotland to say one thing (positive promotion) and fall back on the old practices of policing negatives. This accounts for the differences in successful implementation of the Specific Duties and the General Duties. The Specific Duties essentially proscribe practices that will or will not occur: abating the negative. The General Duty on the other hand, requires the promotion of positive policies and practices. While the *RR(A)A 2000* is a UK Act, there are parallels specific to

education at a Scottish level.

After devolution, the Scottish Parliament's founding principles included the promotion of equality which does not entirely translate to practice in educational frameworks. As the national curriculum, *A Curriculum for Excellence* is intended to support the whole learner in an inclusive and encouraging learning environment. Likewise, the National Priorities for schools and the Quality Indicators on 'Equality and Fairness' in HGiOS 3 encourage equalities. All three frameworks are negated in the presence of *Assessment is For Learning* which focuses on quantifiable achievements in lessons and exam results. The two should not necessarily rule one another out but there is little time left to deal with qualitative improvements in education when teachers must provide proof of attainment. This is also why the positive aspect of the *RR(A)A 2000* often gets overlooked or deprioritised. Not only do mainstreaming and promoting equality require introspection and a change in thoughts and behaviours, it is often much easier to focus on that which must be fixed. Popper has written on policy and argued that focusing on positives such as making people happy, can lead to an imposition of values and that institutions must be ruled by reason not 'love' (read positive promotion) (1962: 236-237). Since there is no 'symmetry' between happiness and suffering, policies should instead focus on demanding the elimination of suffering rather than the promotion of happiness (*ibid.*). This negative approach argues that reducing harm is more ethical and urgent than promoting well-being. Applied to racism and race equality, this is simply the elimination of racism rather than the promotion of equality and if this is the prevailing attitude for politicians and educationalists, then anti-racism will hold a stronger ground than mainstreaming equality. I argue that this tendency is present in Scotland and is what contributes to the stagnation the CERES staff comment upon.

The Future of CERES

After discussing their involvement at CERES and the various ideological forces behind each era's approach, the staff began to ponder their own future involvement at CERES. The following paragraph is drawn from the end of our group interview, when Caroline reflected on the changes faced by the Centre. After two hours of taped discussion and an amicable lunch, the conversation turned relaxed yet somber,

as if in reflection on everything that had been voiced.

I think the life of an organisation and its continuity should never be guaranteed. In a sense, it should never be taken for granted by myself, the staff, that this organisation should always be here. I think we're on a cusp. Probably forced upon us by the changing terrain, rather than any imaginative developing thinking from within, though I may be wrong.

But I think we're at watershed now, having to think about what shape the CERES of the 21st century needs to take. It periodically went through that. When it was in the time when nobody would speak to us [i.e. when race was not yet seen as a topical issue and only viewed as an 'irrelevant' grass-roots movement]...other than friends of CERES...You took a fire fighting role to just keep things alive when a new spark would come. Ninety-one to ninety-seven, many compatriots in the sector were probably doing the same. [In] '99 the canopy was lifted and we were allowed to grow. And now there are weeds coming in. Garden analogy- things have to be allowed to lie dormant for a while to grow, or extricate pieces so everything can have space.

The problem is that there is no external leadership. Bring key partners in and tell them they have a job to carve out the next terrain. Find a way [for organisations dealing with the different equality strands] to make space for each other. That is what the Executive needs to do and then tend to the terrain once it has been planted. There will be conflict during the process. Michael has moved on several times and come back. Iona's moving on...I don't know where we're moving. I think we'll look after the anti-sectarian stuff and look after the Network. The Network trusts us and wants us to look after it. It should be able to continue until March 2009 at least' (interview 18 January 2007).

The end of CERES is conceptualised in other, difficult to define ways. Many of those involved in different stages of the work reference the Centre's viability as finite. At Network Meetings, in the office through casual conversation and in the way projects are approached, there is a sense and discussion of the end or demise of CERES. This is evident on the financial level when the organisation's existence is stretching from one project to another, the subsequent cash flow of a new grant reinvigorating the office, allowing officers to do the work they want and to continue to contribute to the equality efforts in the country. The insecurity now faced by CERES is probably the result of the switch to project-based work. Working in construction firms, Bresnen found that 'project organisations' tend to be transient and unstable with other organisations invested in the work carried out (1988: 34). This instability was partly the result of staff members joining and creating the

organisation at the beginning of a project, which has not been the case for the core CERES staff (*ibid.*: 49). Additionally, CERES projects differ in that they are not location specific (*ibid.*: 34). 'Projects have a more or less definite starting point, a limited time scale and a finite end point', which aptly describes how the work of CERES is now structured (*ibid.*).

Network members also repeatedly voiced concern over the Centre's place as a race equality organisation. If other equality areas retain the prominence they are gaining, a puzzle hangs over the staff members regarding CERES and its position in the equality arena. This leads to confusion over the future direction of the Centre and the question whether they can continue with the present name if CERES work entirely shifts to other forms of anti-discrimination. The fact that CERES ultimately has little control over how successfully equalities issues are embraced or their future direction mirrors certain aspects of Nuijten's study. Focusing on organising practices and defining them not as 'different action patterns' but as individual or collective action, her work showed how power relations and interactions with bureaucracy influenced outcomes (2003: 11). These power relations play out in various ways including informal accountability of leaders when the formal processes are left inactive. Nuijten writes that the leaders may not act in their formal capacity but carry out many actions through their personal and political networks, a statement that reinforces Moeran's concept of personal networks (2003: 51).

The final uncertainty is the involvement of CERES staff. As discussed throughout this chapter and consistently through fieldwork, the Centre is receiving less and less funding for race-related work. While staff often work until projects are complete rather than until the end of the workday, this is not an option if there are no sustaining funds. While staff in this interview have all been part of the Centre for 16 years, they do not know the extent to which they can continue working at CERES. They will soon want to retire (for the first or second time) or further develop an academic career path. The fact that the Centre was not thriving when their personal lives began to lead them away added a level of urgency to all staff actions and interactions and thus greatly influencing this thesis.

As this chapter illustrates, CERES staff members have interacted with the changing equalities field for many years. In carrying out their official roles as staff they have also taken on a degree of activism in their work. As both an insider and outsider in varying degrees, I consciously furthered the Centre's work and at times unconsciously overlooked certain moral judgements made. While this has undoubtedly influenced the research and analysis it has also provided me with an intricate understanding of the attachment members feel toward certain issues. This discussion or dedication of performing race equality reappears in Chapter Eight. Highlighting the words not chosen, the CERES staff talked through historical changes in dealing with race just as the conversation on the move from multiculturalism to race equality reflected both policy and social changes. Ultimately, regardless of the vast changes over time many issues that those in the race equality and education sectors struggled with at the Centre's inception remain topical and critically important today.

6. A Day in the Life: Working on Equality at CERES

During my fieldwork, walking into the CERES office at the start of the week began a daily pattern that rarely deviated. Crossing the threshold at 9:15 a.m., I would see the administrator Nicola checking e-mail. With her large desk visible from the doorway she was literally and figuratively the first face CERES showed to any visitors, whether in person, via e-mail, phone calls or letters. Before reaching her, one passes a collection of chairs set around a small table next to two rows of bookshelves visually dividing the room. To the other side of the bookshelves are a second large desk, computer, and cabinets stacked precariously high with reports, articles and lesson plans. Where not obscured by bookshelves the walls display layers of calendars, reminders and anti-discrimination posters that have amassed over the years, as if wearing the Centre's heart on its sleeve. The posters, books and reports are not only a focal point of the office they are a focus of this research. Looking out of the east-facing windows, which span the length of the room, one can see the top of the Scottish Parliament building just below the horizon. Its physical proximity is sometimes forgotten and a glimpse of the building is a reminder of the government's involvement in all CERES work.

This chapter draws upon anthropological theories on organisations which grew from the discipline's original focus on work, particularly in factories. Working, whether paid or volunteer, easily connects with present day organisations as the actions carried out are intended to make the organisation 'work'. As a central figure in the Scottish government's mainstreaming equality initiative CERES is a major site of 'equality work', the system in which the concept of equality is processed and enacted. This chapter analyses what it means to work on equality by examining the daily actions and communications surrounding documents and ideas. In the beginning, organisational research focused on daily tasks and has since broadened to include wider communications and interactions. This chapter overviews the series of interactions, networks and individuals which comprise CERES throughout the day and over a year. Fieldwork data deviates from the anthropology of organisations

literature on several points yet the comparison opens theoretical discussions on the workings of CERES. Building an understanding of the actions within the Centre will allow for deeper understanding of one project's ideology in the following chapter.

When I first arrived at CERES in March 2006 the office pulsed with frenetic activity: staff members sent reports, edited projects, attended meetings and conducted research. Days passed very quickly. The vibrant Centre was part of a large web of communications across equalities and education fields in Scotland. CERES consistently refers to the 'players' in these interactions as national sectors, such as the education sector, or equality sector. At times the word 'arena' is interchanged with 'sector' seemingly without altering the meaning. The 'national' sector includes local and national government and any organisation specifically orientated toward Scotland; generally public bodies. Education here comprises the government's relevant education departments, Learning and Teaching Scotland, Local and Education Authorities and higher learning institutions. The phrase 'Scottish education' includes traditional classroom settings as well as teachers and learners who undertake education outside of schools. For equalities, there are government departments but the 'sector' largely refers to centres and organisations similar to CERES (who may rely partially upon government funding) such as LGBT Youth Scotland and any educator working with equalities issues. CERES communication in the equality and government sectors supplies a skeleton for network interactions. Wider actions include the business sector in hiring or purchasing the services of couriers, printers, taxis, office supplies and other services. When not working in the office CERES members visited schools, attended external meetings, facilitated conferences and interacted deeply and widely across this 'web'

A year later, however, the activity had almost reached a standstill and those throughout the Network began to whisper and speculate on the impending death of CERES. Tendered funding had run out, staff work weeks were shortened leaving the Centre open only two days a week and the question of the organisation's continued existence eventually came into open discussion at meetings.

Standing at the administrator's desk, which acts as the metaphorical 'water-cooler' of the organisation, we greet each other and catch up on our weekend, previous night or any period since we last saw one another. If she is busy Nicola will keep the office door ajar and greetings will only last a few minutes. Greetings generally run to full-length conversations inflected by the chatter of those who wander in from the hall, their welcome signalled by the open door. Inane gossip, personal updates and other quick anecdotes characterise the 'water cooler' speech and set it apart from the in-depth lunch conversations. After this genial exchange I cross the room, turn on the second computer to check the anti-sectarian project's e-mail if Nicola has not already done so and answer any necessary e-mail or phone messages.

Organisations

Theories on organisations stress the importance of interaction between individuals and organisations (Czarniawska-Joerges 1997: 3; Bradley and Wilkie 1974: 16). A body of newer writings on organisations deals with network interactions, beyond visible interactions. Rather than describing exactly what an organisation comprises, how or if it is different from an institution or itemizing essential aspects, they focus on the action within (and between) organisations. This action is the locus of the organisation. Czarniawska-Joerges cited ethnographic research from the 1960s which focused on daily activities in public sector organisations as bounded units separate from their environment and remarked that boundaries are not 'pre-existing' organisations have to work to create them (1997: 3). CERES will have both consciously and unintentionally created its boundaries through decisions made over conferences attended, alliances created and general comportment. This limitation may be due to time constraints in the case of not speaking at awards dinners for small organisations or in travelling to schools to observe specific programmes. In either case, depending upon opportunities, alliances are either reaffirmed or left latent. Czarniawska-Jorges emphasises the work carried out to create boundaries, while both Riles (2001) and Moeran (2005) explore how connections and alliances are created beyond existing boundaries in what may be two sides of the same coin if considering (un)intentionality and its consequences.

Based on the autonomy generally ascribed to organisations in the literature, I argue

that the common association of the name is not sufficient. While CERES does organise, and can by extension be referred to as an organisation in Nuijten's usage, the term carries notions imbued with particular qualities, either through anthropological organisational studies or through the reader's daily life (2003). The physical shapes of the organisations described in the anthropology of organisations literature do not fit comfortably for CERES due to its small staff and government directives. Since CERES is based at a university, it must adhere to its constraints regarding paperwork, grant proposals (such as the percentage covered by employers when seeking a grant) and communications. This academic connection precludes the Centre from claiming charity status and they must compete to receive governmental funding, the only financial source for their projects and research.

Although the Scottish Office founded CERES, the relationship between founder and Centre has varied over the years, influencing its power, reach and activity. For the most part in the literature, organisations initiate their own activities and projects, whereas the government is the sole funding body and thus outlines official actions. While CERES may propose actions in a grant proposal, only actions agreed upon with financial backing will be carried out officially. Unofficial actions will be much smaller in scale and secondary to the sanctioned ventures. To satisfy the classificatory need, I present CERES as a 'centre', acknowledging that at various times and situations it may act as or be understood to be something else entirely by those within. In delineating it as a centre, it is not my intention to detail criteria expected of all centres, but to provide a loose framework through which to approach discussion on CERES. Although I had not directly asked how they catalogue CERES, a 'centre' was mentioned when asked how they would describe their work to those outside the (race) equality fields with 'organisation' also mentioned later in the same conversation. Community centres are often designed or founded by local or central governments and once founded the centre staff carry out the programs, activities and functions. For CERES, the official actions are set by the government but many parallel actions are carried out, such as contacting colleagues to follow up on the Centre's interests or gather information for the website. In this aspect, CERES is also the centre for the race equality community in Scotland, enabling it to

move between levels during collaboration. It is also at the centre of the official messages on race equality. The main message is externally directed and consumed but CERES articulates the messages internally. In its life's trajectory, CERES is at the crux of each message's existence: the Scottish government initiates it and the Centre creates it.

CERES work is carried out by a large team of associates. Eight member biographies are listed on the website and the core staff comprises a director, administration staff, librarian and development officer. Various other individuals also represent CERES at any time through visiting schools, developing programming or working on publications in partnership with the Scottish government. Thus, the multiple part-time staff that seldom set foot in the office expands the breadth and influence of the Centre. Each month, the number of paid and unpaid staff (some are paid by their own governmental or academic department) working for CERES can range from eight to 15. These individuals are said to be associates and their time working with CERES may vary from a month to a few years, depending upon the task, context and funding.

During our morning work time, Nicola and I were usually the only two in the room and we talked intermittently throughout the morning. Hot drinks were the mid-morning pick me up break and a way to stave off hunger until lunch. Despite only having the two of us in the office, the mornings were usually quite social since the CERES photocopier is shared with the Scottish Traveller Education Program (STEP) in the next room over and the mundane task of copying was usually animated by small talk with their staff. STEP is thought of as the Centre's sister organisation due to it having shared the same office space for many years and the fact that they are the two organisations based within the education department. It is with this history, that both organisations maintain close ties. Michael's arrival at around 11 am began another five to ten minutes of conversations before returning to our work. Since there were only two computers in the office and the administrator had a necessary claim on hers, the second one was up for negotiation between Michael and myself during my time there, usually swapping on and off several times in order to complete

the 'computer only' task at hand.

Materials and Objects

In the morning's routine, once the phone and email messages are handled, one of the staff members checks the post. This requires a trek back into the hallway and the collective territory of the education department on the second floor and up to the third floor on an echoing stairwell at the back of the building. The third floor contains more education department offices, unaffiliated with CERES. On the second floor, conversations or at least pleasantries are exchanged and the knowledge of each staff may be cross-referenced or consulted when writing reports. While those with offices on the third floor are known and greeted when encountered, it is a different interaction than with those on what staff members think of as 'our' floor. With a few exceptions greetings are merely a hello. These interactions often characterise the afternoon postal check since the incoming mail is delivered to their lunch room.

Returning down the stairs to the rhythm of reverberating footsteps and into the CERES office, there were always a few moments of piqued interest over what the mail sort would uncover. One could encounter anything from awards ceremony invitations and speaking engagements, to invoices, video lending requests, equality publications and unsolicited catalogues. These items of post document the relationships CERES holds with the outside world. One relationship is as a resource. This includes knowledgeable staff receiving enquiries on race and education; a library for teachers and youth workers; an educational website with further information and lesson plans; researchers publishing reports on current anti-discrimination work in Scotland; a base for quarterly network meetings and a place to seek guidance on implementing and maintaining equality duties and initiatives. The above activities begin to circulate the Centre's messages and these communications act as artefacts of the race equality in general and CERES in particular.

This thesis places emphasis on the objects, materials and information as the means through which to analyse the organisation, networks and the race equality field. The

most appropriate anthropological theories in regards to objects are those proposed by Riles (2001), Kopytoff (1986) and Moeran (2005). Objects are central to this thesis as a lens to explore the concepts which drew them into existence, the human expectations for an object's biography and the manner in which they create associations around the objects (Riles 2001; Kopytoff 1986; Moeran 2005). For Riles, all information should be considered a potential artefact for analysis (2001: 186). Riles aims to analyse information as an event 'to hear the possibilities that inhere in the familiar without resorting to making it strange', making the flow and consequences of actions resulting from information the focus of ethnographic attention (*ibid.*: 186, 93). Riles notes that research data have already been produced before the anthropologist arrived and the goal is to move beyond, not analyse, the artefact. The founding and subsequent climates from which the ideas emerged were presented in Chapter Five's documents and policies. The resultant actions and interactions initiated by the materials appear in this and the following two chapters.

As shown in Chapter Two, the idea of the *RR(A)A 2000* sparked activity across the UK and within Scotland. The Network in which CERES works was a result of that activity, itself creating further ideas and modes of engagement with the drive for race equality. Objects were useful in providing Chapter Five's historical context, binding CERES member interactions across networks as shown in this chapter and in showing how an object can be the conduit for a concept across the Network, as are the Identity Wheels in the following chapter. The 'cultural biography' of an object begins in the office. It includes how those involved with the projects deal and interact with the objects or concepts and how they place demands, revealing political constraints faced at each step. When CERES created and shared objects with others in the race equality and education sectors, interactions and concepts central to this research, relationships and networks were created and reinforced (Moeran 2005: 109-111).

In Moray House, local academic relationships are produced when consulting others in the Education Department or when reading and referencing articles by its staff members. Interactions with the government revolve largely around negotiating

research; submitting tender proposals, agreeing upon the terms and reporting research. Following these materials, it is possible to know and understand the barriers, tensions and frustrations CERES staff members face when promoting the idea of equality in the political and cultural contexts in which they operate. During fieldwork at CERES, I was more privy to ideas and actions flowing directly in or out of CERES. Like Moeran, I acknowledge the limitations and contextualise the tangible documents and events that illustrate the more agreed upon ideas and actions. I cannot know what further ideas and actions resulted beyond my presence or access.

The outward communications lend credence to CERES as an authority; in the personal form of speakers, visitors, meetings and interviews, and through the visibility of CERES publications. The CERES logo is on documents ranging from guidance for teaching bilingual pupils, race equality toolkits, anti-sectarian drama workshops and a DVD. CERES has built itself up, with the Scottish Executive's help in publications, to act as an authority on many anti-discrimination and anti-racism areas. This is not necessarily an intended outcome but rather a result of the Centre's in-depth and varied work.

Equality projects and long acquired experience in race equality inform each member and enable them to interact and work toward the common goal. No member, however, is proficient or even fully aware of each task carried out by all other members. Administrators and directors are generally portrayed as privy to all knowledge in an office, but knowledge about something does not necessarily lead to competence of tasks. Within the CERES office, strengths are recognised and respected in order to advance work in a collaborative way. Staff may know about one another's areas but the deeper knowledge is specialised. There was evidence at CERES that members shared similar outlooks, such as jadedness about the government sufficiently supporting race equality. These may have been attitudes necessary for race equality work or latent tendencies influencing individuals to seek equality work.

Equality Work

In the following excerpt from January 2007, CERES staff members explain how they

approach this equality work.

BD: *If you were to tell a stranger in Scotland or the UK who doesn't do any sort of equality work about your work here, how would you describe it?*

Caroline: *Okay, I would say that I work in a Centre. I work in education and [it is] about promoting equality but mainly race equality in Scottish school education. The Centre's based in a University, it's funded by the government. And that it does all sorts of things from research to providing consultancy, advice, to hosting of things. The network meeting is open to teachers to get in touch, schools, head teachers [and the] Inspectorate⁹. We liaise a lot with other agencies that work with similar areas. So our work is expanded a lot to include more than just race equality but still focuses mainly within schools. It's probably as much as I can say at the moment because we'll all get bored.*

Iona: *I'd probably start off by saying I work in the University on a Scottish Executive funded project to do with race equality.*

Caroline: *That's probably what I would say as well.*

Michael: *I would say that I'm interested in how the broader issues of equality are addressed. Both in a declaratory form, 'we say we do this', compared with what actually happens. My basic reason for being here is that I feel that the equality issues aren't appropriately dealt with in education. There are some people trying and that there is some need for constant analysis and pressure and support for those who do the work well so that they recognise that they're not entirely alone.*

Since all of us present had experience with the work CERES handles, Caroline felt the need to curtail her response to the question and structured it as insider dialogue. She did not attempt to be analytical as in later questions showing that she is practised in delivering several degrees of generic responses when asked outside of CERES. The meaning of 'promoting equality' is not apparent and may be opaque to a listener who is *not* involved in equality work as the question proscribed. The promotion of equality and the ways in which staff members *enact* their roles become more apparent in the following chapters through project materials, network interactions and staff commitments. The concept began as a governmental position and CERES was charged with developing 'promotional' materials. From this basic concept CERES then explored the topical issues for Scotland and sought to highlight them in the materials, requiring many negotiations. The promotion of equality at the level of network interactions occurs on two levels. The first is sharing and distributing

⁹ The term inspectorate refers generally to Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) and more specifically in this case to HMIE, the inspectorate branch dealing with education.

materials and ideas for use in classrooms to address discrimination. The second is how members continually show a commitment to the issue by engaging in equality discussions with other practitioners, modifying materials and approaches for local needs and carefully noting the academic and media pronouncements on race in order to respond or reformulate practices.

CERES members often work beyond their allotted hours with only personal satisfaction as payment, in an effort to advance the writing or research further than would be possible during the work day. Although CERES works on governmental programmes that would seem to be political, several of the members have expressed opinions about desiring activity with a more political approach and impact. At times when a particular issue does not receive any government finances, the Centre may network with others to advance the issue and work longer days to complete the work. In this case, there is a difference between the funded political work and what members conceive of as actually political. Everyday actions such as sending emails, responding to consultations, or writing articles, became political only when addressing issues of discrimination and making demands for action.

Relationships

For organisations with similar interests yet different areas of expertise or job descriptions, pairing on a project, forming working groups or consulting with other agencies enables many areas for growth. These actions allow organisations to branch out into new areas where they may still require developmental support, bridge conceptual gaps, or develop work where there had not been any done. It also spreads the burden of attending meetings and conducting research for organisations with small numbers of personnel. Throughout the project, discussions with other partners, inclusion in organisational communications and wider distribution of results can also alert other practitioners to the commonalities between issues. CERES as an organisation and CERES staff members as individuals have contributed to a wide range of reports and consultations related to equality and anti-discrimination. They

have come about as a result of personal contacts within race equality networks, the Centre's reputation in the professional sphere and in response to projects tendered by commissions and agencies.

During fieldwork, Ceres staff contributed writing or research for *A Study of Migrant Workers in Grampian* (de Lima *et al.* 2007) and *Gender Equality: A Toolkit for Education Staff* (EOC 2007) as well as conducting internal research in an *Online Survey of RR(A)A Implementation in Scottish Education Authorities* (Bell and Dennell 2008). In the years immediately prior to fieldwork, they also contributed to research that informed the 2011 census categories (Macdonald and Stone 2005), researched the information needs of minority ethnic people with a disability (Disability Rights Commission 2005) and published a toolkit for teachers to better support pupils with English as an Additional Language (LTS 2005). In applying for grants, CERES has paired up with other organisations and groups by building upon the expertise of each. Soliciting another organisation's nominal support for one's proposal can begin or reinforce strategic relationships for groups who may mutually benefit one another and acknowledge ongoing partnerships. As an artefact, a grant proposal references alliances between groups and organisations similar to Moeran's findings that interactions around ceramics created networks (2005).

CERES has supported LGBT Youth Scotland's project tender for a mainstreaming equality project, amongst others. It was an interest in understanding the extent to which homophobia occurred in schools, as a form of prejudice-based bullying that brought the two organisations together. Conducting ethnographic fieldwork in a US business firm, Sackmann set out to approach the term 'culture' anthropologically and deal with it in a more complex way than it had been in work studies (1991: 46-47). She found that while organisations do not have a single culture they do have several similar 'cultures' or particular ways of thinking about an issue, which enables individuals to recognise events in similar ways (*ibid.*: 47-49, 42). This shared ideological ground enables cross-organisational collaboration. The personal involvement with the issue and the power of networking can create partnerships and, as Caroline describes below, mistrust.

Particularly within small organisations and non-governmental organisations where funding is short and the budget is strapped and all that, people are vying for the same tiny piece of cake rather than asking why there isn't a bigger cake. Right? I think one of the strategies we've used to actually stop that jealousy going on or enable some jealousy [is to] let some jealousy to take place. Because you'll never stop it. Use the collegiate approach with others so you bring enough people in to silence or dampen down the voices of those who are jealous. I think that's actually been useful- and that's been a deliberate strategy that I've certainly used to bring people round and I think it works. Because if people are [a] part and working with you they're less likely to criticise you (interview January 2007).

Caroline speaks of the jealousy she has observed in the race equality field arising from deep attachment to one's work. It is a common human response to react when something one cares about is threatened. The loss of funding as described in this excerpt is a manner through which to explore the emotional words. This description is complex with words and phrases including; destabilisation, dilemma, jealousy, vying, strategies, collegiate approach, silence or dampen down the voices, deliberate, bring people round, working with you, criticise you.

After the restructuring of the Scottish Government in May 2007 (and the move of the Commission for Race Equality, Disability Rights Commission and Equal Opportunities Commission into the Commission on Equality and Human Rights in October 2007), it became difficult for CERES to enter into unofficial dialogue with the respective units due to the displacement of their former contacts. This was the same fate for contacts in the 1994-1996 Local Authority restructure. The new members of the restructured directorates and commissions did not know (or were at least unknown by) CERES. Within the new system, those who were acquainted with CERES did not have the same freedom as before. The personal connections held by CERES members and how they functioned in (in)formal and (un)official situations support Moeran's emphasis on exploring how personal connections forge networks. While Riles agrees that individuals play a role in forming a network, she notes that personal relationships and the network are the same entity typified in the Network

meetings at CERES viewed from two different standpoints; that relationships and the network are artefacts or consequences of each other, similar to Moeran's understanding of networks created through personal relationships (2001: 69,68). The civil servants newly assigned to the education and equalities units took time to become familiar with the issues surrounding race equality. Nuijten found the same occurrence in research on Mexican land tenure and stated the situation succinctly; 'The frequent turnover of high- and middle- level personnel also means that officials are often placed in charge of organisations and programmes they know little about' (2003: 154).

CERES work ebbs and flows throughout the year and has done so over its lifetime in response to project and report deadlines. During busy times, a hectic day rushes past with little conversation achieved while dashing from one task to another; editing reports, bundling and posting documents or e-mailing proofed booklets to the printers. With little time to think, one commonly voiced desire is for a break. Slow periods are a stark contrast to the energy of the final rushes and are full of boredom, ironically raising the desire for more work to arrive. This cycle of frenetic and lethargic activity is indicative of the project-based work CERES carries out. During slow periods when there are no un-funded side projects under-way, the time is passed sitting in the office for hours waiting for an e-mail or phone call to come through, reorganising already perfect filing, or admitting defeat and sharing family photos from on-line accounts and playing on the computers.

Iona and I were just playing with the computer fonts, looking at all of them and there's a 'sparkle text' effect. We wondered if it would at least print coloured dots but it didn't (field notes 22 February 2007).

There's almost no work today. Nicola finished all she could by around 11. I was going to read through conference reports and such because I hadn't heard back from Caroline about the quiz and then I got an e-mail... (field notes 20 March 2007).

Iona's never seen CERES so quiet as this half of the year. Even from my year here I see a drastic difference between the amount of work activity that was going on last March and the very slow trickle this March. It's all due to a

lack of Exec¹⁰ funding. The only active things are the anti-sectarian which has funding until '09 and the Project 4 which has funding until June/July this year (field notes 16 March 2007).

This slow down was initially welcome after the hectic bustle of project completion and it was not yet apparent that the pace would never truly return to the same rate as before. In the past, relatively slow periods were followed by a new source of funding and further activity but both were soon to become a mere trickle.

At first, the hours presented to the public did not represent the amount of work undertaken. Staff members worked from home on Internet-based activities. Checking and answering e-mails or gathering information for website updates were easy ways to continue CERES work on days when the Centre was closed. This behind-the-scenes activity soon became unnecessary when two days became sufficient to carry out official tasks. The core activities had petered out. By the time I had completed fieldwork a year after this reduction, a member phoned me for a chat and said that even more funding had ended. The suggestion was that I write my thesis as an obituary and send it to the government on the Centre's behalf. The changes experienced by this Centre reflect a wider move in the equalities fields in Scotland and the whole UK. Part of this deals with the increasingly integrated equalities initiatives in preparation for a single UK equalities law.

At lunchtime, generally at 12:30 p.m., the STEP staff members join those at CERES to gather in cushioned chairs around the table and eat their meals. The chair positions and table height designate an informal space promoting fluid interactions and conversation. On occasion, lunch is moved into the STEP office or outside but the majority of days it occurs at CERES. For my first year with the organisation, lunches were a leisurely hour of interesting discussions on families, news, and sometimes education and UK or foreign policy. The lunch breaks were shortened when the Centre's days open reduced to two per week. The director cut lunches to a half an hour in an attempt to remain accessible so that the staff would be available for outside communication at the times the phone and web messages stated.

¹⁰ Refers to the Scottish Executive, the name for the Scottish Government from 1999 to May 2007.

Although members pleasantly carry out their work at CERES, many days it would have been easier to continue the lunch discussion than clear up and return to work. Noticing that as one member's conscience called her back she would say 'Oh well, I suppose', it soon became our key—both comical and practical—to work again. Afternoons consist of a basic repetition of the morning, until the librarian arrives at around 2:30 pm and the second computer is relinquished to her cataloguing.

Four p.m. is when the office closes the door on a standard day. While the director may not arrive in a typical workday, she would have been in constant phone or e-mail contact with the staff to issue tasks or simply be available if needed. The director's busy schedule has safeguarded her over the years from unwanted media requests. She works outside the office so often that even when she is present the staff may deflect certain phone calls and offer her e-mail address under the guise that she is unavailable. Whenever any race related news item arises she is sure to receive interview requests or press opportunities from various newspapers.

This avoidance of the media may not seem to correspond with the ethos of honesty and action cultivated at the Centre, yet it is a logical approach to self-preservation and displays the care with which CERES presents itself. The Centre does not have the time or resources to allow members to build relationships with newspaper reporters. Negative or provocative press has the potential to damage the Centre's work. Based on the way the members talk about critical engagement with race and their desire for political change, it would be easy to assign to them a desire to cultivate the media in order to take the messages further. An aspect I did not discuss with the CERES staff at the time, yet based on how their projects are monitored at each stage, is the possibility that even with careful use of the media the government may not wish the Centre to speak until politicians deem the project or research complete and acceptable. Newspapers rarely convey the full complexity of an issue discussed during interviews and it takes careful attention and time for academics to use the media to their advantage (Burgess 1994: 21, 26-30, 25, 33).

Even projects that have been signed off by the Scottish government are open to

probing by media sources. CERES wrote and maintained Learning and Teaching Scotland's Anti-Sectarian website and received a phone call from a journalist about a newly uploaded section on Islamophobia. The journalist took issue with the fact that the writing mentioned how *staring* at visible Muslims by non-Muslims can prove uncomfortable and he inferred that non-Muslims are no longer permitted to *look* at Muslims. This newspaper then repeatedly contacted the CERES director to address the purported opinion. Admittedly, the word 'prolonged' was missing. In light of the incident several members, myself included, combed assigned sections of this vast and tangled resource in search of potentially ambiguous language to clarify any statements that could be used against equality work. News coverage in Britain, the US and other countries since 2001 has adversely influenced public opinions of Islam. The attribution of terrorism to fundamentalist Muslims increases or cements negative perceptions for those who have not had previous contact with Muslim ideas or individuals. This has led to a backlash in majority Christian countries against those are or are assumed to be Muslim (Pilkinton 2003: 276-277). The news reports on security alerts suggest through overt verbal cues or visual imagery that the main perpetrators are male (Muslim) teenagers (Saeed *et al.* 1999: 822).

A few months later, Glasgow Caledonian University published a report on perceptions of minority ethnic people in Scotland. Commissioned by the Strathclyde and Lothian and Borders Police forces, the report aimed to understand how Scotland's minority ethnic youth view the police. Leask, a reporter for the *Herald*, covered the research and wrote that 'academics found youths from minority backgrounds felt 'under siege' from staring white neighbours and unfairly targeted by police officers who lacked 'cultural sensitivity' (2007a). Leask's second article, 'Living under the 'white gaze'', borrowed the term from one of the report's interviewees and again discussed staring and mistrust that are commonplace in today's public particularly after increased coverage of stories from the 'war on terror' (2007b). The first article emphasised the findings of the report that those interviewed did not view 'all Scots as racist' but both lent credence to the impact of (prolonged) staring in public interactions. Incidences like this were rare but always a possibility since the Centre's engagement with equalities included indirect and

institutional discrimination, in addition to the direct discrimination which more often garnered the support of tentative audiences. Although better illustrated in Chapter Seven than with this website's sentence, CERES staff closely scrutinised the wording produced and closely watched newspapers for any articles which may harm or facilitate the promotion of equalities in schools.

These newspaper articles and the dialogues they spark are interactions across a political network and illustrate Riles's idea of artefacts as more conceptual and less material in composition. One could argue that the demand for physical objects such as reports or lesson plans is what keeps things running but it was Riles's artefacts that sparked the Centre's founding. These were not merely objects or documents but *ideas* of race equality or anti-racism and the urgency to take action. Reports and documents at CERES carry different information and approaches to the same subject for different recipients as objects are styled with different realms of action in mind (Riles 2001: 136). For informal documents or meetings the information shared with other educationalists or race equality workers is more critical and nuanced than if shared with the government. This is a tactful approach to the funding body yet the Centre found it necessary at times due to bureaucracy's desire for 'cut and dry' definitive 'answers' and the repeated 'edits' demanded by the government if CERES challenges their actions.

Locating CERES within the Network

The Centre hosts the quarterly *Race Relations (Amendment) Act [2000] Officers Network* meetings more commonly known as the *RR(A)A 2000 Network*, or simply the Network meetings, with everyone involved referred to as part of 'the Network'. The Network was organised in 2003 after the *Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000*, to bring together education officers, help them implement the duties in their authority and share examples of 'good practice'. The *RR(A)A 2000 Network* is an artefact of the *RR(A)A 2000* document which is itself an artefact of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and other race-related occurrences during the late 1990s, all of which tell a segment of the race equality story in Scotland. Riles's idea that the naming of the network calls it into existence is important: voicing an idea stabilizes it, evokes relationships between the speaker and the listener and the power situations which

will be involved disseminate the ideas or even justify why it would be worthwhile (2001: 173). The same process is visible with the *RR(A)2000*. Dealing with an idea of 'promoting race equality', however complex, gained power when it was uttered and written down in the *RR(A)A 2000*. Writing it down also necessarily limited it by delineating it within a policy. Speaking it originates the idea but also gives it permanence in the proscribed form, informing readers of what it is not.

All 32 of Scotland's Education Authorities are involved in the *RR(A)A 2000* Network meetings and Equality Officers or Quality Improvement Officers from around 25 authorities attending an average meeting. These meetings usually occur in March, June, September and December of each year though dates are flexible based on membership needs. While early meetings focused solely on the Act and practices, they now include wider issues related to race such as religious intolerance (particularly Islamophobia and Sectarianism), accommodating asylum seekers and pupils newly arrived from other European Union countries, as well as equality issues like disability and gender.

Just as the CERES mission statement and several tendered projects referred to good practice, so did Network members. With government-sponsored conferences, research and materials promoting the idea of good practice it would be simple to declare the phrase as extraneous to race equality experiences. Judging from the frequency with which Network members advocated sharing, developing or researching new examples, however, it is possible to say that the issue was of real concern. The idea of good practice carries a promise of action of implementation regardless of finances, available time or leadership for it is essentially examples of how to cultivate an ethos. Good practice examples were also shared during meetings as successes; uplifting anecdotes that signified progress amongst the works in progress. This focus on good practice and the promise to act may also display practitioner commitment to the role of equality promotion, as explored in Chapter Eight.

With 25-35 members generally in attendance the group is large enough to encourage

interesting discussion, yet still intimate for individuals to become comfortable with familiar faces. CERES hosts all meetings on Moray House campus for a full workday. The standard meeting begins with an informal arrival and gathering. As members trickle into the room they greet colleagues and friends, claim a seat and then head to the catering table. Based on my experience and the actions of others, the coffee, teas, sparkling and still waters, biscuits and scones are a welcome sight after the morning travel. Some members regularly travelled from as far as Shetland and Orkney, beginning their journeys the previous day. Forming fluid conversation groups upon arrival most members make their rounds while a few engage in deeper discussions.

Education Authorities are continually in flux with new positions created, retirement, and internal restructuring to change the composition. It was therefore not unusual for a new face to appear at each meeting. Arriving to such a vivacious and social coffee time can be intimidating if it seems as though the groups are closed. Beginning with my own first nervous appearance and successive meetings as members greeted the newcomers throughout my work with CERES, I have observed welcoming gestures at each meeting. After exchanging names, the more established members generally identified the newcomer's Education or Local Authority or his or her specific involvement in equality. This places the individual and signifies a similarity with the group. After thirty minutes of arrival and coffee the members have usually settled at the tables clustered throughout the room with the coordinating CERES staff member, usually Michael, waiting at the front table. Since there is an emphasis on networking and collaboration, Michael often allows the meeting to begin up to 10 minutes late if excited conversations continue. First, he overviews the day's schedule and then opens the floor to feedback, concerns, or any other business a member wishes to share. Then the morning session begins.

The official agenda warrants attention as it signifies the Centre or network's intended framework for the meeting. Schwartzman states that studies of meetings should not merely focus on the content of the meeting but also address its form, functions and 'significance as a gathering' (1989: 4). This is a fruitful approach for exploring the

Network meetings, for what is 'accomplished' is often different from the intended agenda. The meetings create the network and reinforce the shared techniques for equality work. The main agenda points for Network meetings included presentations and panel discussions from HMIe on their school inspection framework, the Equal Opportunities Commission answering questions on the practical application of the Gender Equality Duty and a presentation from a school in Edinburgh on their anti-discrimination programme, to name a few. Engaging with presenters and receiving information from the presentations are the easily evidenced aspects of the meetings' accomplishments.

In addition to good practice and outside presenters CERES often used the network to share current research, pilot early stage development materials and seek opinions on its undertakings. It is the informal discussions, however, that truly meet the Network's objectives. Rather than organisations creating meetings, the meetings create organisational actions; decisions and conversations centre on meetings (Schwartzman 1989: 9). The communications and negotiations that evolve and occur at meetings fill the organisation's daily actions with meaning. When CERES receives feedback and opinions of those who have read through or implemented ideas, the end product is strengthened and more applicable across Scotland.

Attendance at a meeting for one un-initiated into the areas of education and anti-discrimination in Scotland can seem somewhat like an auction or trade fair of a hobby about which the attendant is entirely unfamiliar. Acronyms dot the speech almost un-noticed as utterances of 'ACE'¹¹ and 'NEET'¹² (neither expressions of excitement) cross the room. Riles noted the dense set of acronyms and specialist jargon employed by network members network who expressed a desire to communicate with those beyond the meetings (2001: 52). Based on this fieldwork, I argue that a desire for clarity is not contradicted by employment of obscure terms but is instead a result of the working environment. Policies and documents often possess

¹¹ A Curriculum for Excellence, the Scottish Government's guidelines and approach to the 5-14 curriculum.

¹² Refers to those of school age (aged 16 and over) who are 'Not in Education, Employment or Training'.

long titles and to speak them all out fully could render the meeting or discussion less productive than shortening speech. The CERES Network members are educators and are aware of the cryptic terms, quickly filling in newcomers at the slightest facial hint of confusion. During my second day at CERES, I attended my first Network Meeting and those next to me regularly leaned over to describe the full name, acronym or explain the context of the documents.

Two forms of discussion that arise spontaneously yet reliably at each meeting, are questions on progress and examples of local successes in the form of 'good practice' learning. At any point in the open discussions or comments throughout the day – whether in response to a presentation or during morning comments – Network members are likely to question the progress of mainstreaming equality materials, government commitment or strongly state the barriers faced by race equality. These comments are never received in isolation as several members will engage with each point, reflecting the common understandings of the equality sector. In contrast, the particular news of local progress, programmes or developments are shared and commented on by individuals. They were raised to proffer alternative solutions in response to presentations, as updates and even as proof for Network members that they were collectively working to change Scottish education. By involving several individuals, meetings invariably include networks. Once you name the network it provides the link between two presumably unrelated elements (Riles 2001: 173; 172). Networks continually self-refer; by talking about the network, one is thought to be doing something for the network (Riles 2001: 173). Just as feasting draws communities together through negotiating roles and future alliances, so too do network meetings through a social and intellectual feast.

Besides the intimate setting and attendance numbers, one aspect of the Network meetings that catalyse the connections between individuals and identification with this network is the leisurely sit down meal shared at mid-day. It is rare in many jobs, particularly in education, to enjoy an hour-long lunch break during the routine workday and this difference is appreciated. Although large conferences often allow the same amount of time in their schedules they do not result in the same collectivity.

It is therefore the aforementioned size of the group, the relaxed schedule and regularity of meetings that promote this feeling.

As the morning session ends, the entire group animatedly discusses the morning's topic or events in one's Authority while walking across the street to another Moray House building and joining the food queue in a privately booked catering room. With two hot meal options, a salad and rolls it is intended for the food to be eaten at a sit-down pace. The dining room has large windows and intricately carved wood mouldings. The tables with food—sometimes mushroom ravioli or chicken à la king, with potatoes and vegetables—line the wall by the door while seven rectangular tables dressed in white fabric table cloths and napkins fill the room. On the wall behind the tables, an old wall clock is flanked by two large bookcases with only part of their door glass remaining. Old copies of books on the shelves create a focal point in the room.

The lunch discussions are so lively that the afternoon session also commonly starts later than scheduled. While the 'Network Meeting' refers to the officially planned day of talks, presentations, room bookings and ordered catering, it is truly the meeting (or coming together) of 'the network' (i.e. those individuals who are part of the Network) that creates the event. CERES contacts this network throughout the year to solicit input and opinions. Similarly, members turn to the Network when seeking allies or support to develop or implement school programs. When contacting various individuals during fieldwork, I was much more likely to speak less formally to a Network member on the phone than when contacting a non-member. The few days before the meetings brought hurried work for the CERES staff and judging from the office discussions after meetings, I believe that the members found it to be a refreshing experience. The day's activity reinforces the knowledge that positive things are happening across Scotland and inspires new ideas and collaborations.

Below, the CERES staff discuss how they understand their work in the wider race equality networks and field.

BD: *[If speaking to] someone who deals with equality in another country, how would you describe what CERES is and the important things you deal with in Scotland?*

Michael: *Well, I think that in Scotland equality issues are as significant as anywhere else, though they actually appear very differently from how they might even in England and dramatically from South Africa or the USA or wherever. But there's a certain degree of complacency in Scotland regarding equality issues and quality of education that's offered in that area. However, there are considerable resources. Positive aspects in Scotland, mainly amongst staff, students and parents. And the real need in Scotland is to actually mobilise and utilise these in a way that is explicit rather than being assumed that it will happen anyway because of—in quotes—'good practice.' I also think that in Scotland there is a great deal of submerged discrimination which needs to be looked at and resourced immensely more than it is at the moment.*

Alison: *I don't know the answer; I think it depends on who I'm speaking to.*

Hopkins presents a strong argument for the existence and development of such a political complacency in Scotland (2008: 116-121). He draws upon various writings to describe the complacency as a result of a political process that did not focus on race although racism was present [Miles and Dunlop 1987], instead lending attention to religious sectarianism [Hopkins and Smith, in press] (Hopkins 2008: 118). Further support for his argument comes from the observation that reports on racism have depicted it as an English problem [De Lima 2005] and due to this focus, Scotland has avoided confronting existing racism [Arshad 1999] (Hopkins 2008: 116).

BD: *(mmhmm)*

Caroline: *As Michael was speaking what occurred to me, and I suppose I would be doing that kind of judgement in real time, you would judge what the context was that you were meeting. If it was somebody who was an equalities person, I would want a feel for if they were coming from a radical equalities perspective, equity perspective or whether they were people who were fairly novice at it and therefore new at the game. And the response would depend on their own analytical ability. The more critical and radical they are the deeper my answer would be. The more differentiated my answer would be, very much along the lines of what Michael was saying. But if they were more novice, I think that I would- I suppose say there are pros and cons to doing this work in Scotland. The upside is that I think there is a Scottish psyche of fairness. I think that it does exist. But the flip-side of that is this submergence thing. Because we think that way, we think that everything is okay. You then don't look deeper to see that maybe it isn't okay, because nobody's told you that it's not okay.*

I interpret her remark on the 'psyche of fairness' not as an essentialised term

applicable to all Scots but as a reference to the social body holding and acting upon ideas of justice and fairness, similar to many definitions of egalitarian. This may have been the underlying intention in Caroline's remark on the Scottish psyche of fairness: that purportedly 'egalitarian' initiatives will gain wider support by individuals who see it as benefiting the nation.

I'm also conscious that as I discuss these kinds of issues with colleagues abroad (and I only can talk about Canadians here because I don't know what Australians would be thinking or whatever), I've come to the conclusion that our politics and our ability to analyse (certainly compared to some of the practitioners in the Canadian area of Ontario), we're actually far more mature I think, at the level we come at it. I think the Canadians are quite superficial about it. The ones that I've met in Ontario have a kind of feel good factor, superficiality about the way they deal with things. And I've come to the conclusion that there's no country in this world with greater duplicity than Britain [laughs]. We are the masters with doing this. So I think that's not a direct answer to you but I think the answer would be a lot more...a lot more concerned about prejudice and issues of that kind to somebody with an equalities base than to somebody generally asking what is it that you do.

BD: yeah

Iona: I don't know what I would say to be honest. To be honest, I would probably say 'I'll pass you on to [the director]' [all laugh] I have to say that. But personally a few years ago, I would've been one of the ones saying 'I don't see a problem, everything seems all right here.' And now I think more and more people have come to realise that there is a problem...[murmurs of agreement] (interview 18 January 2007).

While it is acknowledged that interviews, quotes and even conversations can only ever represent one moment in time, the comments on Ontario warrant further exploration. Perhaps the speaker has not attended a conference in Canada in quite some time and is therefore comparing memories of old approaches in Canada with experiences of new approaches in the UK. As shown earlier, Britain too carved its current pro-active equalities approach from a celebratory multicultural one. Throughout the 1980s and even early 1990s, multiculturalism continued to be central to equality approaches. Conversely, it may have been the Canadian colleagues who employed particular terms when discussing issues, thinking that they were the (then) current UK buzzwords regardless of the varying values with which these words are imbued. One relevant example of this is how good practice and best practice are used by educators in different English speaking countries to signify similar

occurrences. The terms are offered in education as close cousins to one another across the contexts with the acknowledgement that unless working within the system, one cannot ever fully understand the ideological and practical implications of the particular word.

This conversation is riddled with value-laden terms which transcend the opinion-based, official narrative and uncover feelings toward race equality work. Their responses to a description of their work for someone in equality beyond Scotland show a critical language interspersed with political judgements and a moral undertone. Declaring individuals as 'novice', 'expert' or 'radical' not only shows the level of expertise held by CERES members, it also refers to a moral position. If someone is not 'radical' or experienced enough to (presumably) understand the analysis then CERES staff do not bring the discussion to that level. This may be due to wanting to avoid spreading mis-information. In quick conversations there may not be time to fully explicate one's views and as the 'staring' and Islamophobia incident shows, misinformation is thought to cause more harm than good by drawing negative attention to the subject.

The Morality of Equality Work

Use of moral terms does not reflect poorly upon the speaker but rather signifies that he or she perceives of this work as directly relevant to his or her understanding of justice, equality or society. The race equality practitioners circulate in a realm where countering racism is a given. In promoting race equality the gap between the political and moral work disappears for many involved. Morality is not a value in itself but an attitude toward values. Policy proscribes normative behaviours and as a result, promotes a specific morality reflecting the institution that created it (Shore and Wright 1997: 4). Policy documents are also driven by the aim to persuade in a manner reflecting mores and cannot be adhered to without coming in line with certain values (Apthorpe 1997: 43, 55; Shore and Wright 1997: 10). While CERES has not created policies, it works with policies written at both a Scotland and UK level. The morality enforced by the policies and promoted by those in the race equality sector become audible through 'insider' interactions with those in the CERES network.

When two competing ideological, yet logical, arguments are discussed it is impossible to choose between them and both sides of the debate reply upon moral themes when neither case would independently take precedence (MacIntyre 1993: 8). Although both groups begin with the same key terms in political discourse, they understand the meanings differently based on the categories used to order thought and each believes in the correctness of their position (Foley 2007: 29, 167; Lackoff 1996: 45). The phrasing of 'equalities person' is interesting as it implies identification with the role but also a level of attained knowledge by *becoming* such a person: being initiated into the position and showing a level of commitment through actions. In occupations where job functions include judgement the role's enactment is tied to moral associations (MacIntyre 1993: 28). The requirements of those in these roles, politicians and priests amongst others, varies between cultures, is imposed from the outside and expects individuals to adhere to a cache of moral actions (*ibid.*: 29, 28). These characters are a moral representation of the culture in which they are embedded, such as an 'equalities person' (*ibid.*: 29).

Michael's comment on submerged racism also hints at a level of expertise in that the CERES staff know it is present but by virtue of being submerged, it is hidden. The question arises as to how or where this racism is submerged. If a research aim is to uncover instances of racism and it is already known, then the submersion does not apply here. In this case, submerged refers to that which lies under the surface and is *purposefully* hidden. Rather than referring to the benign ignorance as shown in assumptions that 'we're all white' in Scotland as Gaine explores (2005), it is an incisive observation that political forces in the equalities field and government sometimes delay the dissemination of information. The three themes of declaratory versus actual practice (which staff later discussed as outputs versus outcomes), Scottish psyche of fairness and submerged discrimination link directly to the three myths circulated in Scotland. The psyche of fairness aligns with egalitarianism, resulting in the submerged discrimination where inequality gets overlooked because of the belief that there are 'no' minority ethnic people in Scotland. It influences declaratory practices to either echo the 'no problem here' sentiment or state that

changes are implemented even if they are not, such as the tendency to not take action based on the first two elements of the three myths.

CERES approaches this idea of egalitarianism as productive for equality initiatives when working with the public (education sector). Regardless of whether or not it is statistically measurable, the myth enjoins teachers and education officers to act as expected by egalitarianism and ensure that pupils of all classes (and races, etcetera) have equal access to education. In contrast to the concept of helping others, there seems to be a negatively inspired egalitarianism at work in Scotland. Earlier in this chapter, Caroline recounted the jealousy that arose in organisations and authorities during the early days of the new Parliament. In response to consultations and collaborations between the Scottish Executive and nearby groups, those in the West of Scotland experienced jealousy of those in the East who were more involved. CERES members also discussed another form of jealousy.

Michael: *The Scottish phenomenon where if you see a larger than normal poppy¹³ in the field, you cut it down*

Alison: *You cut it down [same time as Michael]*

BD: *Why?*

Michael: *So everybody's equal again*

Alison: *It's a downward thing rather than an up scaling*

BD: *Is that the whole egalitarian...*

Alison: *It's a very Scottish thing. Do each other down a bit more and then we're all equal.*

BD: *And then we're all equal (same time as Alison)
...No hands up just beat them down...*

Alison: *And we're not very celebratory in that sense. I mean there's a lot of good things. You can contrast that with Ireland. You look at the southern Irish. I think they have a totally different psyche there. It's up the way and they're much more celebratory who they are, their culture. They help you. In Scotland, we're dour, downtrodden. I think Jack McConnell, give him his credits! He says we're the best small nation in the world [laughs]. To up the tempo, to raise self-esteem [laughs] (interview 18 January 2007).*

In 2005, First Minister Jack McConnell launched a promotional campaign aimed at increasing tourist numbers to Scotland. The phrase 'The Best Small Country in the

¹³ Gullestad has argued that the 'decapitation of tall poppies is a cherished Australian practice' and credits Jack Lang, a New South Wales Premier, with coining the phrase in 1931 (1996: 47).

World', a saltire and images signifying the nation's buildings and people (the Scottish Parliament building, a Scottish Regiment soldier) decorated high volume areas such as the floor at Edinburgh Waverley train station. Like Alison's comment above, Craig has also compared Scotland with Ireland and attempts to uncover the reasons for the dearth of confidence in Scotland often discussed by academics, journalists and other writers. Alison's mention of cutting one another down to maintain equality was also addressed by Craig and social reactions to pretension and pride (2003: 124, 266-267).

The CERES staff members believe that the Scottish Government since May 2007 has not overlooked inequalities but rather has purposefully resisted engagement with equalities and the old projects initiated before the current administration. This opinion has been influenced by many actions such as the dismissal of Project 4 and postponement of Project 3. When interacting with the new civil servants CERES members detect a timidity, distrust or unease when the Scottish Government deals with initiatives begun by the previous administration. Whether this is due to unfamiliarity or political positioning is unclear. The administration with which CERES had worked until the 2007 election granted funding on anti-sectarian work until 2009. Funding from the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government runs in three year cycles, meaning that new administrations may find themselves disbursing cheques for programmes they had not designed or tenders they had not personally accepted. This situation has the potential to strain relationships between the new administration and the organisation. From the position of an organisation, learning to work with new partners may create a mistrust or belief that those adjusting to the shuffle do not prioritise an issue even if they do. Speaking before the election, Alison remarked on the future funding that the outgoing administration secured for anti-sectarian work.

I think they've done that partly because...this particular issue is the First Minister's issue. And if he's no longer First Minister he'd be damned, he's going to push this through regardless. And it's also an acknowledgement I think from the Scottish Executive education team that they need to maintain us somehow and in an absence of any more contracts going out at this stage because of the election, the only way they could try and sustain us was to give us as much of the money and that it was the

first minister's agenda to try and keep his issue alive and the two things matched (18 January 2007).

In September 2008, former First Minister Jack McConnell spoke out against the actions of his successor in not maintaining the high-profile work of the Scottish Executive on anti-sectarian campaigns and for not continuing periodic conferences on sectarianism (Maddox 2008; Fraser 2008; Scotland on Sunday 2008). The Scotsman article quoted a spokesperson for First Minister Salmond as saying that 'Mr. Salmond insisted he wanted to build on Mr. McConnell's work and look at all forms of discrimination in Scotland, not just religious problems, through the *One Scotland Campaign*' (Maddox 2008). At the end of fieldwork, the anti-sectarian funding was the only remaining income for CERES. The funding itself was an artefact of the administration which granted three mainstreaming equality projects to the Centre and its continued presence highlighting the widening of general equalities work across the sector and the decreased financial support provided to projects despite the same level of required outputs and implementation measurement.

By showing the interactions and discourses created from ~~race equality~~ the preceding pages have located CERES as an organisation at the centre of a larger equality network and producer of materials and ideas. CERES contributes to the equalities network by (co)producing materials, backing funding applications, providing resources electronically and in paper form and connecting organisations that share common concerns. It contributes to the specific *RR(A)A 2000 Network* by hosting the network and drawing together race equality practitioners from across the country. The networks have evolved in response to pre-existing professional and personal relationships, just as they have created others. Not only do these actions describe how CERES members undertake equality work the interactions and relationships with individuals, organisations and government influence how they conceptualise that equality work. Through their strong opinions on the level of national engagement with discrimination and promotion of equality, their contributions to publications and the national equalities discussion, CERES members situate themselves as knowledgeable practitioners frustrated with the pace at which those outside of the sector adopt anti-discrimination practices. This chapter's

exploration of the interactions between individuals and around artefacts provides a background to examine how CERES motives influence the development of an object intended to guide teachers and educators beyond the race equality sector to engage with equalities.

7. Identity Wheels: Navigating Equality in Programme Development and Delivery

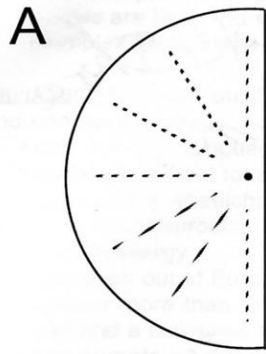
On a late March morning in a small conference room, some 20 individuals sit at five scattered table clusters filling the room. Today, a single table at the front is buttressed by an overhead projector. Hannah from CERES explains the Identity Wheels to the audience. They were developed for inclusion in the primary-level materials as part of Project 4: Mainstreaming Equality, Diversity and Anti-discrimination into the Curriculum. She tells us that the top layer of a half-plate represents what people learn by looking at us during the first encounter. The second layer is three-quarters of a plate, with writing on only half. This layer, easily hidden by the top, signifies what others learn when they get to know us. Finally, the third layer is an entire plate with three-quarters covered in writing and is information that is always private unless we decide to disclose it. The design of the plate ensures that the top layer can easily obscure the writing on the second and third layer, mimicking identity in that only the top visible layer can be assumed.

We received three differently sized paper plates, a brass tack and markers to create the layers of our Identity Wheels. As the materials were distributed I listened to the voices around me and added my accent as the first fact on the top plate. Although Hannah had not yet told us the next step of the process it was obvious to me and most likely the others who work in education, that we would then experience the activity as a student would. Each successive layer, therefore, took more thought in choosing relevant phrases I was comfortable writing down and also ones that were 'deep enough' so that I felt as though I was putting in my best effort. All attendants were busy and silent for the next several minutes as we reflected upon our selves and lives.

The following scenes selected from the life span of the project, illustrate the process of moulding a primary theme (mainstreaming equality) into a secondary concept and

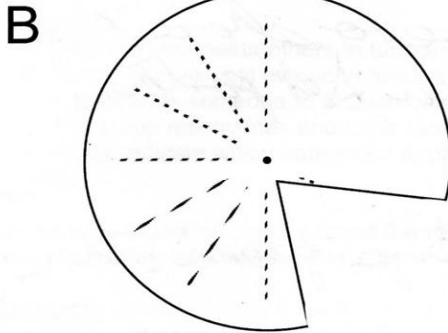
palpable object (the curriculum materials) and the assumptions and choices encountered at each phase. When navigating an Identity Wheel the individual responds to the receptiveness of the audience and chooses topics accordingly. Identity Wheels can serve as tools for teaching, introducing new ideas, reinforcing commonalities and raising complications of equality and discrimination. This same navigation takes place on a larger scale with mainstreaming equality projects. It is through these steps that a possible tension arises between the CERES and Scottish Executive and Scottish Government approaches to race equality and to the purpose and use of teaching materials. Coherence is not only relevant for comparing the Centre with the government but in observing how the Centre seeks to maintain ideological coherence. Building upon Chapter Five's discussion of engagement, this shows what CERES thinks is adequate equalities engagement and the materials and messages deemed appropriate to associate with their reputation. Ultimately, this chapter explores the expectations for the Project 4 teaching materials and the possible limitations arising from striving to achieve something that cannot be shown to have *been* achieved.

Drawing upon the concept of object biographies, I situate the Identity Wheels within their context as a produced commodity for they are a tool and token of the larger approach to mainstreaming equality. The Identity Wheels are a small element of the mainstreaming equality project, yet are the first point of access for many using the primary level materials. According to the CERES website, Project 4 was under development in partnership with the Glasgow City Council Education Department (accessed February 2008).



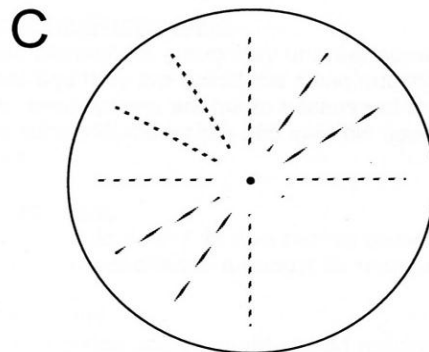
Everything written on A can be seen
a. When you first meet me you can easily see or hear:

- my name
- I am a girl/boy
- my age
- my height/size/shape
- my skin/eye/hair colour
- I use glasses/a hearing aid/ a wheelchair /braces...



Everything written on B can be hidden by A
b. If you get to know me you will find out:

- I find it difficult to...
- I am great at...
- I use an inhaler
- I'm allergic to...
- my nickname is...
- who is in my family
- which languages I speak
- where I live
- my religion
- where I was born
- where my family are from



Everything written on C can be hidden by B

c. If I want to I might tell you:

- what my name means to me
- some special and important things about my family
- what worries me
- what I hope for
- what I would like that I do not have
- what I believe in and value
- my dreams

Identity Wheel Layers

During fieldwork, the website mentioned the *Framework for Mainstreaming Equality into A Curriculum for Excellence* and materials for primary English, environmental studies, secondary mathematics and English Standard Grade lessons focusing on prose and poetry (*ibid.*). Project 4 is not a complete curriculum but rather a resource pack for both primary and secondary teachers with a few 'starter' lesson plans in a variety of subjects. The sample lessons are provided as a way for teachers to become confident with addressing discrimination before further developing the approach. At the time of access, the CERES website emphasised the fact that the documents were drafts and that the materials would be uploaded to the LTS website in time for the 2008-2009 school year. The materials were not yet accessible as of September 2009.

Working from a proposal toward a programme or materials is a familiar process for organisations and one which, when de-constructed, allows the observer to uncover assumptions an organisation uses to approach its work. In the case of CERES, the design of Project 4 involved negotiations with the Scottish Executive, within the Centre and with the concepts of equality. Choosing which subjects to include in an equalities discussion requires that decisions take the political goals, intended audience and user feedback into account. Some steps in this negotiation are only apparent in a fleeting comment or decision while others involve intense conversations and reflection. The program goals do not always easily align with the conceptual issues inherent in enacting an abstract idea.

Many negotiations take place as the concept of mainstreaming equality is coaxed into a project. Defining which groups to include in Project 4 is a process influenced by internal, sector and national politics. Personal choices inform what aspect or subject each writer decides to explore, the Centre's intentions shape expectations for inclusion, network members and teachers respond to the messages in both positive and negative ways and the Scottish government monitors the product to ensure that it aligns with its goals.

The description of the Identity Wheel and Project 4 materials will follow Kopytoff's notion of a cultural biography (1986). In his writing on the commoditisation of objects, Kopytoff finds the idea of a biography useful in order to understand an object. This biography is gleaned from several individual biographies in order to understand the idealised life trajectories as well as how divergent histories are perceived (Kopytoff 1986: 66). He speaks of an object's career, beginning with its birth and illustrates the concept with the example of a house for the Suku of Zaire (*ibid.*: 67). A house is born when it is built, spends an early career housing a young family and passes its life through several other stages in order to end as a chicken or goat house (*ibid.*). The moment when the house is knocked down signifies its death. The biography which CERES expects Project 4 to live out is the same as what it considers a correct trajectory for materials, acts or ideas for promoting equality: research, training, awareness raising, consultation with groups, feedback and monitoring. I shall refer to this as the 'equality loop' since feedback and monitoring are expected to further inform the project, just as they are in the General Duty and Specific Duties of the *RR(A)A 2000*. What is important is the expected behaviour of the object during each life stage and how people react when there is a disjuncture. Since rules are culturally created they show something of the people who use the objects. Without these interactions it would be impossible to learn what an object is intended (by those around it) to mean.

Race equality resources are a commodity in the field, eagerly consumed and digested into sections applicable to each destination whether classrooms, Education Authority offices or youth groups. Commodities are things with social potential and contain within them two forms of knowledge (Appadurai 1986: 6). This knowledge includes how the item was produced and how it should be appropriately consumed (*ibid.*: 41). If one has been socialised into the system of desiring that commodity then he or she will have also learned how it is consumed. I argue that the production knowledge is the aspect that turns equality materials into a form of currency. In assessing the social lives of objects, Appadurai argues that an item is a commodity if it fulfills the requirements for 'commodity candidacy' during a phase of its life (*ibid.*: 16). The energy or creative input in creating reports and other materials may be

unknown; unknown in the sense of unmet or incompatible with one's work load. Additionally, they are at times unknown in the intended sense - the content remains a mystery until the commodity is within reach or sight. In this instance, availability or political influences can keep the commodity from circulating. Kopytoff and Appadurai's attention to an object's movement complements how this thesis treats -artefact-

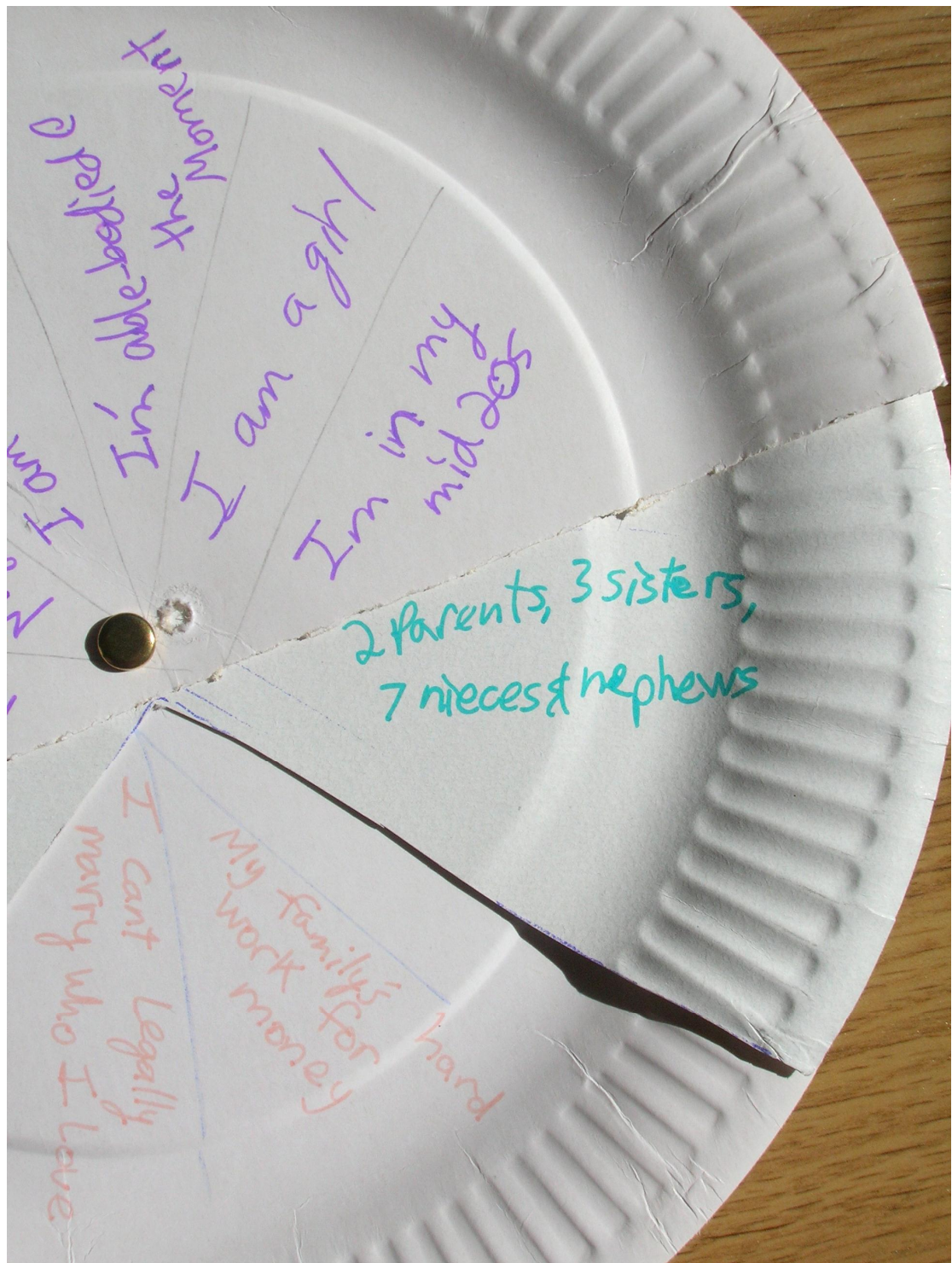
Some toolkits or reports are so limited in production that they must be purchased. The Macpherson Report is a prime example: a copy of this publication costs £26. This report was privately funded and therefore had no imperative to be freely available. Counter-intuitively, the main points of this report are referred to as greatly influencing race equality in the UK. The Macpherson Report has achieved this wide influence due to the fact that governing bodies purchased the report and published the central points in their more widely disseminated materials. This privatisation somewhat diverges from materials aiming to change practices and discourage discrimination, for one expects that they are freely available.

There is an expectation that materials should be readily circulated since equality in education and Scotland is the goal of all involved. Pricing of materials may have been an obstacle from the beginning of production or only once funding bodies no longer wish to sponsor the content. Limiting paper copies, however, does not limit the circulation of ideas contained within such documents. Organisations and groups directly working with CERES circulate these ideas. To circumvent the pricing (and sponsorship) issue, CERES, Local Authorities and local and national race (or, LGBT, disability, etcetera) equality centres often share their resources. Sometimes they are bartered, particularly examples of good practice, most often when still under development. Documents are hosted online in electronic form and those remaining exclusive are distributed in other ways. For small audiences such as colleagues in a different centre, workers e-mail files or copy computer disks and paper materials. Non-publication of -public projects- raises the issue as to why these materials are not free in the first place. The answer lies in the tendering process. Project funding is both financially and temporally limited, creating heightened expectations of material

output and high production costs. During the adolescent stage of the object, a limited run of pilot materials is covered financially but for resources aimed at a small number such as the 32 Education Authorities, a special print run raises production costs and funders expect others to buy into the finished product.

In addition to resources in the preliminary stages of development, CERES posts files of the Centre's completed reports and publications on its website as do many Local Authorities. Whether purchased, bartered or shared, the materials are expected to be utilised in classrooms or offices, integrated into daily practices and changed or expanded to fit the target audience. The more resources used, developed and shared, opined one CERES member, the richer the overall pool becomes (field notes January 2007). When the Scottish government has rejected a funded project or decided that it will not be published, online publication is the only route to dissemination. A singular use of the materials shows where the ideal life course of a material diverges from the actual material is when these books, binders, boxes and worksheets become what are called 'shelf-benders' by becoming obsolete or impractical to use in the first place. While this is not the ideal 'old age' for such materials it is the *expected* course and the potential for this outcome seems to be present in the minds of programme developers throughout creation.

As we completed our Identity Wheels, Hannah asked us to pair up with someone and share three things from anywhere on the plate. With the information safe in our grasp we each controlled the information exposed. The task was to continue sharing with as many partners as possible by sharing three facts, listening to three and moving on. This activity lasted for around five minutes with the room enlivened by people weaving in and out of the chattering crowd, emitting excited intonations and wearing appreciative smiles. When Hannah asked us to return to the tables, it seemed as though most of us were now comfortable enough to end up in different seats than when we had started.



Three layers of the identity wheel visible

While we sat and reflected, Hannah raised a few questions for thought and discussion. She asked us to consider which pieces of information are important to

us, noting that they will change over our lifetime. We then thought about the information we chose to share and if it changed as we shared with new partners. If we had censored our choices, she asked us to question what caused us to hide things from others. In this activity, students hold the power over their plates and are not forced to disclose anything on the second or third layers. Understanding self-censorship was the crux of the activity, showing how a discussion with younger students could lead into a conversation about what the developer termed 'complex identities' and discrimination. According to the hand out, pupils are taught to see beyond labels and stereotypes, to understand everyone has a complex identity and belongs to many groups. Hannah over-viewed this lesson and some members of the group briefly gave feedback on their experiences.

We learned that teachers could use the Identity Wheels after the initial lesson to encourage character development and creative writing. Students would be asked to choose a fictional character with whom they are familiar and think about the layers of that wheel. Working on either the famous fictional character or new ones designed by students, the class then explores the layers of character depth necessary and the importance of a back story when writing. The handout further states that the Identity Wheels can be used to:

- examine and develop personal values and attitudes
- explore and rehearse solutions to personal dilemmas and challenges
- explore unfair, unequal or unjust situations
- consider alternative points of view
- explore conflict
- recognise and challenge stereotypes
- appreciate and explore their own potential power and
- develop hopeful, creative and constructive approaches to problem solving (Project 4, primary piloting materials).

It can be used as a way to enter into discussions on mainstreaming and materials when purposefully doing an activity or lesson in education or when it follows on from discussion outside an academic context.

Thinking about my Identity Wheel on the train home, I noticed that the top layer *was* different than it would have been a few years ago. Arriving home and showing off

the plate, I found it necessary to mention discrimination, complex identities and mainstreaming equality due to Hannah's successful framing for the Network audience. It is difficult to share the contents of the Identity Wheel without highlighting the idea of complex identities. Once this complexity is explained to a group or listener, experiences of discrimination easily follow. These experiences then lead to an explanation of the current (mainstreaming) equality efforts. Besides the ease with which they enable broaching of discrimination and equality discussion, the Identity Wheels are an important element to the Project 4 materials for the physical experience they facilitate. Identity Wheels are effective teaching tools and the most active part of the project's primary aged materials. It is easy to use some of the other 'lessons' once and move on yet taking part in the activity forces each individual to engage with others as well as with larger concepts. This most likely stems from the way the activity incorporates many learning styles. The embodied experience of moving and interacting in a parting from regular classroom or meeting interactions creates a memorable activity. This memory can easily be referred to in later lessons in equality or when adapted to English and creative writing lessons. After the initial experience of creating one's wheel, choosing statements and sharing those with others, the interactive, tactile and visual designs of the Identity Wheel become inscribed in the memory.

Glass studied the facilitation of event memories and personal and collective experiences through examining the mnemonic role of souvenir t-shirts (2008: 1). Concerning potlatch t-shirts created and worn by Kwakwaka'wakw (also known as Kwakiutl) communities in British Columbia, the paper follows the garments from creation to gift exchange and ultimately to charity shops. The t-shirts are unique in their 'flexible affiliation' for individuals who may remove or discard of the clothing when they no longer identify with the event, group or message (*ibid.*). While these shirts hold a place within a larger visual context of ceremonial status markers such as crests and blankets, they are not ceremonial in nature, form part of daily fashion and are viewed as non-precious (*ibid.*: 1, 2).

There are similarities in the function that both the t-shirts and paper plates play in

individual or group memory. Shirts both index and constitute social identity and public memory (*ibid.*: 3). In customising the Identity Wheels during a class or meeting, the content will be tailored in some way to the occasion; ‘my accent’ would not have been added had I been surrounded by others with similar accents. The shirts also reflect the occasion. With an individual ‘artist’ creating each layer of the wheel, the item is circulated – although in a more temporally limited fashion – much like the t-shirt. The creator, like a t-shirt designer, shares items he or she feels relevant to the occasion and may privilege some ‘recipients’ of the knowledge over others. Just as new shirt designs are created for different events, so too are Identity Wheels such as those created about oneself, a book character or famous personality. In addition to the spontaneous element of what traits the creator thinks of on a particular occasion, the wheels can be used in other activities, thereby changing the content of the design. Ultimately, it is the sharing of the visual and written design of the Identity Wheels or t-shirts, the passing down of the information (via later conversations on the lesson or hand-me-down garments) and the ability for the object to elicit the physical and emotional experience of the event which underline the Identity Wheels as embodied memory tools. How the Centre presented inequalities and the group identifications included in the materials (in relation to protected characteristics in race equality legislation) obscure a long process of negotiation within the organisation.

How do Identity Wheels Promote Equality?

The original project proposal contextualised Project 4 by noting that it would work from within the existing initiatives used by schools, particularly those that deal with equality and citizenship. Part of the challenge was to make the materials broad enough to be relevant for councils facing different social situations and yet specific enough to compel reference and use of the materials. According to the proposal, Phase One was designed to run between April and July 2005 and include assessment of anti-discrimination practices in schools (CERES 2004: 5). Phase Two would then identify the assessed examples of good practice and provide advice and lesson plans (*ibid.*: 8). Selecting a range of schools based on geography, size, a range of ethnicities, social classes and faiths, the piloting of materials comprised Phase Three, to be carried out between August and December 2006 (*ibid.*: 12). Phase Four is

listed as the pilot evaluation, which is a critical stage in the equality loop for CERES. They noted that the consultation or piloting process is effectively void if the feedback is not analysed to influence further development. Materials were to be available on paper or compact disc after the pilot evaluation, with Phase Five completed by June 2007 (*ibid.*: 15). At this stage, there are still several steps the project should take in order to promote and mainstream equality: to work toward achieving the goal of measurable and positive outcomes rather than simple document output.

Mainstreaming equality, the process of integrating an equality perspective into all policies and practices, is the current approach to equality for the Scottish Government. Although it is unclear whether the words used to bind this approach were differentiated purposefully from anti-discrimination, race equality practitioners in the CERES network have accepted the initiative as the next step in the evolution. This endorsement arose in Chapter Five's history of the terms and will reappear in Chapter Eight's gathering. In a doctoral thesis researching the Scottish Executive's gender mainstreaming strategy in 2002-2003, Bilton cites The Council of Europe Group of Specialists on Gender Mainstreaming 1998 as saying that the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 was the first time mainstreaming appeared in international texts as a concept (2006: 18). Bilton recorded the Scottish Executive as the focus for and originator of activity at the time of the fieldwork in 2002-2003 (*ibid.*: 48). By the time of my fieldwork in 2006, the development and application of the mainstreaming equality strategy expanded to all equalities rather than simply gender and contrary to Bilton's observation of the Scottish Executive as the originator of activity, most activity I observed occurred at sites beyond the government rather than within. In fact, development occurred at CERES yet implementation remains incomplete.

It was fascinating to read Bilton's eloquently and reflexively detailed descriptions of the subtle changes in the Scottish Executive's equalities work and to compare the parallels with this writing as my research picked up at the later stages of her research. Mainstreaming was set apart from other policy areas by careful attention to how

policy is made [rather] than with specifying particular outcomes (Bilton 2006: 48). According to the *Mainstreaming Equality* strategy, successful implementation requires both an understanding that inequalities and discriminations exist and a willingness to actively reduce the occurrence and to redress the consequences of discrimination (Scottish Executive Equality Strategy, cited in Project 4 materials, unpublished).

Using mainstreaming equality as an approach in all teaching, equality issues are not merely tacked onto lessons or policies but ideally permeate all actions and interactions within a classroom. Instead of teaching one lesson on racism and the Holocaust, a mainstreamed approach challenges inequalities by raising racism and the holocaust through other everyday lessons. A lesson on houses and homes taught at the primary two level could include discussions of different types of homes and touch upon class or attitudes toward Gypsy/Travellers. One sample lesson for primary five and above explores personal, cultural and structural discrimination through left handed-ness. Students place themselves into one of two groups according to their dominant hands and then discuss as a group what they know about being left-handed. This will most likely include assumptions and stereotypes in addition to the 'facts'. After students share results with the entire class, the teacher offers several statements about left handed-ness and encompasses all three categories of discrimination. Examples include the fact that in the past left handed pupils were forced to write with the other hand (personal), machines and tools are often designed for right handed users (structural) and the assumption that left-handers are clumsy (cultural).

Pupils are instructed to categorise their group discussion results into the three categories and list ways that each statement may affect choices and opportunities. Next, pairs of pupils role-play each example. The desired outcome for the role-play is to question why one individual believes the statement about left-handed people and what could be said to change his or her mind. Dominant hand use is chosen since it is a non-contentious issue, allowing students to focus on the three forms of discrimination. In order to develop the lesson further, the guide includes a web link

to the Disability Rights Commission's classroom resource and states that -by locating the disadvantages associated with a specific impairment within the personal, cultural and structural fields pupils can develop their understanding of the social model of disabilityø(Project 4).

Choosing Equalities

If these lesson ideas provide examples of how to question discrimination and promote equality, how are images chosen to represent the ideal 'equality'? The process of choosing which equalities to include and how to introduce them is an example of explicit negotiations undertaken and observable throughout the development process. While race and disability are obvious choices other themes may challenge educator conceptions and comfort levels. For the equality materials, the interactions begin with initial e-mails between project development members and build to successive meetings to negotiate content. A Project Advisory Group (PAG) meeting took place during the infancy of the programme, the research stage. The purpose of the meeting was to include a cross-selection of project stakeholders including those who would both develop and use the resources. Three CERES staff members sat at a table along with three visitors in a small room: a secondary teacher from Glasgow, an inspector for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of education and a representative from Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS). Their conversation makes visible the negotiation process. As we went through the reams of paper for each topic, those present raised concerns specific to the materials that reflected issues repeated throughout my time at CERES, particularly when developing resources or reports.

First, the strongest concern is to be 'Scotland-specificøby providing facts, data and practices relevant for Scotland and not simply culling them from the Internet and thus another social context. This was apparent in a question arising from the use of US statistics presented in a mathematics lesson. One member cautioned that once a teacher saw that the statistics were for American hate crimes, he or she might deem the subject irrelevant and justify ignoring the lesson. This is likely based on experience both of educators and the government as CERES has published reviews and research independently and for the government. Second, there is a hope

expressed for practitioners to understand the diversity within any subject and avoid tokenism or blanket statements. Throughout the meeting, several individuals stressed the wording on another lesson should note that the represented experience of Islam was an example and other experiences will vary.

The third issue voiced at the Network meetings and CERES is the desire to provide facts on contested issues. One section of the Project 4 materials initially had an overtly and positively biased sentence and neutralised to note that same-sex couples had recently been given rights. Providing facts enables teachers to avoid appearing as if they agree with an issue and may provide students with otherwise difficult to access information. During the PAG meeting, there was a long discussion on the importance of including the web addresses. While the additional resources would definitely benefit teachers, they felt inclusion of websites was essential for students. They also decided that worksheets should be one page in length and must display an informational website address relevant to the topic. The page in question provided links on sexual orientation and coming out something several of the members, myself included, advocated to retain. The reasoning for the websites was so that students may discreetly carry home class work and have access to links on disability, homophobic bullying, or Islam, for example (field notes 27 March 2006).

For the high school materials, the developers aimed to include lesson ideas in subjects that would not be an obvious location for challenging discrimination, such as mathematics and physical education. The mathematics materials provide resources for learning decimals while discussing incidences of homophobic crimes, calculating gradients of slopes while thinking about wheelchair access and disability rights and challenging preconceptions of 'outsiders' through the creation of pie charts.

The developers felt that it was important to provide examples of how physical education teachers might incorporate an equalities perspective beyond the tokenistic display of posters with women or athletes with disabilities. At the meeting I was told that the P.E. teachers developing the materials were struggling to find proactive

materials to use outside of the classroom without reinforcing stereotypes. As a result, they felt that a guidance document similar to *Learning in (2+) Languages* as developed by CERES would be more useful than lesson plans. Leonard, the CERES associate coordinating the Physical Education material development, remarked at this meeting that the project needs “sharp, snappy, easy and accessible” ideas. The key to developing the material, he opined, is to focus less on concept development and more on changing teacher approaches to the subject: thinking like a PE teacher. As a result, the Project 4 materials for this subject include separate booklets for race, gender, disability, sexual orientation and faith and beliefs. Each booklet presents facts on the topic and discusses points for consideration, such as how gender expectations may influence pupils to either dominate the conversation or avoid answering questions.

Finally, those working with CERES worry about a connection with something contentious and the possibility that CERES and LTS could be seen to endorse a concept counter to equality. One of these lessons included guidance for discussing the 1991 film “Boys N the Hood” which centres around three African American teenagers living in Los Angeles. The film follows them through struggles with exams, earning American football scholarships to university and encountering alcohol and crime. The film is rated a “15” in the UK and contains violence and profanity (including racial slurs). Debating the script included with the materials, a lengthy discussion showed the delicate balance between positively addressing something to which students are already exposed and remaining silent. The lesson author argued for its inclusion based on the fact that the current English language lesson in many high schools screens the film without discussing power and privilege.

Those uncomfortable with the material cited negative representations of women and copious use of racial slurs in the film. Although the script would be accompanied by a lesson dealing with the inequalities represented those at the PAG, and particularly CERES representatives, felt that the organisation’s representation could be at stake. The Education Authority representative also expressed concerns over placing the authority’s name on the document. With a hint of the organisation’s political savvy

the group implied that the 'Boys N the Hood script' when taken in isolation, could be used to reinforce the discrimination they worked hard to redress. The script was omitted in the end but the lesson retained its place in the secondary school materials. This protected the logos and reputations of the respective groups involved and provided access to critical materials for those educators who have already included the film in their curriculum.

Ultimately, the project materials are a starting point to build confidence and show how to question inequality. They aim to empower teachers to implement equality and equality discussions in all their lessons and actions rather than introducing an equality topic for a few days and then moving on until the next initiative comes along. It was felt that while most teachers would readily engage pupils in activities exploring gender discrimination and disability, it would be hardest to encourage teachers to actively challenge homophobia or the biased media coverage on the 'war on terror' which exacerbates Islamophobia.

It may be easy to eliminate topics from an equality programme but how are the topics chosen for inclusion? Representation is political and each choice carries the potential to anger, isolate or legitimise groups depending on omission or inclusion. Observing the male bias in the poems chosen for the secondary English program, several present at the PAG asked for more positive examples of women and other marginalised groups. The poem subjects did not necessarily have to focus on being a woman or living with a disability, for example, but present a story written by someone other than an able-bodied white man. They felt that poems that do *not* focus on women would be assumed to have been written by men and that may provide a teachable moment. The only conclusions to be drawn would be if the writer were a woman with a name unquestionably assumed female.

Considering how directly race and class often impact upon one another the under-representation of class is conspicuous. For the purposes of discussion, 'class' to be understood as socio-economic status as measured not just by income but also by access to resources and the resultant power relations. In an e-mail with Hannah in

June 2006 just after our trip to Moray to deliver piloting training, I raised the issue.

Do any of the pilot materials specifically discuss class? I can see how many of them could segue into it but couldn't find one that overtly discussed it. The more I follow my research, the more the concept of class is bothering me and how inextricable it is from other forms of power and powerlessness in society but I can't even think of any groups that specifically aim to combat classism, unlike the plethora of anti-racism, etcetera, groups (personal communication 5 June 2010).

Her response:

Class? Well a bit but not a lot. Wallace and Bruce¹⁴ in the environmental studies and thinking about economic social issues when studying historical period and bias. Also, there is the checklist and especially inside the point about opportunities. You are right though it is implicit most of the time a very culturally touchy subject also one that the Exec. [Scottish Executive] want to keep separate from the equalities strands. Not sure how I know this (class goes with social justice and exclusion remits and somehow that is segregated from other work). I think the initial equalities statement of the Scotland Act may bring it together (personal communication 5 June 2006).

Hannah was referring to the Scotland Act 1998 which defined the responsibilities of the forthcoming Scottish Parliament and outlined the right to promote equality.

Social origin was included in this list, which is relevant to socio-economic class.

Race and class are directly linked and not simply because of job discrimination for a few in the present generation. Discrimination based on race or ethnicity consistently influences job prospects, wealth accumulation, life expectancy, access to services, housing and education, across generations. All of these categories are mutually influential.

While a few of the lessons have an angle from which to discuss socio-economic class, it is not presented as a major theme in the materials. Besides initiatives to alleviate poverty, there does not seem to be a strong government engagement with the power differentials found in class-based social stratification. The following week Michael said that although New Labour dealt closely with class, it was largely concerned with creating educational opportunities for those living in poverty in order to safeguard society. In former Prime Minister Tony Blair's speech during the re-election campaign in 2005 entreating voters to accept the New Labour Party for a

¹⁴ A lesson plan on William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, two central figures in the Scottish wars of independence during the 13th and 14th Centuries.

third term, he spoke extensively on education. Beginning the speech by mentioning his early experiences as an MP, Blair told stories about the people he met who were without work or hope and living in poverty on benefits. Now those individuals are providing for their families, or running businesses and Blair attributed this to the tax credits and minimum wage implemented by his party. The choice between political parties, he remarks,

Is a choice of values. Our belief in representing the interests of the many, the hard working families which are the backbone of Britain. Their belief in furthering the interests of the few, those at the top. Education has been, is and will be the driving mission of a New Labour Government: to give our children, all our children not just those at the top, the best start in life, the best chance to succeed (Blair 2005).

The urgency in this speech enjoins the audience to believe that merely providing education or tax benefits can change the situation. It emphasises an equality of opportunity only, rather than carefully ensuring the outcome. For Michael, the governmental focus is not to improve the chances of success for the pupil but to preempt the negative social affects if the pupils were to leave school and commit crimes. Scott *et al.* concur with Michael's comment about New Labour's emphasis on opportunities. They note that New Labour politicians dominated the Scottish Executive and poverty and social exclusion were major concerns for the Scottish Parliament (Scott *et al.* 2005: 85). With 'considerable' inequality of access to resources, services and wealth, the strategy focuses on creating opportunities rather than broaching the subject of creating an equal society (*ibid.*: 91). Engagement with socio-economic class, although perhaps important to the Scottish Executive's education work, does not seem to be dealt with consciously in schools and a subject for discussion. Thus, any attention the Scottish Executive pays to class inequality is promoted in regards to creating access and solely within the Inclusion directorate of the government, rather than considering it an issue that can be questioned and discussed as part of mainstreaming equalities. This observation comes from her position in association with CERES. In the case of the pupil as well as initiatives dealing with workers, Michael believes that it is not about individual rights but protecting 'society' and the 'legitimation of enterprise' (field notes 6 June 06). While the economic initiatives are UK-wide, Scotland has the opportunity to take action through its devolved educational system.

There is particular resonance between Blair's speech with educational opportunities and with the 'lad o pairs' story thought to cement the egalitarian narrative in Scotland. Simply providing the 'opportunity' for education denies the other factors contributing to poverty, class inequality or marginality. The 'egalitarian' mindset, as discussed in Chapter Two, seems to be a factor in dismissing class issues. The story does not examine the system and claims that everyone has the same chances. The Centre's Project 4 materials include the potential for discussing class in the 'Boys N the Hood' housing, Wallace and Bruce and Identity Wheels lessons but class is not a major focus of its work. Considering the centrality of class to race-related inequalities and reflecting upon how rarely the topic arose at Network meetings, class does not seem to be a major concern in Scottish education. Would admitting class differences and attempting to debase the unequal power relations 'threaten' the type of Scotland that the government is working to project? Does the comparatively weak engagement with class stem from a desire to protect the egalitarian ideal in Scotland? Two suggestions potentially fit with this situation: price and protection of work-ways. Sometimes, if it is difficult to convince others (stakeholders, governments) of the importance of a particular issue it is easier to convince them of the negative outcomes that may result from inaction.

Unfortunately, I did not think to ask other CERES members developing the project materials why class was not placed in the fore. By the time I began fieldwork just before the PAG described, the only mentions of class were those listed by Hannah. Lessons on class had not been removed, just not written. Based on both Hannah and Michael's comments, it is feasible that CERES avoided directly addressing the subject in order to focus on other issues which would not be addressed elsewhere, such as sexual orientation and Islamophobia. Governmental pressure and societal pressure will weigh heavily upon what is chosen or successfully included in publication. Here, the negotiations are implicit and subtle, occurring under the surface and only detectable through conversations with staff members or through viewing the drafts returned by the government. Their editing suggestions do not overtly change the equality message but rather re-code it as something the

government is more likely to accept. Alison's comment on muting CERES work to guarantee its circulation illustrates this point well.

Part of the issue at present with race equality in Scotland, is that most of the activity is not yet proactive. Promotion of race equality is stated as an essential part of the General Duty yet many Education Authorities have not addressed this issue. One of the main findings in the research I undertook with another CERES member was that the middle-achieving authorities give considerable attention to outputs of the RRAAí but less to the more important outcomes of promoting race equality in a strategic, progressive and evidenced mannerø(Bell and Dennell 2008: 25). The report also cites the tendency for authorities to focus on what will or should be done rather than outlining further action based on the progress made (*ibid.*: 4). This is not necessarily unwillingness to engage or a desire to maintain the status quo. It can also be interpreted as satisfaction with one's effort in the process or not being aware of the further work required. It is difficult to measure progress without the ability to see the final goal.

While a clear idea of discrimination is easily surmised from the materials, the equality that the materials work toward remains intangible. Project 3, 'Continuing Professional Development (CPD): Equality, Inclusion and Anti-Discriminationø includes a DVD titled *What's equality to do with us?* The DVD is intended for staff development workshops. Gordon McCorkell, a star of the *River City* soap opera set in Glasgow, greets the viewers. He then (visible to viewers and invisible to the other actors) guides the audience through a high school. Listening in on student conversations on disability and homophobia, staff complaints about equality legislation, interviews with actual parents and a teacher leading a group discussion on discrimination, reminds the viewer of the importance of mainstreaming.

Interestingly, the 20-minute DVD does not have a discussion on the proposed understanding of equality. It is taken for granted that the audience will recognise equality when encountered. While the purpose of the DVD is to encourage acceptance of initiatives by showing how they integrate easily into and support

current teaching rather than discuss the nuances of equality, it remains an important oversight. If inequality is not always obvious and it is to some degree measurable, how can *equality* be interpreted when it *cannot* be measured? According to the Project 3 draft materials, 'equality is about a right to be treated fairly, with respect and in a way that recognises individual needs' (Project 3 2006: 3). Due to the dynamic social influences on discrimination and inequality, there can be no exhaustive guidance or even complete discussion of what equality entails. Without guidelines and goals, those who do not understand equality issues may flounder or get discouraged.

CERES Network and PAG members are conscious of this in their meetings and while creating the resources. When they revisit the materials and analyse each sentence it is more than deciding on which equalities to include; it is about attempting to ensure a positive reception and effective use during the next stage of the material's life. Once the content is decided upon, communication with CERES and individual contacts increases and includes those beyond the Centre as the concept develops. Until this point, only development officers had regular interactions with the materials but now the resources are shared as a way to grasp the concepts. The developers must relinquish ideological control of the content when the equality materials, particularly the Identity Wheels and Project 4 booklets, complete the complicated development process.

Delivering the Programme

A month and a half after the Network meeting introducing the Identity Wheels, Hannah and I travelled to Moray. We arrived late to the B&B on the night before training staff at two primary schools. Sitting on the bed in her room with paper plates scattered around us, Hannah and I prepared materials for the following day. I watched her pile of completed wheels begin to tower over mine. She was much more adept at quickly cutting them out after having used them so many times already with pupils and teachers. As we created the parts for the Identity Wheels, Hannah over-viewed the schools we would be visiting and how she planned to present the materials. The workshop would begin with introductions of people and topics and then get everyone moving with a human treasure hunt. Once they relaxed, Hannah

would introduce the Identity Wheels. My role during the day would be 'sidekick'; manage the resources, mix with the teachers in discussions, answer questions, help keep us on schedule and prompt Hannah when necessary.

The next day we visited two small rural primary schools, where the teaching staff comprised white women. Watching their process of creating, identifying with, and sharing the Identity Wheels, it was apparent that the emotions and experiences were similar to those at the Network meeting in March. Creating an Identity Wheel, deciding which aspects of one's identity belong to each layer and experiencing the changing dynamics when switching partners, prompts critical reflection for newcomers and as well as those experienced with equality concepts. The teachers at the two schools seemed to enjoy the activity. Based on their conversation, they grasped the importance of the project when Hannah made the overt connection between mainstreaming objectives and the four capacities of *A Curriculum for Excellence*. The tender for Project 4 referred to fitting the materials in with pre-existing initiatives and *A Curriculum for Excellence* was one of the intended targets since the government had been strongly promoting the initiative. Due to the pressures of implementing the many new strategies and initiatives launched each year, Project 4 sought to avoid detracting from the time available to teachers for creating or trying out other materials. If *A Curriculum Excellence* was to be the new curriculum for teachers to use, CERES wanted to make sure that Project 4 integrated well so that it would not feel like an obligation or burden by approaching lesson planning from an equalities perspective. CERES felt that the more overt the links made to *A Curriculum Excellence* and the benefits the project could provide, the better the chance of teachers implementing the ideas when faced with multiple initiatives.

Project 4 includes a *Framework for Mainstreaming Equality into A Curriculum for Excellence*, sometimes referred to as the 'checklist'. In the framework, each of the four capacities of *A Curriculum for Excellence* is written out along with an elaboration of how mainstreaming equality can help meet the *A Curriculum for Excellence* criteria. The checklist notes that Confident Individuals, one of the four *A*

Curriculum Excellence capacities, should imply to include, value and respect all learners. It continues by connecting Successful Learners with to give learners an understanding of discrimination, to build learners' capacity to challenge discrimination against themselves and others (Responsible Citizens) and for Effective Contributors it is important to give learners opportunities to take action for equality and against discrimination (MacKinley 2005). With busy teachers modifying their existing lesson plans to fit into *A Curriculum Excellence*, the Project 4 materials were designed to not only fit with the ideals but also move them forward.

Hannah then explained each sample lesson plan that the school would pilot in the upcoming 2006-2007 school year. Given time to browse the materials as a group, the teachers paged through them as Hannah and I visited each table to answer questions and listen to comments. The teachers seemed excited, aware of the complexity of issues and voiced interest in learning how to approach the topics beyond their comfort levels. CERES found that more primary than secondary schools were willing to pilot the materials (field notes 27 March 2006). Since the schools with which I had contact were already convinced of the program's aims and I did not hear dissenting voices, the following possibilities are speculative. If educators view this programme as an extraneous system to use in a few focused class periods then their responses to the pilot could reflect the general character of learning at each level. Primary teachers look for new and interesting activities to deliver messages and high school focuses on teaching all the material required for exams. Viewing Project 4 in the same way as previous initiatives (with which to teach a few lessons, 'tick the box' and move on) then it can be understood why few secondary schools volunteered for the pilot stage. It is also possible that the other schools were already involved with other initiatives or school-wide activities.

There are some guidelines through which LAs may set implementation goals by using targets set out in; *Quality Management in Education 2 (QMIE)*, *How Good is Our School 3*, *Promoting Race Equality* and the Race Equality Toolkit. In 2006, HMIe began using a light touch approach to schools inspection that empowers the schools to guide the areas for further inspection. There are no nationally agreed and

published targets or performance criteria since *Promoting Race Equality* in 2004, meaning EAs are left to individually decide their plan of action (Bell and Dennell March 2008: 25). This is complicated by the fact that while some targets would enable progress, too many targets – or rather, a focus solely on showing that targets have been met – serve to hinder progress.

CERES staff members believe that the Scottish government emphasises approaches that include impact-assessment and 'quality assurance' and feel that this translates to a bias toward schemes and initiatives with measurable outcomes. In 2000, the Scottish Parliament approved and launched *The Education (National Priorities) (Scotland) Order 2000* (known as the National Priorities); the second initiative alluded to in the Project 4 proposal. Five national priorities for education included raising levels of achievement, teacher development, promoting equality, working with parents to raise citizenship and provide pupils with skills which will enable them to 'prosper in a changing society' (*The Education (National Priorities) (Scotland) Order 2000*). The promotion of equality (and help every pupil benefit from education) had the potential to be a strong force in working against all forms of inequality yet CERES staff and Network members remark that it has not yet lived up to its potential (*ibid.*, emphasis added). The shortcoming is a result of the second half of the priority: 'with particular regard paid to pupils with disabilities and special educational needs, and to Gaelic and other lesser used languages' (*ibid.*). Most work is being done for this limited aspect of inclusion and either disregarding or continuing unaware of the role it could play for race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and all other aspects of identity routinely facing discrimination and in need of 'mainstreaming'.

The *Assessment is For Learning* (AiFL) framework, a national initiative for Scottish education, was introduced in 2002 to ensure that teachers measured learning in standardised and quantifiable ways in order to provide a national picture of academic achievement. Relying heavily upon a series of attainment goals, students are measured against their own progress in relation to the expected achievement. With the intention of raising pupil awareness of their learning goals and progress, the

emphasis on measurement occupied teacher attention. *A Curriculum for Excellence* could be viewed as a response to attainment driven teaching although *AiFL* continues contemporaneously. Superficial success (measuring attainment or publishing policies for including students with additional support for learning needs) creates more support than long struggles toward unclear visions. On a Local Authority or national level, repeat investment of funds will be applied to initiatives that can prove success.

This trip Hannah and I took signifies several steps in the life cycle of the Identity Wheels. Interactions with other teachers begin the training stage of the item's life. With items that are generally tangible and paper-based, such as tool kits or documents, the training involves gaining a familiarity with the design, layout and perhaps physical manipulation of the object. Training on Acts, however, entails familiarising oneself with obligations and roles or duties to perform. Two other steps usually temporally distanced from training also intersect with the Moray trip. Awareness raising can usually be subsumed into training yet while the teachers train how to use the Project 4 materials, the main goal is raising awareness for them as well as students. While we did not witness the students learning from the project, we observed and took part in the educators' learning throughout their training. The school visits also signified the launch of the piloting materials. It is during the piloting stage when those funding the project are not directly involved. At this point, the developers may receive inquiries from the piloting schools or begin to assess feedback but they do not interact with the object. This is the test-phase with real service users and includes consultation with groups or stakeholders, as specified in the *RR(A) A 2000*. Holding a consultation within education brings the stakeholders such as parents, students or community members together to ask what impact they feel the service or its changes is having on them.

If there is no common understanding, concept or image of equality, let alone steps to 'reach' it then teachers, schools and authorities can never show the success of the mainstreaming efforts, although monitoring for Impact Assessment may enable schools to show an absence of failure. Certainly, students will most likely be more

'successful learners', 'confident individuals', 'responsible citizens' and 'effective contributors' based on their challenging of discrimination or even learning in an environment which does not hinder one's beliefs or practices. Such stories, however, do not create strong pie charts.

Measurement

If successful mainstreaming does not entail measurable outcomes the question remains over what it may include. This measurement could include wide implementation of materials, teachers carrying out the lesson ideas, creating new lessons or examining how critically students engage with and act upon inequality and discrimination. Like other objects, these projects have expected life stages. A project should move from feedback to monitoring the changes implemented for impact and through using that knowledge to inform continual development in the cycle, similar to the development expected in the RR(A)As development of Race Equality Schemes or Policies. As stated however, monitoring and assessment must be carefully balanced or even limited. All of the aforementioned occurrences would most likely please Project 4 developers but the question remains as to how to measure engagement. Answering the question of engagement should include measurements of how well students take lessons beyond the classroom and into the playground. Additionally, calculation could only include shallow facts; how many students reiterate expected phrases or the number of classrooms using the materials. True engagement is complex and unquantifiable. Assessment is important for the government to know how successful Project 4 has been and they monitor their programmes with reports and interim 'findings'. Reinvestment makes financial sense if progress can be shown. Without waiting generations only quantitative points of measurement create ~~results~~

Still, how would one measure the extent to which equality has been mainstreamed if depictions of equality remain elusive? If it were easy to describe equality there would still be a necessity to examine which idea of equality is in use. Further, it would be necessary to know the benchmarks for ~~reaching~~ equality or how to recognise if full equality were ~~present~~. What would the world look like if equality has been reached? Measuring how many resource packs are distributed or

downloaded, how many teachers use each lesson idea or how many regular lessons are updated to include equality issues, cannot give an idea of mainstreaming's success.

The problem with representing equality when it cannot be proven to be present is similar to the situation brought about by the General Duties of the *RR(A)A*, as discussed in Chapter Two. As demonstrated through the implementation of the General Duties it is possible to monitor the ongoing elimination of discrimination. With these forms of measurement, it is difficult to know if the program has been successful or to prove how effective one is in promoting race equality or good race relations. Without the ability to show that its materials have been successful, CERES lacks the currency in which the government deals to barter for further support and funding of its mainstreaming projects. The positive angle is that the materials could be viewed as supplemental even if not widely implemented. Lacking the ability to prove success, however, may eventually be interpreted by the government as a failure.

The Project's Hidden Agenda

Through official and personal networks the concept of mainstreaming equality spreads as educators encounter the materials or discuss their daily lives with friends after receiving training on the project. The messages and priorities contained within the materials are influenced by CERES and address discrimination, complex identities and the need to be pro-active. The overall initiative messages, however, are complex and shaped by the Scottish Executive's original tendering process, negotiated by the Centre and once more largely influenced by what is accepted or rejected.

The Scottish Government has both financial and intellectual control over CERES functions. Through specifying what the organisation is funded to research and exercising control over the final content, the government ensures that all themes or ideas are agreed upon before publication. While returning sub-standard materials for further editing is part of project management, CERES members have told me that the Scottish government requires edits when the contents do not agree with their

intended outcome or if critical of HMIE even if the report succinctly presents the views encountered. Returning from a long talk with a long-term CERES staff member during my first month with the Centre, I wrote the following: "SEED [Scottish Executive Education Department] buys their reports effectively, often rejecting those which pose information that contradicts their intended outcome" as I was told during our discussion (field notes 3 April 2006). Another instance of such editing is recorded here:

The school report that Michael was writing and that the Executive said to edit had their comments in it. He showed me a section they cut, which had been critical of them (field notes 21 August 2007).

A striking example occurred just after I had left fieldwork in November 2007. The Project 3 materials were going to be launched at the Network meeting that month. The Scottish Executive and then the Scottish Government had enjoyed full access over several years to the materials throughout each stage of development, piloting and editing. Nevertheless, the Scottish Government cancelled the launch of Project 3 on the day of the Network meeting. Those in attendance at the meeting were permitted to glance over the materials but not retain or use them in their schools. In January 2008, two CERES members re-submitted the project with amendments. That version also remains unpublished.

In the same month as the Network meeting and two months before Project 4's launch, Alison from CERES told me that the Scottish Government also decided to cancel the launch of those materials. They planned to permit CERES to place them on the Learning and Teaching Scotland website without the Scottish Government's logo but not offer a print-version. CERES speculation about the motive for cancellation ranged from the fact that the project pre-dated the current government administration to the project's direct engagement with homophobia and Islamophobia. The government cited a few typographical errors as the reasons for the cancellation. One such error was an incorrect name for a group whose name had changed in the time during which the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government had delayed printing. One year for an Act was also incorrect and CERES made the necessary changes. In January 2007, Alison jadedly noted that the government drops

projects that threaten them in any way. Even if this project had been launched the government would not have mandated its use so not all schools would choose to implement it. One impetus of the project is to show that the Scottish Executive is in charge of equality by initiating programmes and subtly controlling the content, thus creating an image of Scotland. In striving for the idealised equality, broader messages include the implication that Scotland can be a welcoming and positive place to learn and live.

The Scottish Executive stood still to outsiders in the weeks preceding the Scottish elections in May 2007. It could not be known what the new government's priorities and proclivities would be until things settled down again. With a new political order, issues that presently received attention and support could easily lose backing. The restructuring after the elections stunted the Centre's communications with the Scottish Executive for a few weeks. Within the SGED's Schools Directorate since elections, several individuals with separate job titles now oversee the disjointed aspects of equalities education. Inclusion and Mainstreaming are separate from Equalities in education (including disability), as are anti-bullying and anti-sectarianism. The Support for Learning unit serves the first three areas while a separate unit deals with anti-sectarian initiatives. Equalities may end up not being mainstreamed as intended but fragmented, at best. The physical separation may weaken the action of these intimately lined areas particularly if the workers in each respective area focus on their own remits and do not work or communicate across departments.

The separation of duties highlights another major frustration about working with the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government regularly verbalised by the CERES staff. Re-shuffling and re-allocating positions within and between departments or directorates occurs after administration changes at both Scotland and UK levels. Civil servants are not necessarily trained or experienced in their assigned area and often need time to adjust to the new terms, legislation and issues in their new field. After the 2007 Scottish election, CERES members frequently expressed frustration over being more knowledgeable than the civil servants assigned to equality. Several

members recollected meetings with new civil servants during which CERES staff unintentionally talked beyond the knowledge of the government worker while claiming to have stated simple concepts. Projects and schemes already under way lost their internal supporters after the elections and CERES began building partnerships with new workers. With individuals bereft of an equality background in charge of a country's equality pursuits, it becomes obvious why those in the equality sector crave strong central leadership. Interestingly, Bilton interviewed individuals in the Equalities Unit of the Scottish Executive in 2003 and found that although staff found the re-ordering of civil servants provided a wider range of skills, it led to a lack of continuity and contributed to the slow progress in the education department (2006: 59, 185, 173-174).

Unfortunately, there is no template or example of what equality looks like in the lived-in world. This fact continually poses a challenge to educators and schools who wonder if they have 'achieved' equality. Achievement and assessment are central educational tenets reinforced by the *National Priorities and Assessment is for Learning* frameworks. If the level of equality reached cannot be measured, less interested educators lack the tools required to show the need for reinvestment in the mainstreaming equality initiative. Additionally, if Project 4 is launched and the only manner to measure the success of the program is through the number of schools implementing the materials, then a disservice will be done to the ideology behind the programme. According to the definition outlined by the Scottish Executive, mainstreaming should be about changing teaching practices and thought processes not which classrooms have created Identity Wheels and then moved on.

Following the Identity Wheel as a representative of both Project 4 and race equality artefacts in general, one encounters the actual and expected stages in its biography. The object reached a late stage in the ideal biography by including feedback into the design. After resubmission the expected step in the object's biography is publication, a stage curiously lacking for many projects. The last stage marks the difference between legal requirements and all else; the Scottish Government has the requirement to monitor progress on UK laws but Scottish materials and concerns are

rarely monitored. HMIE inspected LAs for their level of integration of the *RR(A)A 2000* although since the 'light touch' approach was implemented, it could be said that even this legal requirement for equality is not met. It is important to draw attention here that the expected life cycle of equality materials is the same as that stated in the *RR(A)A 2000*. It is unclear, however, whether the expectations of materials has changed to mirror the legislation or if it predates (and therefore influenced) it.

The Scottish Government Education Directorate generally measures program success based on quantitative results and the demands placed on teachers are assessment-driven. Without a clear picture of how 'far' the country's educational institutions are in 'reaching' equality then future projects that favour long-term implementation and reinvention (as well as more qualitative measurement) are unlikely to be (re)commissioned. In effect, although CERES has diligently created extensive resources for promoting equality, the fact that it cannot prove the program's success has set the Centre up for a form of failure. It is at this point where the political expectations of the Scottish Government conflicts with the educational expectations CERES has for an object. If the materials have been published then they achieved a 'good' life by political standards that rate message dissemination as important. The same stage, however, can be considered a premature death of an object. If it has been produced and forgotten rather than living out retirement as a wise individual and consulting with others (i.e. informing the development of further programmes), an object has not reached a 'good' life in the race equality or education fields.

It is somewhat contradictory that many projects are not ultimately published after the substantial sums of money spent on mainstreaming. This prohibits the objects from achieving a 'good' life by wide usage and monitoring. Compliance, or at least the impression of compliance, and racist incidents are easily monitored unlike the larger idea of equality. Those in the CERES network see a contradiction in that the government wants to be seen to take action but only if it suits their purpose and presents them in a positive light. The initiatives supported may vary with each change in political parties. Working proactively for equality is a large task that has no baseline for measurement as it has not yet been fully realised. Spending the

money may give the government a form of 'proof' (like the SD's promise of the future) that they are taking action, even if consciously stagnating the waters.

Despite lesson ideas and materials, mainstreaming equality will be difficult to fully implement. The problem lies in the abstract nature of equality. Discrimination and to some degree inequality are easily recognised in most cases, while the exact composition or image of equality remain elusive. Equality is only evident when it is lacking in some degree. Since there is no foolproof definition, framework or approach to 'reach' equality, the guidance may only serve to help teachers who already have an interest in the first place. Without the interest or even confidence in a subject few teachers will raise an issue with their class. Most definitions of equality include an equality *of* something, whether it be access, distribution of resources or rights yet equality of consideration or outcome are the closest to the goals of mainstreaming equality. Equality of outcome would require significantly more resources and intervention.

Education's goal is to equip pupils with the skills and opportunities to become successful, requiring special tailoring to the individual. The life's outcome cannot be guaranteed and therefore equality of 'outcome' here implies the outcome of each academic year, how the pupils have acted and if any policies or practices have had adverse affects on the pupils or staff. Examples of good practice are encouraging although there is no image (nor could there be for all situations at all points in time) of what a mainstreamed, equal school would look like, which is one of the challenges of implementing the projects. Realistically, what is being implemented is the equality of consideration. Beyond considering a pupil's needs, this consideration aims to raise awareness of discrimination issues through all lessons by placing equality and fairness as central to the learning experience.

8. Roundtable: Performing an Agenda and Commitment to Race Equality Work

To engage in a broad conversation with the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED)¹⁵, CERES invited representatives from various stakeholder groups involved in race equality and Scottish education to a Roundtable discussion in May 2007. Sixteen attended, including three CERES staff and while the group did not directly represent the schools sector it comprised individuals with knowledge, understanding and experience of taking forward race equality work in Scottish schools (CERES 2007a: Appendix 1). Knowing the Centre's future was uncertain and desiring continued work on race equality CERES gathered its trusted contacts and presented, in a way, its last will. Chapter Six included a comment from Michael about writing a CERES obituary. The completeness of any hypothetical obituary requires a succinct but detailed account of the life, achievements and relationships of the individual. Building upon earlier narrative descriptions, this chapter presents the convergence of all aspects. The discussion during the Roundtable was sober yet hopeful. The gathering was possible due to the vast network in which CERES has worked to create contacts and the conversation that developed spoke to a shared past. This chapter presents concerns and opinions of race equality practitioners that continually arose at Network meetings as side remarks but were given increased attention and 'centre stage' during the Roundtable.

This chapter will describe the context and nuances of race equality work during fieldwork that are inaccessible in isolated descriptions of conversations, meetings or project materials. The Roundtable is a polished version of the Network meetings because it represents a more focused gathering of practitioners in order to plan future collaborative work. Viewing the Roundtable event as a type of performance, the main roles, messages and functions become clearer. With dynamic performances adapting to changing policies and roles continuing even as members retire or move

¹⁵ Changed to the Scottish Government Education Directorate after the elections in May 2007.

to another field, the acting out of the CERES Network shows both on and off stage concerns as well as the values of the race equality field in Scotland.

The themes from the previous three chapters unite here with a move back toward CERES members. Through the members' daily tasks and communication we saw the Centre's positioning in the historical approach to race equality as well as its position at present as part of the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government's mainstreaming equality programme. This programme carries a specific idea of equality as essential to all teaching and learning experiences. Beyond the classroom, the Scottish government has promoted the idea of *One Scotland* in which race equality not only creates a more serene daily life but enables the country to prosper politically and financially. After moving through these spheres and the various states they contribute to anti-discrimination, this chapter shows how representatives of the race equality sector commit to carrying out equalities.

The points raised by those in attendance represent a larger race equality dialogue flowing between actors within the CERES network. Events and discussions from the Roundtable resonate with interactions I had throughout my fieldwork and suggest a type of 'performance' through concerted repetition and presentation. As mentioned, the composition of the Network group changed each meeting. It is this changing yet perpetual participant pool that leads me to believe that the reoccurring topics were not merely the personal issues for a few but were themes with which many grappled and actively reinforced. While each individual was part of the wider arena in which CERES circulated the organisations represented a wider range than the quarterly Network meetings, a strategic move to include input and opinions from the widest points in the education and race 'webs'. The purpose of the event was to mine the opinions of those involved daily in race equality work to enable a more in-depth discussion and present recommendations to the government on how to move forward.

Several characteristics support my analysis of these interactions as a performance.

The Roundtable discussions were more formalised than daily conversations and focused toward a task (of creating solutions in order to convince an absent audience). The topics describe and formulate how race equality is conceptualised and enacted in Scotland by race equality practitioners. The structure of the comments remained similar between meeting situations following an expected form of comments and compartment, showing a conscious creation of the final product. The demands and concerns voiced remain within the accepted performance structures, as experienced in a succession of meetings where the actors varied yet the roles were constant. The forms of equality enacted serve to reify a particular understanding of Scotland.

Held in a conference room down the hall from CERES, two days before elections in Scotland, the Roundtable meeting lasted over three hours. With representatives from six councils, one anti-racist alliance, a national teachers union, Her Majesty's Inspectorate for education and the Commission for Race Equality, the experiences were similar yet divergent enough to provide a variety of insights. As they gathered around a large rectangular table and nibbled on finger foods (including onion bajjis and mini quiches), those in the room seemed relaxed yet alert to the old alliances present. Although the table comprised several standard rectangle tables set up in a larger rectangle, the Centre alluded to an egalitarian pedagogy in calling it the Roundtable. This reflects Alison's comment in Chapter Five about the importance of building partnerships. The written invitations and room layout demonstrated and projected a more formal atmosphere than the quarterly meetings.

The intent of the Roundtable was to discuss 'What next for race equality towards 2010' in the context of a changing Scotland (CERES 2007a: Appendix 1)

Currently, the rapidly changing demographics within Scotland, particularly with the arrival of A8 migrants and their families, means the race landscape is changing at a rate we have probably not seen in Scotland since the second half of the nineteenth century with Irish migration. In addition, issues such as those involving race and faith are inter-linking, creating complex social and education situations. It is therefore even more important now to have a coherent and strategic approach to the promotion of race equality within Scottish schools. Such an approach should also address the continued role schools have in assisting young people today and tomorrow to recognize and challenge racism and racial discrimination (CERES 2007b: 1).

With the drive for a coherent and strategic approach it is clear that CERES questioned the impact that its mainstreaming equality projects would have. It is not clear from these comments, however, whether members felt that their contributions to Projects 3, 4 and 5 were as inclusive as they would have liked or if CERES did not expect the materials to stay in circulation for very long, if at all. The invitation letter framed the day's intentions and throughout the afternoon those in attendance discussed the current situation in race equality and devised a plan to move forward in a Scotland where the concept of race equality and types of racism were evolving.

Performing the official agenda

Before commencing, Caroline submitted apologies from SEED who would not be attending due to involvement in a strike. While there was an air of disappointment in the room in response to the announcement some seemed to have expected the non-attendance and the absence may have contributed to the relaxed interactions since the meeting was 'amongst friends' in many ways. While the invitation letter did not explicitly state that a report would result, it was discussed from the outset at the event and perhaps only became necessary as SEED was not represented. Caroline prefaced the Roundtable discussion by contextualising how she interpreted the present moment for race equality in Scotland. Topics included how the changing demographics are leading to an increase in 'English as an Additional Language' services and how the elections carried the potential for change in support of equality areas. At that moment, the Scottish Executive was in office and supported anti-sectarian work more consistently than it did race equality. The forthcoming elections added a sense of the unknown; a slightly uneasy, expectant atmosphere. No one present at the Roundtable knew how race equality would be handled from within the Scottish government after the elections.

The fact that civil servants would also be reassigned to various departments and directorates added to the uncertainty. The most prominent point was a question and an increasing concern that a decade after the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, the public and education practitioners may think they have 'done' race. For this reason, the CERES director wished to present a concise and direct paper citing the race equality situation as interpreted by all present. The letter would not catalogue particular

shortcomings in processes but be an insight into needs for the race equality sector based on many years of collective experience. We later learned that as the funding system was changing three years previously, the director wrote a letter to the Scottish Executive asking for a meeting between equality and anti-discrimination groups 'to work together and bring coherence' and did not receive a response (field notes May 2007). The Roundtable was a second attempt to broach the conversation.

Treating this event as a performance allows for a clear presentation of the interactions by emphasising the unscripted yet predictable form of each discussion. For Goffman, a performance comprises all an individual's carefully managed actions during an event or occasion which influence the other participant (1959: 15). Individual performances are self-conscious to some degree in the awareness of meeting, subject or social propriety (*ibid.*: 4, 7). Network meetings were smaller performances or dress rehearsals for the Roundtable. It was during the quarterly meetings that members voiced concerns in responses to presentations and while proposing agenda topics. Not only did they *perform* the agenda but also created a model for race equality through successive productions displayed at the meetings. Approaching the event as a performance is not to reduce the seriousness with which those involved understood their tasks, for the literature shows that performances are often serious. The actions portrayed at the Roundtable created and reinforced the expected reality for race equality by perpetuating both explicit and implicit messages.

Theories on performance generally distinguish between performer as an individual and performance as a collective activity (see Goffman 1959; Bailey 1996). This is a straightforward statement but the boundaries of performer-performance vary across theorists. Both 'performer' and 'performance' contribute to and are presented in this analysis. It is in thinking of performances as a presentation, to some degree conscious of expectations, that I state the Roundtable attendants performed their positions as race equality workers and collectively created a performance of common concerns. Many may likely carry out similar performances in their offices: learning the most effective techniques for creating change, planning lessons or fostering an

appreciation of equalities work in others. These continued performances in various capacities evidence their commitments to the roles.

Several key roles carry the scene during Network meetings; neutral organiser, advocate, dissenter or cynic, those who can be relied upon to raise the need for 'good practice' or discuss lessons taught in his or her school and the observer who allows others the chance to share their opinions first. During the performance of a play, characters appear as typified roles rather than individuals (Bailey 1996: 2). This performance is one that is frequently worked upon and refined in response to successful work on race equality; securing funding, convincing councils and researching effective alternatives. The longer a role is played the more believable it becomes (Goffman 1959: 28). This statement is logical when thinking about job roles. Upon entering a new job or workplace, acceptable actions are already established and the individual adjusts to expectations (see Gabriel *et al.* 2000 in Chapter Four). This may include some performances of ease or comfort during the process.

A performance is not simply the extension of a performer's actions and the two should be considered separately; the emphasis in this analysis shall be the production of (and by) race equality workers (Goffman 1959: 77). While the performer creates a *persona* based on a desired reading of the situation, the performance expresses characteristics of the task and not merely the performer's goals (*ibid.*). In this vein, this chapter displays some interesting individual performances yet is largely focused on the overall performance created by those present.

Several members of the Roundtable held positions at regulatory bodies or councils, supporting Bailey's note of the multiple allegiances carried by members in a performance (1996: 9). Council or inspectorate workers were invited and CERES extended the invitation specifically to those individuals who had shown through previous interactions that they were strong allies. As shown in Chapter Five, centres often compete for the same limited funding which influences how alliances are created. In the general work on race equality in Scotland, these individuals and

groups all aim to eliminate discrimination even if in financial competition with one another. In this case, an attendant's allegiance to an employer has the potential to complicate his or her allegiance to CERES.

The presence of an HMIe representative is a relevant example from the Roundtable. As a governing body, HMIe periodically reviews schools and Education Authorities and evokes a range of strong feelings in race equality practitioners. The Inspectorate is a semi-autonomous arm of the Scottish government but is commonly viewed by those in the Network as directly taking the same position as the Scottish government. While HMIe must ultimately reinforce the governmental stance, the Roundtable members viewed HMIe as a barrier. One in attendance commented that 'if they're not interested in your project, forget it'. In this narrative, HMIe influences the relevant governmental department in whether or not to fund, support or continue the work at the following stage. The speaker spoke generally but this did not seem to surprise the HMIe representative present. As a familiar face in the CERES network, the representative may have been trusted in candid conversation more than one with unknown allegiances.

Sanjek shows how Keil's (1966) concept of participatory discrepancies, originally conceptualised in regards to musical jam sessions, are relevant to meetings (2002: 105). The action is constituted through slight variations in participant responses and the 'drama' of each meeting lay in these participatory discrepancies that allowed for collaboration amongst the regular flow (*ibid.*: 105, 107). This means that although action is not uniform, members must engage with one another while producing and experiencing the performance (Sanjek 2002: 105; Goffman 1959: 77-78). The discrepancies do not occur within one meeting but over the succession of meetings and such a pattern becomes apparent when attending *RR(A)A* Network meetings (Sanjek 2002: 105).

This Roundtable discussion is the synthesis of repeated concerns mentioned by both CERES workers and others in the wider CERES network; the members broached the issues in the office, at meetings, in general conversations and under the formal

agenda. In Collett's study of Nigerian subsistence farmers, repetition is an important aspect of performance and allows the message to adapt to the context yet retain the original goal, something desired when working in a changing equalities landscape (1996: 173, 178). Kersenboom also presents performance as open to creative modification (1995: 233). The notion that the flow of actions rather than the content of texts requires analysis heightened the relevance of the performative element (*ibid.*: 82, 104; see Riles 2001 in Chapter Five).

With the stated issues in mind, Caroline asked what 'we' (the group in attendance, everyone dealing with race equality in Scottish education) could ask SEED to fund over the next three years. She asked what 'we' could say 'we're' doing excellently, what requires more attention and what potential traps to avoid. It is with this in mind that those present shared their thoughts and this description should be understood. While I cannot know the degree to which meeting participants withheld or replicated ideas they felt were (in)appropriate for the group's rhetoric, there were no overt tensions. Perhaps the performers consciously kept to their role and followed the script. Each meeting role, however, does carry general expectations for comportment. Using a limited approach to Busby's (2000) bodily performance it is only through successive performances of equality meetings and activities that the actors constitute themselves as race equality workers.

Concerning the Agenda

The director asked that both Michael and I take notes (we were later placed in one of the two groups for discussion) and submit them to her in order to capture the event in finer detail. Before breaking into groups there was a genial discussion on a wide range of topics. The responses to questions on the official agenda, based on experience at network meetings, spanned a predictable range of complaints and ideas. The themes of leadership, funding, dilution and support which made their way into conversations, daily interactions and meetings, seem to inform and sometimes constrain how race equality practitioners in Scotland approach and carry out their work. Some of the following concerns did not seem particularly linked to working against discrimination although they certainly influence it. Funding, for

instance, is no doubt important to the viability of all work. The discussion jumped, seemingly sporadically, from one topic to another to later weave back and address yet another aspect of the same discussion points. As a result, the conversation flow would seem chaotic or repetitive if presented in print. Therefore, the issues raised and discussed are ordered by theme and include: priority, support, monitoring, resources and funding, leadership and expertise.

Priority

The subject of priority arose and remained a live issue for the remainder of the event. The concern with priority is expressed in relation to school programmes, political agendas and in society at large. For education, a proposed reason was as the effect of the variety of initiatives and programmes in schools competing for teacher time and attention. A retired Education Authority employee remarked that SEED 'floods' schools with too many initiatives. Financially viable campaigns in schools those with sufficient funding or likely to receive spontaneous support such as *Promoting Healthy Schools*¹⁶ led some within the race equality field to fear for race's position in relation to other equalities areas. While the initiatives are not mandatory, positive results provide teachers with incentives for using them. One member mentioned that the healthy schools campaign as an example that is well supported because it can be shown to be 'good for' students. He argued that the result is topics that either become the 'flavour of the month' or are ignored.

This speaker had attended Network meetings regularly and raised this issue before then, continually playing the advocate role for this and other issues. The fact that it was picked up by others shows that the issue was a concern and not simply a pet project. In my experience of meetings this member reliably and earnestly broached subjects early on in the conversation. Rather than dampening conversations it often struck a chord with many others who agreed (although some disagreed with how he presented it) and ensured open dialogue. One seemingly cynical yet very experienced member suggested that implementing beneficial but sanitised programmes enables teachers to avoid deep re-evaluations of personal beliefs or

¹⁶ Promoting Healthy Schools aimed at increasing awareness of healthy lifestyles in schools.

biases. The current Inclusion agenda with the potential to address race, one speaker argued, is brought forward in most schools narrowly as *Additional Support for Learning* provision and issues of inclusion and marginality are often overlooked. The crux of the comment was that without support only those interested in race take it forward when faced with easier and less contentious diversity activities. Those in attendance seemed to agree that politically neutral and unchallenging campaigns easily receive support and priority and the challenge remained to engage a wider audience to prioritise anti-discrimination work.

During the Roundtable, the Equality Act was under consultation with the goal of moving disparate UK legislation – including the *RR(A)A 2000* – to an integrated equalities approach. This political direction influenced the formation of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) five months after the Roundtable. A major argument for consolidation was that legislating for equality across type allows for a consistent and coherent system through which to challenge discrimination and inequality. While the lived experiences of different equalities do not facilitate easy remedies, the legal rights of any group can theoretically be addressed in one policy. The practical side of accommodating the diversity of protected characteristics caused a noticeable number within the Network to be sceptical of the forthcoming Equality Act. Not only were their individual roles bound up in the separation of issues, many argued from experience that it can be difficult to maintain race as a priority issue alongside disability or gender equality.

As the single law approached, the director proposed a name change for the (*RR(A)A 2000* Officers) Network. In light of the interconnected work already undertaken by CERES and the network, our conversation before the meeting imagined an acceptance of the change. As Michael previewed the day's agenda at the October meeting, he mentioned that the director would talk us through the name change. A silence pregnant with surprise and both agitation and acceptance met his announcement. The proposal ended up sparking an impassioned debate on the dilution of race as a priority that carried over to a second meeting. The director proposed the new name of 'Education Authorities Equality and Diversity Network'

asking if the name would work for the group. The aims were to:

1. Gain information and dialogue with external contributors about things which will affect work.
2. Develop practice to address gaps in provision
3. Provide a forum to take forward ideas to others (field notes 3 October 06).

As funding has shifted toward other equalities, CERES has worked to evidence each area's link to racism and receive funding to continue its work. The anti-sectarian project exploring religious discrimination was the Centre's main funding from September 2007 to March 2009. While those present at the Network meetings supported anti-sectarian work and spoke as if they considered it central to race equality work, they were perhaps less committed to expanding the equalities undertaken. The -dilution of raceø continued to appear in conversations, raising a contradictory message between wanting to work for other equalities yet keep race separate. CERES members have argued that as long as discrimination of any sort remains there can be no true equality. The aims had not changed in any essential way but members immediately shared comments of support and refusal.

Supporters pointed out that equality issues cannot be separated and all are present in education. Some wondered whether individuals with race in their remit would be permitted by an employer to attend meetings on disabilities. The remainder of the concerns voiced were also present at the Roundtable. Concerns included possible domination by particular issues or whether all topics would receive inadequate attention. Dissenters cited the fact that other equalities areas already had dedicated meetings, citing the disability network as an example (field notes 3 Oct 06). Michael and I reviewed the dayø discussions after the October meeting. I mentioned my surprise at the strong opinions voiced and Michael responded that it is 'because race is given so little space and specialist attention in Scotland, even in education to add other things without adding funding', he continued, 'would be to dilute a very important focus' (field notes 15 October 2006).

The existence of equality laws for gender and disability were raised as reasons to continue working solely on race equality in light of decreased funding or school

support. Some Network members proposed alternative names throughout the discussion. The first negotiated title was the Equalities and Diversity Education Network of Scotland, ultimately becoming the Equalities and Diversity Education Officers Network of Scotland with many similar titles proposed along the way. As each individual proffered a new phrase, the altered words—singular, plural and conjugated versions of the same root—signified not a petty discussion on the auditory impact of the Network's name but a concern with the ideological impact it could have. Banton researched meetings and political processes at the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and found similar negotiations on a larger scale. He notes that delegates are accustomed to defending their nation, as has been shown of the Network members and their subject area, and take care to ensure that documents cannot be interpreted ambiguously when translated to other languages or in other social contexts (Banton 1996: ix, 1, 28-30). The semantic "game" of negotiating a title that would have the most external influence indicates the members' commitment to the role as race equality practitioners.

There are parallels between performance of a role as race equality practitioner or "activist" and the performance of racism. Performances do not create an appearance of reality but the *actual* reality through moulding the body in appropriate ways (Busby 2000: 18). Similar to the necessity for repetition in performance, identity and myth creation, there is a relationship between doing and being in that actions create the character of being (*ibid.*: 20). This relates to Goffman's assertion that a performer may begin to believe and embody the role beyond the performance. My fieldwork differs from Busby's in that the issues performed exist outside of the performance. For Busby, men and women shape their bodies through performing expected tasks and actions (*ibid.*). Much like Bailey's assertion that the role rather than the individual acts the part they are fulfilling the roles expected of men and women. Applying this notion unmodified to the Roundtable performance may imply that differences do not exist or that race and racism are only extant through performance. As discussed in Chapter Four, racist thought does not imply racist action. Racism is present whether or not it is enacted. It can be a result of thoughts, secondary actions and even institutional systems. The tension arises because the

reverse is true for race equality practitioners: they must *enact* their commitment.

Support and Guidance

During the group discussion at the Roundtable the CERES director asked how to best respond to a potential comment from SEED that EAs should just 'get on with it'.

Alex, a retired LA member responded that the result would be (and at times is) 32 different ways of 'getting on with it' and reinventing the wheel uses money. Iris weighed both sides of this argument stating that if LAs had somewhere to turn then they would not have to take responsibility or challenge themselves if there are plenty of documents and approaches available. She gave more weight to the idea, however, that 'without a central body to give coherence then it's easily lost or back-burnered and inconsistent throughout the country'. 'Dissemination and good practice,' she continued, 'is good support and necessary: otherwise it will be left to people with an interest'. This again shows links to prioritising race equality work. Helen wants 'heavy duty legislation' to actively promote equalities but admits that without leadership, busier [and smaller] places cannot begin the work (field notes May 2007).

The Roundtable attendants blame the 'piecemeal' support that prevents progress on the belief that something positive will just happen. This support includes financial but largely refers to continued commitments to the issue by educators at all levels of education. Iris's comment illustrates this lack of concern attributed to many in education by the Network. The CERES Network members recognise the usefulness of resources but they are weary of materials simply enabling what they call a 'tick-box' approach based on their experience of project funding without ongoing support. This approach signifies one taken by a school or education authority that either does not understand or believe in the complexity of the issue or lacks financial or managerial support to engage with the issues. Instead they use the resources, tick the box and move on, satisfied that they have 'achieved' the necessary engagement. Iris continued: 'racism changes and the schools tick their boxes and continue using the *same* approach and move on to the next lesson' (field notes May 2007).

The themes are often not revisited or consciously linked to other subjects. While this approach makes sense for some topics where a skill is acquired such as hand

washing and personal care, it can negatively influence others. Placing racism within this framework can trivialise and actually serve to reinforce stereotypes if rushed through or treated as a discrete unit. Discrimination should not be addressed solely during an awareness month and the desire for an integrated approach is the force behind mainstreaming. Although racism constantly evolves and needs ongoing attention, comments at Network meetings and in the office show that schools and teachers implement light hearted and uncontentious resources more readily than those which address personal and systemic biases.

At a time when financially supported equalities work is becoming more concentrated and less available to those present at the meeting, it is possible that the desire for perpetual race equality programming serves a level of self-interest. I argue that due to the emotional investment CERES staff placed in negotiating identities for inclusion in materials, editing and proof reading materials or reports and researching what is undertaken in schools across Scotland, members would hope that a thorough anti-discrimination programme continues whether or not the employment includes the Centre.

The group noted that without a checkpoint such as a national organisation responsible for guiding change in Scotland, Education Authorities implement duties and change in a variety of (at times, improvised) ways. Alison mentioned a Bill in draft form to which CERES wrote a response. Before submission, the Centre sent the draft to smaller organisations for consultation. Many of the organisations could not respond due to a lack of time and resources. Likewise, CERES now had fewer paid officer hours and could not approach the other groups to convey their opinions to the Scottish Executive. This statement supported the importance of a new national body in Scotland rather than the responsibility being placed on CERES unless, she mentioned, the Centre would receive funding.

Leadership

The hypothetical supportive organisation would provide resources, guidance, information, examples of good practice and advice to all EAs in Scotland. A woman

who has worked for an urban race equality organisation for over a decade hoped that this leadership and expertise would come from a 'national clearing house' in order to overcome a lack of 'political will' and communication. Political will is an evaluation of the other person's commitment to their role as judged by CERES Network standards. The phrase is also one seemingly in use in the equality field in Scotland. In a document on *Mainstreaming Equal Opportunities* published under the Scottish Office, 'political will' is listed as the first of seven prerequisites for successful mainstreaming. The document notes: 'Equality policies both mainstream and specific depend upon clear political commitment and the recognition that the state can act as a site of social justice' (Scottish Office 1998).

This national leadership, the Roundtable member argued, would lend a coherence that has not yet been seen with short term or missing funding from the Scottish Executive. At present, she warned, local projects are forced to be fragmented or shallow when they are without government backing. Many attendants agreed that with good practice shared from a central point, smaller EAs who do not have specific equality units would not need to use their resources for development or research and could avoid reinventing the wheel to begin implementing programmes or changes.

A lack of thorough canvassing of all other authorities and practices highlights a central task for the suggested national organisation in Scotland. Such leadership would not only collect and disseminate policies and lessons but also raise the visibility of race equality in education. Additionally, with a leading body, they said race could no longer be marginalised or avoided in favour of 'easier' and less contentious or complex topics. The attendants felt that providing systematic top-down implementation would avoid the now common situation where the duty is established and the EAs grapple with implementation on a school-to-school basis. Inconsistent implementation does not necessarily result from apathetic EAs or schools but from the aforementioned fact that race equality work does not elicit spontaneous support in the sector (CERES 2007a: 2). Ultimately, race equality is not viewed as relevant or urgent in many places and several voices said that a government supported national organisation would change that.

Those at the Roundtable considered funding, priority, monitoring and support to be important elements of leadership. Expertise was touched upon in reference to the changing internal teams in the civil service, noting that expertise is rarely built up with roles changing frequently. Where they felt that expertise had truly been cultivated was within Scotland's race equality field. There was a danger of this race-related expertise being lost with broader equalities focuses or reduced funding. Attendants felt that maintaining the current knowledge across the sector field was an important role for, and a prerequisite of, a national centre. Many remarked that the Scottish Executive or resultant organisation should draw upon the high level of experience acquired by race equality workers and educators, with several voicing a willingness to be contacted should the government pursue the issue. Two further points Iris shared led to the issue of leadership in the race equality field. She believes schools outside the central belt of Scotland do not often have to engage with racism on a daily basis due to a very small number of reported racist incidents or because the minority ethnic population is so small that racism is not thought to be a problem. For these schools, Iris argues, racism often gets buried as they struggle to address the issues.

Within the CERES office and at Network meetings discussions on race equality issues at a school level often position the work as only carried out by a few willing and dedicated individuals. This was raised again at the Roundtable and other attendants concurred and added that equality work is often bottom-up, causing the good practice examples and impact of programmes to get lost. As a result, there may be confusion and a reliance on unnamed 'others' to show the way forward in race equality. Educators are less likely to introduce an issue without direct guidance (which CERES was developing at the time) on how to systematically address discrimination in the classroom. A few roundtable attendants asserted that teachers and educationalists had disproportionate expectations of *A Curriculum for Excellence* by believing that equalities would easily be addressed once it came into effect. Much like the 'others' to follow in good practice, Alex noted that *A Curriculum for Excellence* seems to command 'full and unfounded faith'. Teachers and schools have been encouraged to begin integrating *A Curriculum for*

Excellence's Four Capacities into their teaching and the Project 4 lesson plans are based around this curriculum. The curriculum was promoted by SEED from before my arrival at CERES in March 2006 and still had not come into existence by the time I left in October 2007.

The mention of leadership recalls Alison's comment about changes faced by the Centre. It would attribute too much weight to one person's opinion by concluding that these comments were repeated by members at the Network meetings due to their contact with Alison. The others would not repeat this if they did not find reason for agreeing. In addition to leadership, Amir said it was important to address attitudes and to change the educational culture. Those in education, he said, rarely take the time to ask how change can come about. The unwillingness from some educators to broach particular issues makes it apparent why creating resources is insufficient and explains why those at the Roundtable argued for support of these resources. The desired support would include the previously mentioned monitoring to measure output (resources) versus outcomes (actual work done) and leadership to provide and develop resources. Leadership offers ongoing ways to utilise the resources to the greatest effect; for teachers who have just begun dealing with equalities as well as those who have made working for equalities central to their careers. After the Roundtable, the issue of 'outputs' and 'outcomes' became a sort of *mantra* at CERES, describing what it hopes to provide and what the government desires. The staff mentioned the phrase during work, lunches and in dealing with the three projects.

Funding

Through their interactions with CERES, race equality workers often raised the question of the extent to which governmental support for campaigns and initiatives influenced success. A concerned voice mentioned funding at the Roundtable to inquire about progress on the Scottish Executive's mainstreaming equality Projects 1-7 and the publication status of each. The crux of this comment was that if the Scottish Executive continues to 'spread money too thinly,' nothing else would be

done. Anti-Sectarianism became the “wealthy stepchild”¹⁷ in Network meetings and members spoke of the Scottish Executive support it received in a frustrated, wishful and at times almost jealous way while wondering how to garner the same support for race equality. Support and reflection are necessary to truly move race equality work beyond celebratory multiculturalism and basic anti-discrimination.

After the Roundtable event, Michael and I handed our notes to the director who wrote the paper and then circulated it to all who had attended for their input. Her intention to focus on everyone's response reinforces the comment she made in the January interview about “bridging” or bringing together a diverse group to work on a common problem. Not only does it avoid competition and factionalism, as she noted, but the Roundtable shows that it also produces a strong and nuanced depiction of the problem. If there were any negative feelings at the Roundtable they eluded my notice and once members attended there may not have been a choice to refrain from performing. Since I did not speak to individuals outside of the event, it is possible that there were opinions that remained un-aired because they thought they would not be supported. However, I sensed that most people there were comfortable and used to dealing with the others and therefore the meeting probably gave a very accurate illustration of the wants, needs and frustrations of those in race equality in Scotland. The Director incorporated the participants' changes and submitted the paper to the government once it had settled down after the election and subsequent re-structure.

The Roundtable showed that race equality practitioners desire a national guiding body on race. Interconnected equalities are relevant in education as in other areas of public life and cannot be separated entirely. Without central leadership race is overlooked in favour of less challenging diversity issues. With funding and resources, race could begin to compete for the attention of already busy teachers and schools but ultimately they need to be supported by experienced leaders who share guidance and monitor outcomes at all levels.

¹⁷ I heard wealthy stepchild used several times throughout my field work and interpreted it as a common phrase. Members use it to refer to the object of preferential treatment, perhaps even implying that the “natural” (read biological) child should instead receive the attention.

The Roundtable discussion took place before the new Scottish government had been elected but the director wrote the letter with a change of government in mind. She referred to very concrete examples in Scotland (what had already occurred and current statistics, for instance) and referenced specific directorates broadly since the incoming government's political agenda was not yet known. Perhaps the Centre's choice of invitees influenced the meeting's outcome in the discussion manner on each topic. Still, it is theoretically sound to assert that these topics were central concerns since members repeatedly raised the issues at Network meetings with only a small number of the same attendants.

The seven final recommendations resulting from the Roundtable Discussion (which represent a script of front-stage and official attentions) are as follows:

- Scottish Executive takes a leadership role in this area by setting up a national organisation to take forward race equality in Scottish schools education.
- SEED fund both up-skilling and attitude awareness CPD [Continuing Professional Development] courses. The focus of such courses to be decided in partnership with education authorities, schools, parents, pupils, and agencies working on race equality matters.
- SEED works with the Scottish EAL Coordinating Committee to identify areas requiring support and action.
- SEED determines the effectiveness of current monitoring procedures of how race equality is being taken forward in the schools sector in Scotland, paying due regards to the findings of relevant authority-level impact assessments on race equality in schools.
- SEED draws up a framework for dissemination and works with the EDENS Network to ensure that the work of Projects One to Seven is continually developed and sustained.
- SEED sets up a Schools Equalities Coordinating Group (SECG), which brings together key agencies that support the schools sector in equalities issues.
- SEED works with key race equality organizations, and where appropriate trade unions and parents groups to improve school-parent/community links (Unpublished Roundtable letter, May 2008).

There was no governmental response.

The Agenda's Subtext

Certain beliefs on the part of Roundtable members were necessary for their performance of the agenda. A hidden aspect of performances is the shared assumptions that influence on-stage actions (Bailey 1996: 16). While not usually overtly expressed, the assumptions may be detected in subtle interactions (*ibid.*). Some cultural assumptions may permeate the text while others remain corporeal and only accessible through observation of off-stage actions and determining which hidden beliefs influence the visible action (*ibid.*). Stage parameters are unclear in the meetings analysed, with both on and off stage performances appearing in the same action and space. Deconstructing the text in the official speech uncovers fleeting allusions or brief mentions inhabiting off-stage beliefs. This section shall explore the shared assumptions necessary for race equality actions that are not directly articulated in the official performance yet which themselves articulate the motives and beliefs encountered in the field.

In addition to the agenda points raised by the CERES staff, the themes of new Scotland, egalitarian Scotland and 'no problem here' were discussed while not directly addressed. These themes were in no way secondary but only used as side comments or to contextualise and illustrate the topics brought forth throughout my fieldwork both in the CERES office and in the Network meetings. These comments would not have become apparent through isolated study of a single meeting. It was only through regular meeting attendance and daily conversations in the office that I immediately recognised the tendency during the Roundtable. Meeting members no doubt noticed the repetitions since they were the ones speaking but it was not until I typed the three versions of the event (as depicted in my notes, Michael's and the Director's summary) that I realised these issues were not considered main concerns. The three themes are therefore a form of subtext which the CERES network enacts (perhaps without some realising) because it signifies the assumptions with which to take forward race equality in Scotland. The off-stage 'cultural' understandings shaping actions and performances here form the framework for

interpreting and carrying out equality work. Although the other themes such as funding were supported with subsequent sentences based on either experience or projection, there is less reflexivity surrounding the three themes.

The three concepts of a new Scotland, egalitarianism and 'no problem here' are all common narratives in Scotland. They circulate in newspapers, conversations and in governmental campaigns and create the social situation in which to deal with race. Practitioners not only work with teachers and administrators who encounter these narratives, they experience them as well. The first theme is the one upon which the others rest; it is the one that is positioned as having made the others possible. While the latter two myths pre-date the idea of a new Scotland the rhetoric in the race equality field states that the new Scotland has created the opportunity to act upon egalitarian ideals. The invitation letter and final report placed the discussions within a larger 'new Scotland' frame by mentioning a changing Scotland and the 'new challenges' faced. The concept of a new Scotland and the actual new political moves brought about more discussion of egalitarianism which led to revisiting the persisting assumption that there is no racism in Scotland. The Scottish Government's role came under scrutiny with a demand for its leadership and funding in equality matters.

Both Michael and Caroline have discussed with me the implications of these myths, making it curious that neither of them included the issues in their official minutes of the Roundtable. Practitioners ponder the actions and repercussions for these assumptions but do not seem to reflect directly upon the categories. These topics are alluded to in conversation and their potential is analysed but they are not explicitly named. If the practicality of the categories is outdated perhaps they are still powerful. Not only is this approach posed as how race equality must be dealt with *in* Scotland in a reactive way (to teachers thinking like this) but it also perhaps creates Scotland in another way: by establishing and marking out its boundaries. The claiming of a new and egalitarian Scotland may not be perpetuated merely to avoid action but to claim a difference for the country and separate it from the rest of the UK (see McCrone 1996; Hearn 2000).

Evoking images of a brand-new and egalitarian country while avoiding mention of the country from which Scotland is different, these categories aim to set it apart from the remainder of the UK. Gaine (2005) shows that England and Wales also have areas where educators assume there is 'no problem' but the assertion seems to stem from a different factor in Scotland: that of the egalitarian ideal rooted in the Protestant work ethic and the 'lad o' pairts'. The tacit knowledge that the triad (of ÷whiteøScotland, egalitarianism and new Scotland) influences and hinders race equality work is not articulated.

If belief in these concepts is shared by the Roundtable and Network members it is perhaps only something with which they are comfortable discussing within the group, decided was extraneous to the central recommendations or feel that the themes will not receive adequate attention if written as part of the final letter. Without the critical listeners of the Scottish Executive present on the day, those present at the Roundtable were free to criticise the themes in several ways that would not be enacted in different company or forms of conveyance. This reading would show why the issues are discussed around those with whom a mutual commitment is felt but not mentioned in the final report. It is possible that those in the Network who use ÷egalitarianøto describe Scotland, regardless of agreement, to acknowledge the literature stating that there is a belief in egalitarianism. It is more likely, however, that those at CERES believe in the *potential* of the term. Arshad from CERES has published academically on egalitarianism in Scotland, as referenced in Chapter Two. Not only are CERES members engaging with these academic texts and taking on the terms or at the very least perpetuating the terms to specific ends, they are also creating academic pieces themselves.

Ultimately, the idea of egalitarianism may help or hinder race equality efforts in the schools. If an inequality can be proven it goes against the egalitarian ideal of the country and actors are easily persuaded to redress this. Without proof to the contrary, the very fact that individuals believe that the nation is egalitarian and equal makes it more difficult to convince them that inequality does indeed exist. The discussions on egalitarianism are in absolute terms; whether or not Scotland is egalitarian rather

than to what degree such egalitarianism is present. What is at stake in deciding whether or not Scotland is egalitarian is political leverage with the local and national government and schools across the country.

Returning to Caroline's comment about the psyche of fairness, failing to acknowledge or look for inequality based on a belief that Scotland is egalitarian or basing judgment of one equality area on an assessment of another leads to exacerbated inequality. Iris, who has worked with CERES on many projects, brought up educator willingness to engage with race. She reminded the Roundtable group that the feelings of teachers influence how subjects are approached or avoided. Through lecturing at Moray House she has had contact with teachers in training and note that many young teachers, including those who were at school since the *RR(A)A 2000*, have expressed an opposition to race equality education. Michael hypothesises that many (white) middle class teachers do not think that racism is real and the reason many of them do not back anti-racism is discomfort with confronting their own prejudices. Similarly, Penrose and Howard theorise that part of the ambiguity of the *One Scotland* campaign's messages results from the fact that a more critical campaign would require individuals to change their understanding of Scotland and their place in it rather than simply changing outward actions toward others (2008: 108).

Performing Equality

Throughout these meetings attendants represent their workplace as race equality practitioners. This role expects that they are knowledgeable with the specific situations with which they work and have a strong understanding of policies, legislation, practice and other stakeholders in the field. At this Roundtable attendants were asked to speak with authority based on their experiences. Unlike many grass-roots organisations where the majority of the group tends to fall into the designated identity, authority in the CERES network does not necessarily arise from embodying the (in)equalities addressed. Attendance at Network meetings is generally one aspect of the network members' job description. While some members do have personal experiences of the type of discrimination against which they are working, performing is achieved through acquired knowledge as is the case in most occupations. If

performing the role of race equality practitioner is no different from other employment performances what does enacting this equality entail? It is enough to have established professional experience and understanding of the issues depth.

There were cases in the development of the projects when members offered their speciality. I edited the LGBT materials (written by another member) with a personal eye and a member who is Muslim and has academic experience with the subject wrote the materials on Islamophobia. Besides writing materials the question remains as to how one performs equality. Does it require a 'psyche of fairness' or can workers who have no investment in the issues carry out these roles? While I did not raise this issue with CERES members, I extrapolate that without a vested interest on some level even if this is simply a desire to promote positive change the job may not be carried out. Commitment is expected of the practitioners. As one member recounted at the Roundtable, race equality is not yet part of Continuing Professional Development programmes for teachers and only those with an interest tend to pursue training. This was one of the programmes CERES had under development at the time of the Roundtable with an aim toward making those resources available; nevertheless, the Scottish Executive did not intend to make them mandatory. For those who have other duties, without an interest in the subject or sufficient time to contribute, race equality issues do not receive adequate attention. This self-construction and performance is visible in the CERES Network as race equality practitioners are thought to be committed not only when voicing opinions but through repeated involvement and actions. The Network members whose names were brought up in office conversations or who CERES contacted for collaboration were those members that had shown commitment to the role through proactive equality engagement. Commitments may be stated in words but they are not solidified unless followed with actions when a member performs his or her role.

Like Bailey's assertion on performance, commitment is only detectable through repetition beyond the Roundtable context (1996: 16). Network concerns arose in casual conversation, formal discussions and by non-CERES staff at quarterly meetings. Voicing these concerns is not the sole characteristic of commitment for it

must be paired with engagement with others in one's area, reliable attendance and communication across the CERES Network. One must play an active part in the larger Network initiatives and smaller scale developments. Collaborating to write a letter to the government, those in attendance performed their commitment to the role of race equality practitioner by enacting alliances and evoking the common barriers to and foundations for carrying out equalities.

This performance was co-created by individuals involved with race equality across the country and reinforces the rhetoric of a changing Scotland. This Scotland embodies the reason for race equality: at once showing the importance of its past and continued necessity, situating the need temporally as myths do. The reader should not infer that mainstreaming equality's importance is mythical but that specifically crafted understandings of Scotland influence equality work at all stages of implementation. Like Levi-Strauss's theory that myths are visible through repetition or performance and Fox's argument that mission statements and other documents of an organisation show their founding myths, this performance and repetition of race equality concerns uncovered the myths which underlie and propel practitioners in their equality work. The off-stage facts of life in Scotland include dealing with those who believe that there is no problem 'here' and an egalitarian and new Scotland. Regardless of their true functionality, these ideas influence how race equality practitioners conceive of Scotland and vocalise concerns. While the triad did not pass the editing stages for the final Roundtable report the recommendations provided drew from a reality presuming their presence. Asking the Scottish government for leadership and expertise, these qualities were embodied by the individuals and organisations present and signify the actions taken on behalf of the previous three concerns. Those involved reasserted their importance in the history and present of equality work through performing meeting agendas that sought to assess the necessity of future work. For CERES, this gathering acted to move the topic forward by reconnecting cross-sector alliances and urging them to continue working for race equality. Looking toward the future also included a glimpse at the past with gentle reminders of the work that has been done and the potential closure of the Centre. The event was a performance organised by a central and respected figure and played

out by its followers and colleagues; producing a lesson on impermanence along with its official report.

9. Conclusion

Review of Analysis

There are three narratives circulating in Scotland that are relevant to race equality. The New Scotland narrative has appeared in sociological research on Scottish politics and devolution since the late 1990s as well as government documents which explicitly state that the New Scotland (notably the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Executive) is founded upon equal opportunities. CERES Network members subscribe to the political newness as well as the (always) changing demographics of Scotland to highlight the need to continually work for equalities. Whether or not this is done self-consciously they link the government and media rhetoric of a new nation to the issues of concern within the equality and education sectors. Alongside references to the new nation Scotland is positioned in the same government documents as egalitarian while journalists and campaigns note the egalitarianism supposedly present in order to justify the promotion of equality. What has been raised by CERES staff is that not only do parents or teachers cite small minority ethnic populations as reason for not dealing with race equality work, those reluctant to make changes also name egalitarianism as proof that further action is unnecessary.

The analysis of *One Scotland* in Chapter Four argued that the Scottish Executive carefully crafted a campaign which drew upon the new and egalitarian Scotland myths to create a modern understanding of belonging. While largely avoiding critical reflection of discrimination, the inclusive belonging promoted places racism as a detriment to the nation and an infection or illness for the social body. Without widespread awareness of institutional and indirect racism it is possible that viewers do not understand racism to be anything besides direct harm to another. The soft approach reminding the nation of the positive contribution immigrants make has the adverse effect of justifying the evocation of the above reluctant egalitarianism. While the myths function in a specific Scottish context the overt expression of the campaign does not lay a strong claim to the nation besides inclusion of mundane images tasked with carrying the weight of the nation. In this case, it is not the images but the underlying and re-shifted myths that are particularly Scottish about the campaign.

Moving beyond the context to the ethnography, CERES was directly responsible for creating race equality materials for use in education and was concerned with including Scotland-specific statistics, case studies and language whenever possible. By including past and present national figures and interrogating local forms of discrimination such as Anglophobia and sectarianism, the Centre produced materials which spoke to the national situation more directly than the *One Scotland* campaigns. These messages required negotiations between developers and with the government but the most difficult negotiations were in verbalising, delineating and representing the abstract concept of equality.

This thesis has shown that the main difference is in responding to specific social situations which are not present in other areas of the UK. The class, religion or other position of groups causes them to face discrimination differently in Scotland than in other parts of the UK. Sectarianism is the form of racism often discussed in the CERES network as particularly Scottish and while it exists elsewhere, directly translating foreign frameworks for the local situation is inadequate. Through examining these interactions, it was shown that the messages used to signify Scotland were very different between the mainstreaming equality materials and in the *One Scotland* campaigns.

CERES developers also negotiated two somewhat conflicting ideal outcomes for equality promotion at the point where reserved equality legislation and devolved education intersect. The UK government's mandate for public bodies to monitor the impact of progress, which often translates in education to exam results and measurable outcomes, did not fit well with the Scottish Executive and Scottish Government's approach to mainstreaming equality into the curriculum at a more experiential (and less measurable) level. While part of the Scottish Government's larger mainstreaming equality initiative and the overall initiative to re-brand Scotland as inclusive and equal, the messages employed in the CERES materials take a more realistic and nuanced approach to Scotland than the government's media campaign. The change of administration visible in the subtle shift from an emphasis on Scottish

culture to Scottish nationality shows that while the Scottish Government is continuing with the *One Scotland* campaign, they have moulded it to frame *their* idea of the nation.

Although equality does not exist as either present or absent on an absolute scale, the assumption behind equality work in Scotland is that ‘more is better’. This is due to the acknowledgement that it is not only difficult to envision certain steps that may lead to an equal society but also that it will always be under development as social and political contexts and identities change. Additionally, it is a realistic assessment of the current state of anti-discrimination in schools in which teachers fill the learning day with the national curriculum and an occasional nod toward a governmental scheme. If the Scottish Government is going to change not just actions but attitudes through the mainstreaming equality programme then the outcomes of the seven projects must be taken forward by supporting schools to train all staff on how to integrate an equalities approach into their actions, not simply in writing policies.

As shown above, this thesis has met the original research aims to understand the messages and narratives used to signify Scotland in campaigns and lesson plans. In doing so it has also uncovered the intricate conceptualisations of equality by those at CERES and in the Network and how this shapes their work. This analysis would not have been possible if the fieldwork had not taken place at CERES.

Methodological Learning

As noted in Chapter Three, the initial research plan was to spend time at various locations of image development including in schools and in the government offices creating *One Scotland* campaigns. This changed in the early stages of fieldwork to those points solely within the CERES network and this scope was further curtailed by access problems. I had intended on visiting classrooms that were piloting the mainstreaming materials and could not gain access during that time. This led to a more focused attention to the interactions in and out of the Centre rather than at separate points along the network. This enhanced the outcome of the focused organisational ethnography. In future research, however, it would be productive to

follow the materials at all stages of development and based on the limits of this research engage those who use the materials in discussion on how they understand equality. This would necessarily revisit equality workers and explore how they reconcile the distance between the knowledge that absolute equality cannot be reached and promoting the ease in doing so in their writings. From a practical point of view, this access to schools would require negotiating access at an earlier stage and perhaps acting as a developer to guarantee that area of fieldwork.

Based on the fruitfulness of the focus group with the CERES staff, I will include them in future research designs in organisations. I found that the teaching and activist background of the Centre's staff meant that they all had the proclivity to teach on their thoughts, experiences and opinions in individual conversations or in the regular working day, making formal individual interviews unnecessary. Gathering them with a specific topic to explore created fluid conversations and shaped a lot of the analysis. If beginning fieldwork at CERES anew, I would schedule the staff for several more group discussions on topics including the position between knowing equality cannot be met and promoting work toward it, morality, equality and the political and theoretical complications of conflicting equalities.

One of the challenges I have found in working with policy-driven programmes is that developing a working knowledge in order to carry out the functions also leads to a form of assimilation. The preconceptions from which race equality practitioners work, some of them perhaps more discourse and fact dropping than practice and others firmly rooted in research results, become a form of 'common knowledge' into which the researcher becomes socialised and may lose sight of the origin of that knowledge.

Reflecting upon early 'failures' in this research, I will aim to write regular progress reports in the future. Balancing the drawbacks and benefits of researching a location and topic that turned out to be familiar, I will engage in academic (anthropological) research again at an equalities organisation. While I plan to continue anti-discrimination and equalities work in relation to identity either the setting or the

approach may need to be different. Perhaps I will be able to handle the situation more adeptly after learning from this fledgling project.

Contribution

This study based at CERES is a contribution to the anthropology of organisations. Previous research on organisations focused on specific branches of large corporations or non-governmental organisations, on the bounded interactions in a small location and more recently, of wider networks. Exploring equality work included the manual and intellectual tasks of equality practitioners in their vocational roles, the workings and self-presentation of an equality centre and the communications, priorities and problems faced by those along the network that *make* equality work. The preceding chapters synthesised these approaches in following a small centre throughout two years of race equality activities in various meetings, writings and locations. These negotiations brought into view assumptions surrounding equalities in Scotland, the national narratives perpetuated and the ways in which race equality practitioners conceptualise and enact their commitment to the role.

This approach to organisations and policies showed how the Centre has a high level of autonomy in private research and during the development stages of governmentally funded projects while ultimately relying upon governmental approval for the completion of the materials' life-cycles. It also highlighted the many strengths of the Centre that have enabled it to continue through eras of low or no funding. The staff members are personable; skilled at convincing colleagues and creating networks or action teams. Further, those in the Centre use resources well in sharing information with contacts, supporting other projects with their knowledge and encouraging continued growth in the equalities field.

Following the negotiation of identities, materials and concepts, I found that the desire to monitor equality measures contradicts the holistic implementation intrinsic to mainstreaming equality. With the difficulty of measuring when equality is present Education Authorities with positive outcomes do not appear as inclusive as those

with good outputs. In a way, the government's two desires for mainstreaming equality and impact assessment cannot be met.

CERES carefully presents equalities which it feels should be included for moral reasons, mindful of words used not only for the sake of neutrality or positive enforcement of race equality. As expressed in Chapter Five, organisations working for the Scottish government must be sure not to overtly criticise or contradict the Scottish government's desired messages or they run the risk that the materials will not be published. The work is tempered at times in order to avoid creating conflict by taking a too radical a position on an equalities issue and to disseminate a smaller message rather than none. The tension between approaches is an issue with which CERES grapples daily. By removing equalities issues before publication or omitting them from writing the final product presents an abbreviated approach to equalities. This sanitised version is then similar to a well-functioning multiculturalism: positive, benign messages.

The messages on equality are unequally skewed in the favour of those who have the funding or political weight to spread their message widely. This thesis contributed a critique of the extent to which money and personal opinions may impede forward progress beyond simple implementation or compliance with policies. It is a hope that this document has clarified for readers the policies and their implications. In the process it will have also brought a transparency to implementation, ramifications and how opinions and political positions continue to influence what is produced or carried forward.

This thesis contributes to the small body of anthropological literature on contemporary Scottish belonging and race equality campaigns in Scotland. Although the laws and initiatives will invariably be dated within a year, the hope is that it creates an anthropological snap-shot at a time when Scotland was dealing with the changes brought by the initial post-devolution 'equalities boom'.

Conclusions

The move toward more focused equalities funding signals a larger move toward

integrated equalities legislation. The idea and approach is positive in that all currently recognised equalities are included in the *Equality Act 2010* and will be held up to the same legal standards and protection. Providing it is deep enough to have a noticeable effect, blanket legal coverage is largely positive in its singular approach. Social programmes such as awareness raising or inclusion and outreach efforts, however, have the potential to fail if they are based on one model.

A teaching model for race discrimination addresses the corporal and permanent nature of the identity. It is a group that individuals do not join; one either is or is not in particular categories (as ascribed to them by others) if he or she remains in the same social and cultural contexts. Disability and age discrimination are both corporal and often visibly displayed but the former may not pre-exist and while there is the potential for everyone to fall into that category, it is not a given. Ageism is experienced more acutely at certain life stages and is something most people will experience at one point in time. In contrast to race, disability and age, all forms of sexual orientation can be hidden from view. A danger with the integrated approach is that each form of discrimination can be expressed and experienced differently. Unless these programmes are mandated or monitored they will never be truly mainstreamed.

What are the effects of this overall turn away from specific equalities? The political power driving the changes is becoming more centralised in a way that does not enable multiple locations to develop their research or interact as resources with local groups. The centralisation leads to a focus on legality: researching the general situation rather than providing examples of how to enact or carry out the legislation. To some extent, CERES has worked around this obstacle in performing its commitment as shown through the Network and Roundtable meetings. The Centre conceptualises this as undertaking work it considers political: a sort of side campaign by using network contacts to gather information on Education Authority and school practices (versus policies) and to begin implementation of programmes in schools with close allies. For the CERES staff and the race equality practitioners in their network, committing to the role means continuing to work for equalities even when

the government has cancelled further development or denied the distribution of materials.

In this process, teachers, administrators and other educators do not receive the necessary information and materials are not embedded or followed up on, causing students to lose out. In addition, expertise from the organisations and centres that carried out equalities work in the past will be lost if they no longer receive funding and cannot act as the resource they once were. At the same time civil servants must rush to develop expertise after shifting from one position to another and potential knowledge is also lost when directorates undertaking relevant equalities work do not collaborate.

Questions remain in the CERES network about the government's vocalty (as in the *One Scotland* campaign) about equality and why it has allowed a power change or internal interests to impede the launch of Project 4 materials. The simple conclusion is that it does not plan to endorse the work of the previous administration. As of October 2008 (and now, at September 2010), the project set to launch two years previously was not yet shared. Cutting funding in vital areas impedes progress and innovations for equality works and counters their drive toward mainstreaming. Based on this research throughout the CERES networks, it is impossible to project the desires or agendas within the government. However, many of those in the CERES network have made it clear that they believe that this is a further case of 'purposeful neglect'. The members feel that like some authorities that merely have a REP as a promise for action, the Scottish government is stagnating the waters in hopes of showing some promise for action without committing to the messages composed therein. It cannot be known if this is due to a lack of commitment or a lack of funding capacity with other policy issues competing for attention. Conversely, they may simply be drawing the equalities work further into the government in order to avoid delegation of programme development thus ensuring tighter quality control and reducing the need for financial expenditures.

Tensions continue between the ability to privately continue race equality work and

the need for support. Another tension arises for campaigns that address actions and those which address attitudes. While it has been simple for the UK government to mandate a change in actions for all authorities to comply with the *RR(A)A 2000* and its policies, the Scottish Executive took on a more difficult task. Governments can and have influenced public opinion through campaigns but doing so requires a careful balance between celebrating the potential nation presented and enacting a form of 'thought-police'. The imperative is that thoughts are more privately guarded and serve to perpetuate forms of discrimination such as institutional racism and are difficult to recognise in their early stages. Placing these negotiations in the historical context in Scotland of constructing a post-devolution identity while welcoming incomers to stimulate development in the culture, arts and economy, the anthropology of organisations in Scotland warrant further study.

Future Research

I see anthropological value in publishing both policy-related pieces based on short-term projects at an organisation as well as more ethnographic material after longer-term research. This short term projects may include conducting impact assessment with service users for the organisations or services. The long-term research would focus on where equalities in Scotland are moving over time and to identify more of the barriers faced by organisations in promoting their programmes. This would also explore how concepts circulate and develop in the hands of those who prioritise equality works. This may be the design in which to act as a material developer and see the object through each stage of its life-cycle.

Scottish anthropology should take its cue from Scottish sociology by spending more time researching national forces (in this case, education and campaigns) and focusing on identifying significant local and regional issues in connection to the nation.

Research should not necessarily concern itself with where Scotland fits in relation to England or the rest of the UK but how it fits in relation to Scotland: the imagined, hoped, and projected potential Scotland. More broadly, one of the subjects central to an anthropology in Scotland should include research on how discrimination and equality issues are promoted, the factors that hinder or accelerate them and if the represented Scot or issue changes over time. These foci are significant as they

represent Scotland *to* Scotland and in some measure, although burdened by funding and political forces, represent a picture of what some believe is worth presenting as the nation's face. This research should include a component of historical document analysis to see the extent to which the Scottish government encouraged the creation of the New Scotland and egalitarian myths.

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